

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

A LONG but interesting notice, given by M. Michelet at the end of his second volume, may be fitly inserted here (as a kind of Preface), from the explanation it affords of the origin and the sources of his work, and its justification of the new and peculiar views which he has taken of the History of France. After stating that his speculations are chiefly based on the authority of documents preserved in the national archives, he goes on to say—

"A word as to these archives, as to the office which has made it the author's duty to investigate the history of our antiquities, and as to the peaceful scene of his labours and the spot which inspired them. This work of his is his life. It is the almost necessary result of the circumstances in which he has been placed; a consideration which will perhaps gain him some indulgence from the impartial reader.

"Being one of the curators of the National Archives, and one of the professors at the Normal School, he has for many years made the history of his country the grand object of his studies; and, thanks to this union of opportunities, he has been enabled to impart the facts and ideas gleaned in this rich depot of the official acts of the Monarchy, to the young teachers trained up in the Normal School, by whom they may in turn have been diffused throughout every quarter of the kingdom.

"The Record, and the Parliamentary Register Office, (*Le Trésor des Chartes*, and the *Collection des Registres du Parlement*), form the nucleus of the archives. The Parliamentary Registers fill the *Sainte Chapelle* and the attics of the *Palais de Justice*. The Record Office, and by far the most valuable portion of the Archives, (those which belong to the historical, demesial, and topographical, the legislative and administrative departments,) the Clissons, Guises, and Soubises—thus crowding antiquity upon antiquity, and history into history. The entrance to the royal colonnade of the palace of the Soubises is guarded by a tower, of the architecture of the fourteenth century, and, on entering, you can well understand the feeling of the haughty device of their ancestors, the Rohans, 'Roi je ne suis, prince ne daigne, Rohan je suis.'

"The Record Office (*Trésor des Chartes*) contains in its registers a series of the acts of the government from the thirteenth century, and in its charters the diplomatic acts of the middle age, and, amongst others, those which effected the union of the provinces,—the title deeds of the monarchy, or, as they were called, *Les droits du roi* (the king's rights). These constituted the ancient arsenal, whence our kings drew forth weapons to breach the strongholds of feudality. Philippe-Augustus concentrated them at Paris; where they were entrusted, at one time, to the keeper of the seals; at another, to the monarch's own chaplain, one of the canons of the *Sainte Chapelle*; and, lastly, to the attorney-general. In the list of these keepers of the records (*Trésoriers des Chartes*) the names of Budeus and the two De Thou are conspicuous. The destinies of this precious deposit were no other than those which attended the monarchy; and whenever royalty displayed strength and vigour, the Record Office—a real treasury, from which titles, castles, and often provinces could be fished out—partook of the movement. The first inventory of these documents was drawn up by order of the sons of Philip the Fair, a greedy race. Charles V., a good scholar and a man of business, when France, after her wars with the English, sought to know herself once more, visited the office, and was distressed by the confusion which prevailed in it (A. D. 1371); it was an image of the confusion which distracted his kingdom. New inventories were drawn up by orders of Louis XI. and of Charles VIII.

The disorder of the office is at its height in Henry the Third's time; assisted by learned men, like Brisson and Du Tillet, who carry off and disperse its treasures whilst employed in it on the king's service. Du Tillet was busy at the time on his grand work, *La France Ancienne*, of which he published various portions. It was reserved for Richelieu to carry into execution a complete inventory of the rights of the crown. No one knew better than he how to enrich and invigorate the archives. He had castles rased to the ground in every part of the kingdom, and all records and title-deeds secured. He was a great and wonderful collector of antiquities of the sort. The blood-hounds which he employed in this diplomatic hunt, the Du Puy, Godefrois, Galands, and Marcas, pursued their quarry with indefatigable zeal, collecting, cataloguing, and interpreting. One of the chief results of this quest is the publication of the *Droits du Roy*, by Pierre Du Puy; a learned and curious book, crammed with learning, and marked by the most unblushing obsequiousness. There may be read how our kings are lawful sovereigns of England, how they were always masters of Brittany, how Lorraine, originally a dependency of the French kingdom of Austrasia and Lotharingia, was usurped by the emperor, &c. This was the kind of erudition serviceable to a minister bent upon carrying out the centralization of France. On went Du Puy, digging into the archives, discovering claims unheard-of before, and giving a colour to titles more or less legitimate. The keeper of records marched as a conqueror in the van of armies. Thus, when a pretext was wanted for seizing Lorraine, Du Puy was despatched to the archives of the *Trois-Evêchés*—and the duke was then summoned to show his titles. In like manner Languedoc was challenged by Galand to produce written proof of its law of freehold (*droit de franc-aleu*). It was vain to allege prescriptive rights, tradition, and immemorial possession—our record-hunters would have parchment.

"This magazine of diplomatic lawsuits and depot of innumerable doubtful rights was guarded by a formidable mystery. It could not be consulted without a *lettre-de-cachet* to the keeper; and his office was at last united with the attorney-generalship to the parliament of Paris. A man who had managed to procure copies of some of the records, and had traded in them, was proceeded against by M. D'Aguesseau, and banished to a distance of thirty leagues from Paris.

"The confiscations under the monarchy had been the making of the Record Office as regards charters: the confiscations during the Revolution have made our archives what they now are. To the old Record Office, thenceforward proscribed, were added the records of St. Denis, of St. Germain-des-Prés, and of numerous other monasteries. Venerable and fragile papyri, which still bear the names of Childbert and of Clotaire, quitted their ecclesiastical asylums, and appeared at this great review of the dead. In this rapid and forced accumulation of such numbers of deeds, many were lost and many destroyed. Parchments had their revolutionary trifling as well as men. It was entitled *Bureau du triage des titres* (office for the selection of titles), and its judgments were quick and terrible. Quantities of documents came within the murderous specification of *feudal title* as phrase which settled their fate. The Revolutionary confiscation, not relying, as the Monarchical one had done, on the authority of tests and written titles, would have nothing to do with parchments so specified. Its only test was the *Contrat Social*, as the Koran was his who burnt the Alexandrian library.

"If the Revolution did little to advance knowledge by the

critical examination of ancient monuments, it was of immense benefit, by concentrating all such treasures. It blew aside the dust of centuries, and emptied the contents of monasteries, castles, and other receptacles on one common floor. The Louvre was thus literally filled with papers, the very windows being blocked up by the rolls, so that the keeper of the records had to hire many rooms of the Academy. To carry on researches among those crowded repositories, candles were required at noon-day. The Revolution let in light, once and for ever, into this 'excessive dark'.

"The Du Puy and the Marcas of this second epoch (as regards learning, I mean) were two deputies of the Convention, M.M. Camus and Daunou. The first, a Gallican, like his predecessor Du Puy, served the republic with the same zeal that Du Puy had done the monarchy. His successor, M. Daunou, was, properly speaking, the founder of the Archives; and, at this date, the Archives of France had become those of the world. His is the honour of classifying the prodigious mass. It was a glorious time for the Archives. Whilst M. Daru was opening, for the first time, the mysterious repositories of Venice, M. Daunou was receiving the spoils of the Vatican. On the other hand, the archives of Germany, Spain, and Belgium were arriving from the north and the south at the Palace of the Soubises. Two of our colleagues had gone to fetch those of Holland.

"Now, the Archives of France are no longer those of Europe. The traces of the inscriptions over the doors of our halls, as *Bulles, Daterie*, &c., remain to remind us of our losses. However, we still have about a hundred and fifty thousand documents (*cartons*). Although the provinces refuse to entrust us with their archives, as do several of the offices of our ministers, they will be forced to get rid some day of the accumulating mass. The day will be ours, for we are death. All gravitates to us, and every revolution turns to our profit. We need only wait *patiens quia aeternus*—in patience since we die not.

"Sooner or later, conquering and conquered come to us. We have the monarchy, safe and sound, from its alpha to its omega, the charter of Charlebert by the side of the testament of Louis XVI. We have the republic in our iron chest, the keys of the Bastille, the minute of the declaration of the rights of man, the urns of the deputies, and—the great republican machine—the stamp of the assignats. Even the papacy has left us something. The pope has resumed his archives; but, by way of reprisal, we keep the litter on which he was borne to the consecration of the emperor. And, together with these bloody playthings of Providence we have the unchangeable standard of measure, which is referred to every year: the temperature of the archives is invariable.

"As for me, when I first entered these catacombs of manuscripts, this wonderful necropolis of national monuments, I would willingly have exclaimed, like the German on entering the monastery of St. Anne—'This is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it!'

"However, I was not slow to discern in the midst of the apparent silence of these galleries, a movement and a murder which were not those of death. These papers and

parchments, so long deserted, desired no better than to be restored to the light of day: yet are they not papers, but lives of men, of provinces, and of nations. First, families and fiefs, blazoned in their dust, protested against their being forgotten. The provinces rose up, alleging that centralization had been deceived in supposing them annihilated. The ordinances of our kings asserted that they had not been repealed by the multitude of modern laws. Had one listened to them all, as the grave-digger observed of a field of battle, not one ought to have been dead. All lived and spoke, and surrounded the author with an army speaking a hundred tongues, which were roughly silenced by the loud voice of the Republic and of the Empire.

"Softly, my dear friends, let us proceed in order, if you please. All of you have your claim on history. The individual is good, that is, as individual; the general, as general. Feudalism is in the right, the monarchy more so, and, still more, the Empire. I am yours, Godfrey—yours, Richelieu—yours, Bonaparte! The province shall revive; the ancient differences of France will be characterized by strongly defined geographical distinctions: it shall revive, but only on condition of allowing these differences gradually to wear out, and an homogeneous whole, or country, to succeed. Revive, monarchy; revive, France! Let but one great effort at classification serve as a clue through this chaos. To systematize on this wise, although imperfectly, may serve. Though the head be badly set upon the shoulders, and the leg fit badly to the thigh, so revive is yet something.

"And, as I breathed on their dust, I saw them rise up. They raised from the sepulchre, one the hand, the other the head, as in the Last Judgment of Michel-Angelo, or in the Dance of Death. This galyanic dance, which they performed around me, I have essayed to reproduce in this work. Some, perhaps, will find it neither sightly nor true. In particular, they will be offended with the harshness of the provincial contrasts that I have pointed out. My reply to these critics is, that it may very well be, that they do not recognize their ancestors; since, of all people, we French are chief possessors of the gift desired by the ancient—the gift of forgetting. The songs of Roland and of Renaud, &c. have indisputably been popular; the fabliaux succeeded them; and all this was already so remote in the sixteenth century, that Joachim Du Bellay expressly says—'In our old literature, there is but the Romance of the Rose.' In Du Bellay's time, France was Rabelais; at a later period, Voltaire. Rabelais is now a sealed book to the generality; Voltaire is already less read; and so we go on changing, and forgetting ourselves.

"The France of the present day, in its oneness and identity, may very well forget that old, heterogeneous France, which I have described. The Gascon may not choose to recognize Gascony, or the Provencal, Provence; to which I answer, that there is no longer a Provence or a Gascony, but a France. This France, I now present with all the distinctions of her ancient and original divarication into provinces. The latter volumes of my history will show her in her unity."

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CELTS.—IBERIANS.—ROMANS.

CHAPTER I.

CELTS AND IBERIANS.

"THE Gauls," says Strabo, following the philosopher Posidonius, "are universally madly fond of war, hot in temper, and quick to fight; in all other respects simple, and void of malice. Hence, when provoked, they march multitudinously, openly, and incautiously straight against the enemy, so as to be easily out-generalled; since they may be drawn on to engage where and when one chooses, and for any cause, being ever ready for battle, even though armed only with their own natural strength and audacity. Yet are they easily persuaded to useful employments, and susceptible of culture and literary instruction. Presuming on their gigantic build and numbers, they soon collect in large multitudes, of their own free-will and accord, and at once take side with the injured party*." Such is the first glance cast by philosophy on the most sympathetic and perfectible of the races of man.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GAULS AND IBERIANS.

The genius of these Gauls or Celts is at first a mere restless activity, prompting to attack and conquest: it was through war that the nations of antiquity came into contact and intermingled. A warring and noisy race, they overrun the world, sword in hand, led on, it would seem, less by greed, than by a vain and uneasy desire to see, know, and busy themselves with everything; bursting and destroying through mere inability to create. With their large, fair, soft, and succulent bodies, they are the infants of the nascent world; elastic and impulsive, but neither enduring nor persevering†; fierce in their joys, vast in their hopes, and vain—for as yet nothing has withstood them. They would

go and see for themselves what manner of man was the conqueror of Asia, that Alexander, at whose sight kings fainted through dread*. "What do you fear?" inquired the man of terror: "The sky falling‡," was all the answer he got. Heaven itself had little terror for them; they returned its thunders§ with flights of arrows. Did ocean rise and invade the land, they did not refuse its challenge, but marched upon it sword in hand§. Never to give way was their point of honour: they would often scorn to quit a house in flames||. No people held their lives cheaper. There were of them who would undertake to die for a trifle of money or a little wine, would step upon their sleeping-places, distribute the wine or money among their friends, lie down on their shields, and offer their throat to the knife¶.

Their banquets seldom ended without a fray; the thigh of the animal on the board was the right of the bravest**, and each would be he. Next to fighting, their greatest pleasure was to crowd round the stranger, seat him among them, whether he liked or not, and make him tell them tales of dis-

* Plut. in Alex. c. 96. Long after Alexander's death, Cassander, who had become king of Macedonia, walking one day at Delphi, and examining the statues, suddenly came upon that of Alexander, when he was so struck by it, that he fell trembling, and was seized with a giddiness.

† . . . Εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτει. Strabo, l. vii. 302. (These were Getæ. They had been encountered and subdued by Darius, in his famous expedition against the European Scythæ, 514 years B. C. Alexander found them inhabiting the same locality on the western shores of the Euxine, one hundred and eighty years afterwards.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Aristot. de Morib. l. iii. c. 10.

§ Elian. l. xii. c. 23. Γυνὴν ἧν εἶπεν καὶ τὰ δόρατα προσείοντες.—Aristot. Eudemior. l. iii. c. 1. Οἱ Κελτοὶ πρὸς τὰ κύματα ὅπλα ἀπαντῶσι λαβόντες.

|| Elian. *ibid.*

¶ Posidon. l. xxiii. ap. Athen. l. iv. c. 13. Ἄλλοι δ' ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ οἶνον κεραμίῳ ἰριθμόν τινα, καὶ πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι, ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρῶν κείνται: παραστῆς δὲ τις εἶπεν τὸν Σαῖμόν ἀποκόπτε.

** Posidon. apud Athen. l. iv. c. 13.

* Συναγανακτοῦντες τοῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν αἱ τῶν πλεθίων. Strabo, l. iv. 195.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. v. c. 28. Τοιοῦτε σαρξὶ καθύπερθε καὶ λευκοί.

—Appian. apud Scriptores Rerum Francicarum, l. i. 462. Ὑπὸ τῇ ἰδρώτος καὶ ἀσθματος . . . ἐξελύντο ταχέως.

tant lands; for these barbarians were insatiably eager and curious, and pressed strangers, seizing them in the markets and highways, and compelling them to talk*. They were themselves formidable and indefatigable talkers, highly figurative in their speech, pompous and ludicrously grave with their guttural tones†, and it was quite a business in their assemblies to secure the speaker from interruption; inasmuch that it was the office of one man to enforce silence, which he did by proceeding with drawn sword to the party interrupting, and, at the third summons, cutting off a large piece of his dress, so as to render it unfit for further wear‡.

Another race, the Iberians, appear early in the south of Gaul, along with the Gauls, and even before them. This people, whose type and language have been preserved in the Basque mountains, were moderately endowed with natural gifts, a laborious, agricultural, mining race, attached to the soil for its products—metals and corn§. There is nothing to show that they were primitively as warlike as they became when driven into the Pyrenees by the conquerors of the south and of the north, and finding themselves in their own despite guardians of the defiles, they were so repeatedly invaded, bruised, and hardened by war. Once Roman tyranny impelled them to an heroic despair; but generally their courage has been exemplified in resistance||, as that of the Gauls has been in attack. The Iberians do not seem to have had the same love of distant expeditions and adventurous wars. Some of their tribes, indeed, emigrated, but unwillingly, and driven forth by more powerful nations.

The Gauls and the Iberians were a complete contrast: the latter with their rough black garments, and hair-woven boots¶; the Gauls arrayed in showy stuffs, fond of bright and varied colours, such as compose the plaid of the modern Scottish Gael**, or else almost naked, but with their white

chest and gigantic limbs laden with massive golden chains*. The Iberians were divided into petty mountain tribes, which, according to Strabo, seldom contracted alliance, through an excess of confidence in their own strength. The Gauls, on the contrary, readily collected in large hordes, encamping in large villages, in large exposed plains, and talkers, laughers, and haranguers as they were, willingly associated with strangers, and became intimate with new faces, mingling with all and in all, dissolute through levity, and blindly and at random abandoning themselves to infamous pleasures† (the brutality of drunkenness was rather the failing of the German stock); in short, theirs were all the qualities and vices that result from quick sympathy. These hilarious comrades were not to be too implicitly confided in. They were early addicted to bantering (*gaber*, as it was termed in the middle-ages). They passed their word without a thought of its being obligatory, promised, then laughed, and there an end. (*Ridendo fidem frangere*, "they broke faith with a jest."—TIT. LIV.)

The Gauls did not rest contented with driving the Iberians into the Pyrenees; but crossing that natural barrier, settled under their own name, in the south and north-western angles of the peninsula, whereas in the centre they amalgamated with the conquered, and took the names of Celtiberians and Lusitanians‡.

It was at the same epoch (B.C. 1600—1500), or perhaps previously, that the Iberian tribes of the Sicani and the Ligor§ passed from Spain into Gaul and Italy; in which latter country, as in Spain, the Gauls attacked them, and crossing the Alps (B.C. 1400—1000), under the designation of *Ambra*|| (the valiant), confined the Ligures within the mountainous coast from the Rhone to the Arno, whilst they drove the Sicani as far as Calabria and Sicily.

PHENICIAN AND GRECIAN COLONIES. (B.C. 1200—600.)

In both peninsulas the conquering Celts amalgamated with the inhabitants of the central plains, whilst the vanquished Iberians kept their ground at either end, in Liguria and in Sicily, in the

coloured squares." So Virgil, (*Æneid*. l. viii. 660.) "They glitter in their striped cloaks." Elsewhere I have collected other parallel passages.

* Diodor. Sic. l. v. "They wear bracelets and armlets, and round their necks thick rings, all of gold, and costly finger-rings, and even golden corsets."

Virgil *Æneid*. l. viii. 659.

"Fair golden tresses grace the comely train,
And every warrior wears a golden chain.

Embroidered vests their snowy limbs unfold,

And their rich robes are all adorned with gold."

† Diodor. Sic. l. v. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 310.—Strabo, l. iv.—Athen. l. xii. c. 8.—At a later period, traces of the licentiousness which prevailed in ancient Gaul are observable in the Irish and British Celts. Leland, t. i. p. 14, says, that the Irish considered adultery "a pardonable gallantry." O'Halloran, p. 394.—Lanfranc, St. Anselm, and Pope Adrian in his famous bull, addressed to Henry II., upbraid them with incest.—See Usser. Syl. epist. 70, 94, 95.—St. Bernard, in Vit. S. Malach. 1332, sqq. Girald. Camb. 742, 743.

‡ Diodor. Sic. l. v.—Isidori Originum l. ix.—Plin. l. iii. c. 3.

§ Iberian highlanders. W. de Humboldt. See Appendix.
|| See Am. Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, i. 10.

* Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 30.—Caesar, Bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 5. *Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis ut et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant . . . et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumstatist, &c.*

† Diodor. Sic. l. iv. Εἰς αὐτὰ τὰς φωνὰς βαρύνουσι, καὶ παντελῶς τραχύφωνοι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμιλίαν βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγματικοὶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττομένους συνεκδοχικῶς· πολλὰ δὲ λέγουσιν ἐν υπερβολαῖς. . . .

‡ Ὅσον ἔχρηστον τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπόν. Strabo, l. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 30.—I cannot quit the subject without noticing how much the ancients appear to have been struck with the rhetorical genius and noisy character of the Gauls. Livy terms them, "a people born for vain tumults." The public criers, trumpeters, and advocates were often Gauls. "An Insubrian," says Cicero, (Fragm. Or. contra Pisonem,) "that is, a salesman and a crier." See also, the whole of the oration pro Fonteio. Cato says, (in Charisio? I quote from memory,) "The Gauls, for the most part, assiduously cultivate two things—valour and oratorical smartness." Diodorus Siculus (l. iv.) calls them "boasters, braggarts, and full of theatrical display."

§ Strabo, l. iv.—Caesar, Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 20.

|| The Iberi must not be confounded with their neighbours, the Cantabri. The distinction between them is clearly established by M. W. de Humboldt in his admirable little work on the Basque language. See Appendix.

¶ Τριχίαν εἰλούσαι κνημίδας. Diodor.

** Diodor. Sic. l. v. "They wear dyed tunics, flowered with colours of every kind, and treads, and striped cloaks, fastened with a buckle, and divided into numerous many-

renees and in Boetia. The Italian Gauls, the *Ambra*, occupied the whole valley of the Po, and spread into the peninsula as far as the mouth of the Tiber. They were subsequently subjected by the Rasenæ or Etrusci, whose empire was at a later period hemmed in by new Celtic emigrations between the Macra, the Tiber, and the Apennines.

Such was the aspect of the Gallic world. In Italy and in Spain, its young, soft, floating element was early altered by intermixture with the indigènes; whereas in Gaul it would have been long rolled to and fro by the flux and reflux of barbarism, had not a new element from without infused into it a principle of stability, a social idea.

Two people, the Greeks and the Phœnicians, were the leaders of civilization at this remote period of antiquity. The Tyrian Hercules was at this time sailing through every sea, buying and transporting from each country its most precious products. He did not overlook the fine garnets of the coast of Gaul, or the coral of the Hîeres; and inquired into the precious mines which then cropped out upon the surface of the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps*. He came, and returned, and at last settled. Attacked by Albion and Ligor (both names signify *mountaineer* †), the sons of Neptune, he would have been overcome, had not Jupiter reinforced his failing arrows with a shower of stones, which still cover the plain of Crau in Provence. The victorious god founded Nemausus (Nîmes), sailed up the Rhône and the Saône, slew in his lair the robber Taurisk, and built Alesia in the territory of the *Ædui* (pays d'Autun). Before leaving, he laid down the highway which crossed the Col de Tende, and led from Italy across Gaul into Spain; and it was upon this foundation that the Romans built the Aurelian and Domitian ways (vies).

In this, as in other directions, the Phœnicians did but open a path for the Greeks; being followed by the Dorians of Rhodes, who were themselves supplanted by the Ionians of Phœcia, the founders of Marseilles (B.C. 600—587). This city, planted so late from Greece, subsisted by miracle. Landward it was surrounded by powerful Gallic and Ligurian tribes, who did not suffer it to take an inch of ground without a battle. Seaward it had to encounter the huge fleets of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, who had organised so sanguinary a monopoly coastwise, that for a stranger to trade in Sardinia was death by drowning ‡. In every way, success crowned the Massilians. They had the gratification of seeing, without their drawing the sword, the Etruscan navy destroyed in a single battle by the Syracusans, and then of beholding the annihilation of all the commercial states—of Etruria, Sicily, and Carthage—by Rome. Carthage, in her fall, left an immense field, which Marseilles might well have coveted; but it was not for the humble ally of Rome, for a city without territory, and a people of plain and thrifty character, but

more mercantile than political, and who, instead of gaining over and incorporating with themselves the barbarians in their vicinity, were ever at war with them, to aspire to such a part. However, through good conduct and perseverance, the Massilians managed to extend their establishments along the Mediterranean, from the Maritime Alps to Cape St. Martin; that is to say, as far as the early Carthaginian colonies. Monaco, Nice, Antibes, Èaube, St. Gilles, Agde, Ampurias, Denia, and some other towns*, were founded by them.

Whilst Greece began the civilization of the southern shore, northern Gaul received its own from the Celts themselves. A new Celtic tribe, the Cymry or Cunry (Cimmerii †), came to join the Gauls (B.C. 631—587). The new comers, who settled for the most part in the centre of France, on the Seine and the Loire, were, it appears, of more serious and stable character. Less indisposed to restraint, they were governed by a sacerdotal corporation—the Druids. The primitive religion of the Gauls, which yielded to the Cymric Druidism, was a natural religion, gross undoubtedly, and far from having reached that systematic form which it subsequently acquired among the Irish Gaël ‡. That of the Cymric Druids, as far as it is discernible through the barren notices of the ancients, and the much altered traditions of the modern Welsh Cymry, had a far loftier moral tendency: they taught the immortality of the soul. Yet was the genius of the race too material to admit of such doctrines bearing early fruit. The druids could not transport it out of its clannish life. The material principle, the influence of its military chieftains, co-existed with the government of the priests. Cymric Gaul was only imperfectly, Gallic Gaul not in the least, organised; and escaping the Druids, it flowed over the Rhine and the Alps, to flood the world.

FIRST COLLISION OF ROME AND GAUL. (B.C. 388.)

This is the period assigned by history to the expeditions of Sigovesus and Bellovesus, nephews of Ambigat, king of the Bituriges, who led the Gauls into Germany and Italy, and who wandered with no other guidance than was afforded by watching the flight of birds. According to another tradition, they were guided by a jealous husband, an Aruns of Etruria, who, in his desire of revenge, introduced the barbarians to the juice of the grape. They found it good, and followed him to the land

* See the interesting account of Marseilles in Thierry's History, (t. II. c. 1.) one of the most remarkable portions of that excellent work. Further on, I endeavour to show how greatly the share the Greek colonies had in civilizing Gaul, has been exaggerated.

† Appian (II. v. p. 1196. and de Bell. Civil. p. 625.) and Diodorus (l. v. p. 309.) say that the Celts were Cimmerians. —Plutarch (in Mario) agrees with them. —“The Cimmerians,” says Ephorus, (Strabo, v. p. 375.) “inhabit subterranean dwellings, which they call *argilæ*.” In the poetry of the Welsh Cymry, *argel* signifies a subterraneous place. (W. Archæol. l. p. 152.) The Cymry swore “by the bull.” The arms of Wales are two cows.—However, several German critics deny the identity of the Cimmerians with the Cimbrî, and of the latter with the Cymry; referring the Cimbrî to the Germanic stock.

‡ See Appendix.

* Strabo, l. III. iv.

† *Ab*, in Gaelic, mountain.—*Gor*, in the Basque tongue, elevated. W. de Humboldt.

‡ Strabo, l. xvii. “The Carthaginians drowned all strangers whom they found coasting to Sardinia, or to the Straits.”

of the vine*. These first emigrants, *Ædui*, *Arverni*, and *Bituriges* (Gallic tribes of Burgundy, Auvergne, and Berry), settle in Lombardy, despite the Etrusci, and take the name of *Is-Ambrat*, *Is-Ombrians*, *Insurbians*, synonymous with Gauls; being the same with that of those ancient Gauls, or *Ambræ*, *Umbrians*, who had been subdued by the Etrusci. They were followed by the kindred tribes of the *Aulerici*, *Carnuti*, and *Cenomani* (inhabiting *Mans* and *Chartres*), under a leader called the *Hurricane*†; who established themselves at the expense of the Etrusci of *Venecia*, and founded *Brescia* and *Verona*. Lastly, the *Cymry*, jealous of the conquests of the Gauls, pass the Alps in their turn; but finding the valley of the *Po* already occupied, they are forced to proceed as far as the *Adriatic*, and found *Bologna* and *Sinigaglia*, or rather, settle in those towns, which the Etrusci had already founded. The idea of the city, measured out and laid down according to religious and astronomical notions, was unknown to the Gauls, whose towns were only large open villages, such as *Mediolanum* (Milan). The Gallic world is the world of the tribe‡; the Etrusco-Roman world, that of the city.

Thus the tribe and the city are face to face in the listed plain of Italy. At first, the tribe has the advantage; the Etrusci are hemmed in within *Etruria*, properly so called, and the Gauls soon follow them thither. They cross the *Apennines*; and with their blue eyes, yellow mustachios, and golden collars on their fair shoulders, proceed to defile before the Cyclopean walls of the affrighted Etrusci. They appear before *Cusium*, and demand a territory. It was then, as is well known, that the Romans interposed to protect their ancient foes, the Etrusci, and that a panic placed Rome in the hands of the Gauls. They were much astonished, says *Livy*, at finding the city deserted; more astonished still at beholding at the doors of the houses the aged owners, who sat majestically, waiting death. By degrees they grew accustomed to these immovable figures, which had at first awed them; when one of them, in his barbarian joviality, took it into his head to stroke the beard of one of these haughty senators, who returned the caress with a blow of his stick||. This was the signal for massacre.

The young men, who had shut themselves up in the Capitol, offered some resistance, but at last paid ransom¶. This is the most probable tradition; the Romans preferred the other. *Livy* asserts that *Camillus* avenged his country by a victory, and slew the Gauls on the ruins they had made. What is more certain is, that they remained seventeen years in *Latium*, at *Tibur*, at the very gate of *Rome*. *Livy* calls *Tibur*, "arcem

Gallici belli" (the stronghold of the Gallic war). It is in this interval that were fought the heroic duels of *Valerius Corvus* and *Manlius Torquatus* with Gallic giants. The gods interfered; a sacred raven gave the victory to *Valerius*; and *Manlius* tore the collar (*torquis*) from the boaster who had defied the Romans. Hence, for a long time after, a popular image, a *Cimbriæ buckler*, with the likeness of a barbarian, inflating his cheeks and thrusting out his tongue*, used as a sign for shops.

The city was fated to prevail over the tribe,—Italy over Gaul. Driven from *Latium*, the Gauls continued to war, but as mercenaries in the service of *Etruria*. They shared, with the Etrusci and the *Samnites*, in those dreadful battles of *Sentinum* and the *Vadimonian lake*, which secured Rome the sovereignty of Italy, and thence of the world. In these they displayed their fruitless and brute-like audacity; fighting naked with the well-armed; dashing with loud clamour in their war-chariots against the impenetrable masses of the legions; and opposing the terrible *pilum* with wretched sabres that bent at the first stroke†. It is the common history of all the battles of the Gauls; they never amended. Nevertheless, great efforts and the devotion of *Decius* were required on the side of the Romans. At length they, in their turn, penetrated to the Gauls, recovered the ransom of the Capitol, and seated a colony in the principal burgh of the *Senones*, whom they overcame at *Sena* on the *Adriatic*—exterminating the whole tribe, so that there should not remain a single descendant of those who could boast of having burnt *Rome*‡.

GREAT MIGRATION OF THE GAULS. (B.C. 391—280.)

These reverses of the Italian Gauls may, perhaps, be explained, by the supposition that their best warriors had joined the great migration of the *Transalpine Gauls*, into *Greece* and *Asia*. Our Gaul was like that vase of the *Welsh mythology*, in which life is incessantly boiling and overflowing§; and received in torrents the "barbarism of the North, to pour it out on the nations of the South. After the *Druidical invasion* of the *Cymry*, it had to sustain the warlike invasion of the *Belgæ*, or *Bolg* (the most impetuous of the Celts, as are their descendants the *Irish*||, who had made

* *Aulus Gell.* l. ix. 3.—*Tit. Liv.* l. vii. c. 10.

† *Tit. Liv.* l. xxii. "The Gauls have very long swords, without points."—*Polyb.* l. ii. ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* l. 12. 167. "By their spirit at the first onset, the whole Gallic race, whilst fresh, is most fearful. Their swords give one fatal cut, but are then at once blunted, and bend lengthwise and flatwise."—A true symbol of the race of the *Gauls*.

‡ *Flor.* l. i. c. 13.

§ See further on.

¶ Headiness, promptitude, and mobility of purpose are equally characteristic of the *Bulg* of *Ireland*, *Belgium*, and *Picardy* (the *Bellovac*, *Golci*, *Bolgæ*, *Belgæ*, *Volci*, &c.), and of those of the south of *France*, notwithstanding the different mixtures these races have undergone.

In the old *Irish traditions*, the *Belgæ* are designated by the name of *Fir-Bolg*. *Ausonius* (de clar. urb. *Narbo*) asserts the primitive name of the *Tectosagi* to have been *Bolg*—"Tectosagos primævo nomine *Bolgæ*." (*Cicero* (pro *Man. Pontei*) gives them that of *Belgæ*—"Belgarum Allobrogumque testimonis credere non timetis?" In the manu-

* *Tit. Liv.* l. v. c. 34.—*Plutarch*, in *Camillo*.

† *Is*, *Ios*, low, inferior.—*Is-Ombria*, Lower *Ombria*.

‡ According to the interpretation of *Am. Thierry*, l. p. 43.

—*Tit. Liv.* v. c. 35.

§ It has been doubted by some learned men whether their *oppida*, in *Cæsar's* time, were anything more than places of refuge.

¶ *Tit. Liv.* l. v. c. 41. *M. Papirius*, Gallo barham suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, pernucenti, scipione eburneo in caput incusso, iram movisse dicitur.

¶ According to *Polybius* and *Suetonius*. See my *Hist. Romaine*, vol. i. l. i. c. 3.

their way from Belgium through the Gauls and Cymry, as far south as Toulouse, and had seated themselves in Languedoc under the names of Arecomici and Teutosagi. Hence, they bore on to a new conquest; and Gauls, Cymry, and even Germans, descended with them the valley of the Danube. The cloud burst upon Macedonia. The world of the ancient city, which had grown strong in Italy by the success of Rome, had, since Alexander, been broken up in Greece. Nevertheless, this petty space was so strong by art and nature,—so bristled with cities and mountains,—as to be seldom entered with impunity. Greece is like a trap with three bottoms. You may enter, and find yourself taken, first in Macedonia, next in Thessaly, and then betwixt Thermopylae and the isthmus.

Thrace and Macedonia were successfully invaded by the barbarians, who committed fearful excesses there, passed even Thermopylae, and marched to undergo defeat against the sacred rock of Delphi. The god defended his temple. A storm, and the masses of rock hurled down by the besieged, sufficed for the discomfiture of the Gauls. Gorged with meat and wine, they were already conquered by their own excesses. A panic terror seized them in the night. In order to expedite their retreat, their Brenn, or chief, counselled them to burn their cars, and to cut the throats of their ten thousand wounded*; then drank his fill, and stabbed himself. But his followers found it impossible to extricate themselves from so mountainous a country and such difficult passes, alive with a people wild for vengeance.

Another body of Gauls, intermingled with Germans, Teutosages, Troemi, and Tolistoboi, succeeded better beyond the Bosphorus. They threw themselves into the heart of mighty Asia, in the midst of the quarrels of Alexander's successors. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and the Greek towns

which with difficulty bore up against the Seleucidae, bought their assistance; as the event proved,—an interested and fatal assistance. These terrible guests parcelled out Asia Minor among themselves, for pillage and for ransom*. The Hellespont fell to the share of the Troemi; the shores of the Aegean, to the Tolistoboi; the Teutosages had the South. Here we see our Gauls restored to the cradle of the Cymry, not far from the Cimmerian Bosphorus—here are they settled on the ruins of Troy, and in the mountains of Asia Minor, where, centuries after, the French will lead the crusades under the banner of Godfrey of Boulogne and of Louis the Young.

Whilst these Gauls gorge and fatten in delicate Asia, others ramble the world over in search of fortune. Whoever wishes to buy headlong courage and blood cheaply, buys Gauls—a prolific and warlike race, sufficing for innumerable armies and wars. They are in the pay of all the successors of Alexander, especially of Pyrrhus—that man of adventures and of blasted triumphs. Carthage also employed them in the first Punic war. She required them but ill; and they bore a principal part in the dreadful War of the Mercenaries. One of the leaders of the revolt was the Gaul, Autarites.

Rome availed herself of the troubles of Carthage and of the interval between the two Punic wars, to crush the Ligurians and the Italian Gauls.

"The Ligurians, buried at the foot of the Alps, between the Var and the Macra, in a country bristling with underwood, were more difficult to find than to conquer,—an agile and indelible people, more given to rapine than to war, and trusting in the rapidity of their flight and the remoteness of their lurking-places. All these wild mountain tribes,—the Salyi, the Deciates, the Euburates, the Oxybii, the Ingauni,—long escaped the Roman arms. At last, the consul Fulvius burnt their fastnesses, Cebius forced them into the plain, and Posthumus disarmed them, leaving them scarcely iron wherewith to till their fields." (B. C. 238-233.)

GALLIC INVASION OF ITALY. (B. C. 225.)

For half a century after the extermination of the Senones by Rome, the remembrance of the dreadful event was fresh in the minds of the Gauls; so that when At and Galls, two kings of

scripts of Cæsar, we find the name indifferently written *Folgae* or *Volcae*.—Lastly, St. Jerome tells us that "the dialect of the Teutosagi was the same as that of Treves," the capital of Belgium. Am. Thierry, i. 131.

"The Belgic tribes," says Logan, (i. 331.) "were denominated Firbolg, from the bolg, bulg, or leathern bag, in which they carried their arrows, as some maintain." TRANSLATOR.

* His advice was followed, as regarded the wounded, for the new Brenn caused ten thousand men, who were unfit to march, to be butchered; but he kept the greater part of the baggage. Diodor. Sic. xxii. 870.—The Gauls, in this invasion of Greece, whenever they met with infants fatter than usual, or who seemed to have been suckled on better milk, drank their blood, and feasted on their flesh. Pausanias, i. x. p. 650.—The Greeks, after battle, buried their dead; but the Cymro-Gauls sent no herald to solicit theirs, regardless whether they were buried or were food for the wild beasts and vultures. Pausanias, i. x. p. 649.—"At Ægeum they scattered to the winds the ashes of the kings of Macedonia." Plut. Pyrrh. Diod. ex Val.—When the Brenn had learnt from deserters the number of the Greek troops, full of contempt for them, he marched beyond Heraclea and attacked the defiles the next day at sunrise, "without," says an ancient writer, "having consulted with regard to the event of the battle any priest of his nation, or, in default of that, any Greek diviner." Pausanias, i. x. p. 640. Am. Thierry, *passim*.—At Delphi the Brenn said, "that the wealthy gods ought to enrich men, . . . that they needed not riches, being the donors of wealth to man." Justin, xxiv. 6.

* Tit. Liv. i. xxxviii. c. 16.—Strabo, i. xiii.

† She delivered up four thousand of them to the Romans. See Diodor. Sic. and Frontinus, i. iii. 16.

1 Florus, ii. 3.—The strength of the Ligurians gave rise to the common saying, "the poorest Ligurian can overcome the strongest Gaul." Diodor. Sic. v. 39. See also, i. xxxix. 2. Strabo, iv. It was from them that the Romans borrowed the use of the oblong shield, *scutum Ligusticum*. Liv. xlv. 35. Their women, who wrought in the quarries, when taken in labour, used to step aside for a short time, and, after delivery, return to their work. Strabo, iii. Diodor. Sic. iv. The Ligurians adhered strictly to their ancient customs, as, for instance, that of wearing their hair long, whence their surname of *Capillati*.—Cato says, in Servius, "They have a perfect recollection of their origin, but, illiterate and liars, they have no memory for truth." Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Varro's, uses the same terms.

‡ Atis and Galatus, in the Greek and Latin historians. Polyb. ii. See Am. Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. i.

the Boii (now the Bolognese), endeavoured to rouse that people to seize the Roman colony of Ariminum, and summoned a band of mercenary Gauls from beyond the Alps, the Boii, rather than face a war with Rome, slew them both, and massacred their allies. But Rome, uneasy at their restlessness, irritated the Gauls, by prohibiting all trade with them, especially in arms; and the measure of their discontent was completed by the proposition of the consul Flaminius to colonise and divide among the people the territory taken from the Senones fifty years before. The Boii, whom the colony of Ariminum had taught the cost of having the Romans for neighbours, regretted not having assumed the offensive, and attempted to bring into a common league all the nations of northern Italy. The Veneti, however, a people of Slavonic origin, and inimical to the Gauls, refused to join it; the Ligurians were worn out, the Cenomani secretly sold to the Roman. The Boii and Insulures (the Bolognese and Milanese), left to themselves, were obliged to call in from the other side of the Alps a body of Gesates (*Gaisla*),—men armed with *gais*, or boar-spears,—who gladly took pay with the rich Gallic tribes of Italy, money and promises luring across their leaders, Aneroeste and Concolitanus.

The Romans, kept informed of all by the Cenomani, took alarm at the league. The senate ordered that the Sibylline books should be consulted; and read therein with terror that the Gauls were twice to become masters of Rome. They sought to avert the calamity by burying alive two Gauls, a man and a woman, in the cattle market, the centre of the city; by which the Gauls might be said to have taken possession of the soil of Rome, and the oracle be either fulfilled or eluded. The alarm spread from Rome over all Italy; not a people of which but thought themselves equally in danger of a fearful irruption of barbarians. The Gallic chiefs had taken from their temples the gold-embroidered standards, called the *immorables*; and had sworn a solemn oath, which they likewise administered to their followers, that they would not unbuckle their baldrics until they had scaled the Capitol. In their march they swept off every thing, as well cattle as even the very furniture of the houses, and they drove the husbandmen before them, chained together, at the tail of the whip. The whole population of central and southern Italy rose as one man, to arrest such a scourge; and seven hundred and seventy thousand soldiers* held themselves ready, should it be needful, to follow the Roman eagles.

Of three Roman armies, one was to guard the passes of the Apennines leading into Etruria; but the Gauls were already in its heart, and only three days' journey from Rome. Fearful of being hemmed in between the two, the barbarians retraced their steps, slew six thousand of the pursuing army, and would have utterly destroyed it had not the second army come up. They then drew off to secure their booty, and had fallen back as far as cape Telamon, when, by a surprising chance, the third army, which was on its return from Sardinia, landed close to the camp of the Gauls, who then finding themselves between the

enemy, at once faced both ways. The Gesates, in bravado, threw off their clothes, and posted themselves naked in the first rank, shield and spear in hand. For a moment, the Romans were intimidated by the strange spectacle, and by the tumultuous array of the barbarian army. "Besides innumerable horns and trumpets which they sounded incessantly, such a din of shouting suddenly arose, that not only men and instruments, but the very earth and surrounding places seemed emulously to join in the loud outcry. There was, too, something terrible in the looks and gestures of those giant frames which appeared in the foremost ranks,—naked but for their arms, and not one of which that was not tricked out in chains, collars, and bracelets of gold."† The inferiority of the weapons of the Gauls gave the Romans the advantage. The Gallic sabre only served for cutting, and was so badly tempered as to bend at the first blow*.

This victory being followed by the submission of the Boii, the legions passed the Po for the first time, and entered the territory of the Insulures, where the fiery Flaminius would have perished, had he not wiled the barbarians into a negotiation until he was reinforced. Being recalled by the senate, with whom he was no favourite, and who pronounced his nomination illegal, he resolved to conquer or die, broke the bridge behind him, and gained a signal victory; after which he opened the letters wherein the senate warned him that his defeat was foredoomed by the gods.

He was succeeded by Marcellus, a valiant soldier, who slew in single combat the brenn Viridumar, and consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius the second *spolia opima* (since Romulus). The Insulures were completely subdued (B.C. 222); and the dominion of Rome was extended over the whole of Italy as far as the Alps.

Whilst Rome is believing the Gauls prostrate under her foot, Hannibal arrives and raises them up. The wily Carthaginian turns them to good account. He places them in the van, and compels them to pass the Tuscan marshes; the Numidians forcing them on from behind with their swords‡. They do not fight the worse for this at Thrasymene or at Cannæ. Hannibal wins those great battles with Gallic blood‡. The one time that he is without them, being cut off from them in the south of Italy, he cannot stir a step. So full of life was this Italian Gaul, that after Hannibal's reverses it is up and doing under Hasdrubal, Mago, and under Hamilcar. It took thirty years' warfare (B.C. 201—170), and the treachery of the Cenomani, to consummate the ruin of the Boii and Insulures; and, at the last, the Boii rather emigrated than submitted. The remains of their hundred and twelve tribes rose in a body, and removed to the banks of the Danube, at its confluence with the Save. Rome solemnly declared that Italy was closed to the Gauls. This last dreadful struggle occurred whilst Rome was warring with Philip and Antiochus, and the Greeks flattered themselves that they were the chief thought of Rome, unconscious that it was the least part of her forces she

* See the passage of Polybius in the fifth book of my History of Rome.

* Polyb. l. ii.—Am. Thierry, t. i. p. 244.

† See my History of Rome, beginning of the second volume.

‡ Ibid.

employed against them. Two legions were enough for the discomfiture of Philip and Antiochus; whilst for many years in succession both consuls were despatched, with two consular armies, against the obscure hordes of the Boii and Insubres. Rome had to stiffen her sinews against Gaul and Spain. A touch of her finger sufficed for the overthrow of the successors of Alexander.

Before quitting Asia, she struck down the only people capable of renewing the war there against her. The Galatæ, who had been settled for a century in Phrygia, had enriched themselves by levying tribute on all the neighbouring tribes, and had amassed the spoils of Asia Minor in their haunts on Mount Olympus. One fact will characterise the wealth and pomp of these barbarians. Public notice was given by one of their chiefs or tetrarchs that he would keep open table for any comer for a year round; and not only did he feast the crowd which flocked from the adjoining towns and districts, but he had travellers stopped and detained to partake of his hospitality.

Although the majority of the Galatæ had refused Antiochus their assistance, the prætor Manlius attacked their three tribes, (the Trocmi, Tolistochoi, and Tectosagi), and forced them in their mountains, by attacking them with missile weapons to which the Gauls, accustomed to fight with sabre and lance, could only oppose stones. Manlius compelled them to resign the lands which they had wrested from the allies of Rome, constrained them to renounce their life of pillage, and made them contract an alliance with Eumenes, to act as a check upon them. (n. c. 189—188.)

POLITICAL STATE OF GAUL.
(B. C. 155.)

The Romans were not contented with subduing the Gauls in their Italian and Asiatic colonies, without penetrating into Gaul, that focus of barbaric invasions. Their allies, the Greeks of Marseilles, always at war with the neighbouring Gauls and Ligurians, were the first to summon them thither. It was essential for Rome to be mistress of the western pass into Italy, which, on the side of the sea, was occupied by the Ligurians. Attacking the tribes of whom Marseilles complained, then those of whom she did not complain*, Rome gave the land to the Massilians, and kept the military posts; amongst others that of Aix, where Sextius founded the colony of Aquæ Sextiæ. Thence she turned her eyes towards Gaul.

Two vast confederations divided the land; on the one hand, the Ædui, a people whom we shall hereafter see united in strictest bonds with the tribes of the Carnuti, the Parisii, the Senones, &c.; on the other, the Arverni and Allobroges. The former appear to be the lowlanders, the Cymry, living under a hierarchy, the party of civilization; the latter, mountaineers of Auvergne and of the Alps, are the ancient Gauls, formerly forced into the mountains by the Cymric invasion, but restored to their preponderance by their very barbarism and attachment to a clannish life.

The clans of Auvergne were at this time united under a chief or king named Bituit. These moun-

taineers believed themselves invincible. Bituit sent a solemn embassy to the Roman generals, to claim the liberation of one of their chiefs who had been taken prisoner; and, as part of the train, there came with it his royal kennel, consisting of enormous bull-dogs, brought at great expense from Belgium and Britain. The ambassador, superbly attired, was surrounded by a troop of young horsemen, flaunting in gold and purple; and at his side was a bard, *rotte* in hand, who chanted at intervals the glory of the king, that of the Arverni, and the exploits of the ambassador†.

The Ædui saw with pleasure the Roman invasion. The Massilians offered their mediation, and obtained for them the title of *allies and friends of the Roman people*. Marsilles had introduced the Romans into the south of Gaul; the Ædui opened Celtic or Central Gaul to them, as, at a later period, the Remi did Belgic Gaul.

The enemies of Rome hurried with Gallie precipitation to meet the invader, and were conquered in detail on the banks of the Rhône. Bituit's silver car and kennel of fighting dogs stood him in little stead. Yet the Arverni alone were two hundred thousand in number; but they were daunted by the elephants of the Romans. Before the battle, Bituit, on seeing the smallness of the Roman army, in close legionary column, had exclaimed, "There are not enough there to serve my dogs for one meal‡."

Rome laid her hand on the Allobroges, and declared them her subjects; thus securing the gate of the Alps. The proconsul Domitius restored the Phœnician high-road, and named it after himself (*Via Domitia*). Succeeding consuls had only to push on towards the west, between Marsilles and the Arverni. (B. C. 120—118.) They made their way towards the Pyrenees, and founded, almost on the threshold of Spain, a powerful colony, *Narbo Martius* (Narbonne). This was the second Roman colony out of Italy; the first had been sent to Carthage. Joined to the sea by works of immense labour, it had, in imitation of the metropolis, its capitol, its senate, its baths, and amphitheatre. It was the Gallie Rome, and the rival of Marseilles. The Romans were desirous that their influence in Gaul should no longer depend on their ancient ally.

They were peaceably establishing themselves in these countries, when an unforeseen event, immense and appalling as a second deluge, nearly swept away all, with Italy herself. That barbarian world which Rome had with such rude hand pent up in the north—existed nevertheless. Those Cymry, whom she had exterminated at Bologna and Sinigaglia, had brothers in Germany. Gauls and Germans, Cymry and Teutons, flying, it is said, before an overflow of the Baltic, turned their steps southwards. (B. C. 113—101.) They had ravaged all Illyria, defeated at the gates of Italy a Roman general who had wished to bar their entrance into Noricum, and had turned the Alps by making through Helvetia, whose principal people, Uobrians or Ambrons, Tigurini (Zurich) and Tug-

* Am. Thierry, ii. 169. Appian. Fulv. Ursin.

† Paul. Oros. l. v. Fabius . . . adeo cum parvo exercitu occurrit, ut Bituitus paucitatem Romanorum vix ad escam canibus, quos in agmine habebat, sufficere posse jactaret.

* See Am. Thierry, ii. 164.—Tit Liv. Epitom. l. ix.—Florus, l. iii. c. 2.

heni (Zug) swelled their horde. The whole mass, numbering three hundred thousand fighting men, penetrated into Gaul, their families—old men, women, and children, followed in waggons. In the north of Gaul they recognised some ancient Cimbric tribes, and left, it is said, part of their booty in their charge. But, as they passed, they laid waste, burned, and created a famine in Central Gaul. To give the torrent way, the rural population betook themselves to the towns, and were reduced to such extremity of starvation as to be compelled to eat human flesh*. Arrived on the banks of the Rhône, the barbarians learnt that the opposite side of the river was still the Roman empire, whose frontiers they had already met with in Illyria, in Thrace, and Macedonia. Struck with superstitious respect by the immensity of the great empire of the south, they said to the governor of the Province, M. Silanus, with the confiding simplicity of the German race, "that if Rome gave them lands, they would willingly fight for her." Silanus laughingly replied that Rome wanted not their services; crossed the Rhône, and was defeated. P. Cassius, the consul, who then came to the defence of the Province, was slain, Scaurus, his lieutenant, taken, and his army sent under the yoke by the Helvetii, not far from the lake of Geneva. The barbarians, emboldened, were for crossing the Alps; and their only doubt was, whether they should exterminate the Romans or reduce them to slavery. In the heat of their noisy debate, they thought of questioning their prisoner Scaurus; but maddened by his bold replies, one of them ran his sword through his body. Nevertheless, reflection followed; and they deferred crossing the Alps. It may be, the words of Scaurus were the salvation of Italy.

The Gallic Tectosagi, of Tolosa (Toulouse), descended from the same fathers as the Cimbrs, summoned them to their aid against the Romans, whose yoke they had thrown off. The Cimbrs came up too late. The consul, C. Servilius Cæpio, stormed the town, and sacked it. What with the gold and silver formerly carried off by the Tectosagi from the pillage of Delphi, the riches of the Pyrenean mines, and the wealth which was nailed up in one of its temples, or thrown into a neighbouring lake in votive offering by the Gauls, Tolosa was the richest city of Gaul. Cæpio collected, it is said, a hundred and ten thousand pounds weight of gold, and fifteen hundred thousand of silver. He ordered this treasure to Marseilles; but had it waylaid and carried off by creatures of his own, who murdered its escort. All who touched this fatal prey died a miserable death, and hence the saying—"He has Tolosan gold," to express the victim of an implacable fatality.

Forthwith, Cæpio, through jealousy of a colleague, his inferior in birth, chooses to encamp and fight apart, and insults the deputies sent by the barbarians to the other consul. Boiling with rage, they solemnly vow to the gods whatsoever shall fall into their hands. Out of eighty thousand soldiers and forty thousand slaves or camp followers, only ten men are said to have escaped; of

these, Cæpio was one. The barbarians religiously kept their oath. They slew every living being they found in either camp, collected the arms, and threw gold, silver, and even the horses, into the Rhône*.

CIMBRIC CAMPAIGN OF MARIUS. (B.C. 102—101.)

This victory, as terrible as that of Cannæ, placed Italy within their grasp. The fortune of Rome stayed them in the Province, and directed them towards the Pyrenees. Thence, the Cimbrs dispersed themselves over Spain—the other barbarians waiting for them in Gaul.

Whilst thus losing their time and wearing themselves out in contending with the mountains and the obstinate courage of the Celtiberi, Rome, in her alarm, had recalled Marius from Africa. The man of Arpinum alone, in whom all the Italians recognised one of themselves, could reassure Italy and arm it to a man against the barbarians. This hardy soldier, almost as terrible to his own countrymen as to the enemy, and savage as the Cimbrs whom he was about to oppose, was to Rome a saving god. For the four years that the barbarians were looked for, neither the people, nor even the senate, could make up their minds to nominate any other than Marius, consul. No sooner did he reach the Province, than he set about hardening the soldiers by making them undertake works of prodigious labour. He caused them to excavate the *Fossa Mariana*, which facilitated his communications with the sea, and enabled ships to avoid the mouth of the Rhone and its sand bars. At the same time he overpowered the Tectosages, and secured the fidelity of the province before the barbarians put themselves in motion.

At length, the latter turned towards Italy; the only country of the west, which had yet escaped their ravages. They were forced to separate by the difficulty of finding food for so large a multitude. The Cimbrs and Tigurini took the road through Helvetia and Noricum. A shorter road was to lead the Ambrons and Teutons over the bodies of Marius' legions, across the Maritime Alps, right into Italy; and they were to rejoin the Cimbrs on the banks of the Po.

Secure in the intrenched camp, from which he watched them—at first near Arles, then under the walls of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), Marius persisted in declining battle. He wished to accustom his soldiers to the sight of these barbarians, with their enormous stature, savage looks, and strange arms and garments. Their king, Teutobochus, could vault over four or even six horses, placed side by side; when led in triumph at Rome, he was taller than the trophies. Defiling before the intrenchments, the barbarians defied the Romans with a thousand insults—"Have you no message for your wives," they cried, "we shall soon be with them." One day, one of these giants of the North came up to the very gates of the camp, to challenge Marius. The general returned him for answer, that if he was weary of life, he could go and hang himself; the

* Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. vii. c. 77. In oppida compulsi, ac inopii subacti, eorum corporibus, qui ætate inutilis ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt.

* Paul. Oros. l. v. c. 16. Aurum argentumque in flumen abjectum . . . equi ipsi gurgitibus immersi.

† Florus, l. iii. Rex Teutobochus, quaternos senosque equos transilire solitus.

Goth insisting, he sent out a gladiator to him. Thus he diverted the impatience of his men; whilst he had information of what passed in the hostile camp through the young Sertorius, who spoke their tongue, and mingled with them under favour of a Gallic dress.

To inspire his soldiers with more eager desire for battle, Marius had pitched his camp upon a hill where there was no water, but which overlooked a river, "You are men," he said to them, "you can have water for blood." A skirmish soon took place on the banks of the river. The Ambrons alone were engaged in this first trial of strength, and the Romans were at first discouraged by their war-cry of "*Ambrons, Ambrons*," which, shouted in their bucklers, sounded like the roaring of wild beasts; nevertheless, the Romans came off victorious. However, they were repulsed from the enemy's camp by the women of the Ambrons, who, arming themselves in defence of their freedom and their children, struck from the top of their waggons without distinction of friends or enemies. The whole night long the barbarians bewailed their dead with savage howls, that repeated by the echoes of the mountains and of the river struck terror even into the breasts of the victors. Two days afterwards, Marius drew on a second engagement by means of his cavalry. The Ambro-Teutons, carried away by their courage, crossed the river, and were overwhelmed in its bed. A body of three thousand Romans took them in the rear, and decided the fate of the day. According to the most moderate computation, a hundred thousand of the barbarians were killed or taken. The valley, enriched by their blood, became celebrated for its fertility. The inhabitants of the district used nothing else than the bones of the slain to enclose and prop their vines; and the name given to the plain of *Campi putridi* (the putrid fields) is still recalled by that of the village of *Pourrières*. As for the booty, the army resigned it wholly to Marius, who, after a solemn sacrifice, burnt it in honour of the gods. A pyramid was raised to Marius, a temple to Victory; and an annual procession to the church of St. Victoire, built on the site of the temple, subsisted uninterruptedly down to the period of the French Revolution. The pyramid remained to the fifteenth century, and Pourrières took as its arms the triumph of Marius, as represented on one of the bas-reliefs with which it was adorned*.

Meanwhile, the Cimbri had crossed the Noric Alps, and descended into the valley of the Adige. The soldiers of Catulus beheld them with terror, sporting, half-naked, among the snow-wreaths and ice, and sliding on their bucklers from the tops of the Alps over the precipices†. Catulus, a mere disciplinarian, thought himself safe behind the Adige, and under the cover of a small fort, which he imagined the barbarians would waste their time in forcing. They threw in rocks, laid a whole forest upon them, and crossed. The Romans fled; and did not stop till they were covered by the Po. The Cimbri thought not of pursuing them. Whilst

waiting the arrival of the Teutons, they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of the Italian soil and sky, and suffered themselves to be conquered by the sweets of the soft and beautiful country. The wine, the bread,—all was new to these barbarians*, who melted before the southern sun, and the still more enervating influence of civilization.

Marius had time to join his colleague. He gave audience to the deputies of the Cimbri, whose object was delay—"Give us," they said, "*lands for ourselves, and for our brothers, the Teutons*."—"Trouble not yourselves about them," answered Marius, "*they have lands: which we have given them, and which they will keep for ever*." And, as the Cimbri threatened him with the arrival of the Teutons—"They are here," he said, "*it were not kind should you part without saluting them*," and he ordered the captives to be produced. When the Cimbri asked him the place and day that he would meet them "*to decide whose should be Italy*," he appointed the third day from that, and a plain near Verceil.

DESTRUCTION OF THE CIMBRI.—JOY OF ROME.

Marius had so posted himself that the enemy had the wind, dust, and scorching rays of a July sun directly in their faces. The Cimbri had formed their infantry in an enormous square, the front ranks of which were serried together with chains of iron. Their cavalry, fifteen thousand strong, was terrible to behold, with their casques crowned with the muzzles of wild beasts, and their crests—the wings of birds†. The ground occupied by the barbarian camp and army was a league long. As the battle began, the wing in which Marius was, fancying the enemy's cavalry had taken flight, spurred on in pursuit, and lost itself in the dust; whilst the enemy's infantry, like the waves of a vast ocean, rolled on and was broken on the centre,—where Catulus and Sylla commanded; and then all was an indistinguishable mass of dust. To the dust and the sun belonged the principal honour of the victory‡.

The barbarian camp with the women and children, was the next object. These, clad in the weeds of woe, sought a promise that their persons should be respected; and that they should live—slaves to the Roman priestesses of fire§. (The Germans worshipped the elements.) Their prayer rejected, they wrought their own deliverance. Marriage with these people was a serious thing. Their symbolical nuptial presents—the yoked oxen, the arms, the charger, sufficiently signified to the virgin that she had become the companion of her husband's dangers,—that the same fate awaited them in life as in death (*sic vivendum, sic pereundum*. Tacit.). It was to his wife that the warrior

* Ibid. In Venetiâ, quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsâ soli colique clementia robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis usu carni quæ coctæ et dulcæ vine inuitigatos, &c.

† Plutarch, in Mar. c. 37. Θηρίων φοβερὺν χρίσμασι . . . λόφοις περρωτοῖς.

‡ Florus, l. iii.—Plutarch, in Mar. c. 27. Κοινοῦτό τὸ ἄρβυλον ἀπ' αὐτῶν . . . συναγνίσασθαι τοῖς ὤρμασι τὸ κατὰ και τὸν ἥλιον.

§ Paul. Oros. l. v. c. 16. Consuluerunt consulem, ut si inviolatâ castitate virginibus sacris ac diis servandû esset, vitam sibi reservarent.—Florus, l. iii. c. 3. Quum missâ ad Marium legatione, libertatem ac sacerdotium non impetrassent.

* Am. Thierry, Hist. des Gaul. vol. ii. p. 226.

† Florus, l. iii. c. 3. Hi jam (quis crederet?) per hiemem, quæ æquas Alpes levat, Tidentium jugis in Italiam provali ruinâ descenderant.—Plutarch, in Mar. c. 23. Τοὺς θέρους πλατείᾳ ὑποστάντες τοῖς αἰμασίν.

brought his wounds after battle (*ad matres et conjuges vulnera referunt, nec aut illæ numerare aut exigere plagas parent*). She counted and sounded them without a tremor; for death was not to separate them. So, in the Scandinavian poems, Brunhild burns herself on the body of Siegfried. The first act of the wives of the Cimbri was to set their children at liberty by death; they strangled them, or cast them under the wheels of their waggons. They then hanged themselves; fastening themselves by a running knot to the horns of their oxen, and goading them on so as to ensure their being trampled to pieces. Their dead bodies were defended by the dogs of the horde, which it was found necessary to destroy with arrows*.

So vanished that terrible spectre of the North, which had filled Italy with such alarm. The word *Cymbrie* abided as a synonyme of *strong and terrible*. Rome, however, was unconscious of the heroic genius of these nations, which were one day to destroy her; she believed in her own eternity. All of the Cimbri who could be taken prisoners were distributed among the towns as public slaves, or devoted to gladiatorial uses.

Marius had the figure of a Gaul, thrusting out his tongue,—a popular device at Rome from the days of Torquatus,—carved on his buckler. He was hailed by the people as the third founder of Rome, after Romulus and Camillus; and they poured out libations in the name of Marius, as they were wont to do in honour of Bacchus or of Jupiter. He himself, intoxicated with his triumph over the barbarians of the North and of the South, over Germany and the *African Indies*, would drink thenceforward out of that two-handled cup alone, from which, according to tradition, Bacchus had drunk after his conquest of India†.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF GAUL THE CENTURY BEFORE ITS CONQUEST.—
DRUIDISM.—CONQUEST BY CÆSAR.

THE great event of the Cymbric invasion exercised only a very indirect influence on the destinies of Gaul, which was its principal theatre. The Teutonic Cymry were too barbarous to incorporate themselves with the Gallic tribes, already reclaimed by Druidism from their primitive rudeness‡. Let us take a closer glance at this religion of the Druids, which began the moral culture of Gaul, facilitated the Roman invasion, and cleared the way for Christianity. It must

* Plin. l. viii. c. 40. Canes defendere, Cimbria cæsis, domus eorum plaustriis imponetas.

† Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 15. ex. 7. Galluat, Bell. Jug. ad calc. "From that time he was considered the hope and strength of the state."—Vgll. Patere. l. ii. c. 12. "Such a victory should have hindered his country from wishing that he had never been born."—Florus, l. iii. c. 3. "The Roman people received the news of the preservation of Italy, and rescue of the empire, as if at the hands of the gods."—Plut. in Mario, p. 421.

‡ The following account of the religion of the Gauls is wholly borrowed from the excellent work of Am. Thierry.

have attained its full development and complete maturity in the century preceding the conquest of Cæsar; or may, perhaps, have touched its decline; at least, the political influence of the Druids had diminished.

The Gauls seem at first to have worshipped material objects, the phenomena and agents of nature; lakes, fountains, stones, trees, winds, and, specially, the terrible *Kirk**. In time, this rude worship was elevated, and generalised. These beings, these phenomena, had their respective genius assigned them; and so had places and tribes. Hence, the thunder-spirit, *Taran*†; *Vosegus*, the apotheosis of the Vosges; *Penninus*, of the Alps; *Arduinna*, of Ardennes; hence, the *Genius of the Arverni*; *Bibracte*, the goddess and city of the Edui; *Aventia*, among the Helvetii; *Nemausus* (Nismes) among the Arecomici, &c.

By a step further in abstraction, the general powers of nature, and those of the human soul and of society were likewise deified. *Taran* became the god of heaven,—the ruler and arbiter of the world. The sun, under the name of *Bel* or *Belen*, called into existence healing plants, and presided over medicine; *Ileus* or *Hesus*, over war‡; *Teutates*, over trade and commerce. Even eloquence and poetry had their symbol in *Ogmios*§, armed like Hercules with mace and bow, and drawing after him men fastened by the ear to gold and amber chains which issued from his mouth.

The analogy of the foregoing with the Olympus of the Greeks and Romans|| is evident. The resemblance became identity when Gaul, subdued by Rome, had undergone but for a few years only the influence of Roman ideas. For then, the Gallic polytheism, honoured and favoured by the emperors, was finally fused in that of Italy; whilst Druidism, its mysteries, doctrine, and priesthood, were proscribed with the utmost severity.

RELIGION OF THE GAULS.—DRUIDISM.

The Druids taught that matter and spirit are eternal; that the substance of the universe subsists

* Maxim. Tyr. Serm. 18.—Senec. Quæst. Nat. l. v. c. 17.—Posidon. ap. Strab. l. iv.—P. Oros. l. v. c. 16. Greg. Turon. de Glor. Confess. c. 5.

† TARANIS, Lucan. l. i.—VOSEGUS, Inscript. Grut. p. 94.—ARDOINNA, Inscript. Grut.—GENIO ARVERNORUM, Reines. append. 5.—BIBRACTE, Inscr. ap. Ser. Rer. Fr. l. 24.—NEMAUSUS, Grut. p. 111. Spon. p. 169.—AVENTIA, Grut. p. 110.—BELENUS, Auson. Carm. ii. Tertull. Apolog. c. 24.

‡ In a bas-relief found at Paris under the church of Notre Dame, in 1711, Hesus is represented crowned with leaves, half-naked, an axe in his hand, and with his left knee resting on a tree that he is cutting down.

§ The sacred characters of the Irish were called *Ogham*.—See Toland, O'Halloran, Vallancey, and Beaufort, in the Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, &c.

(The Ogham characters were represented by twigs of various kinds, and the figures resembled those called *Runic*.—Lucian gives a minute account of the Gallic Hercules, whose attributes, he states, were thus explained to him by a Druid: "We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greeks, that Mercury is speech or eloquence, but we attribute it to Hercules, because he is so far superior in strength. . . . We think his arrows were keen reasons, penetrating the souls of men: whence, among yourselves, is the expression, 'winged words.'")—TRANSLATOR.

|| Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 17.

unaltered through the perpetual variation of phenomena; that these are under the alternate influence of fire and water *; and, finally, the doctrine of the metempsychosis †, with which was connected the moral idea of rewards and punishment. They taught that the transmigration of the human soul into animals inferior to man, was a state of trial and of chastisement; and even proclaimed *another world* ‡,—a world of happiness, where the soul preserved its identity, its passions, and its habits. At funerals, letters were burnt, which the dead were to read, or to deliver, to those who had gone before them §; and, often, money was lent, on condition of repayment in the other world ||.

The combination of these two notions of the metempsychosis and of another life, formed the basis of the system of the Druids. But their knowledge did not end here; they were metaphysicians, natural philosophers, physicians, and above all, astronomers ¶ as well. Their year was composed of lunations, whence the assertion of the Romans that the Gauls measured time by nights and not by days; a custom which they accounted for from the infernal origin of that people, and their descent from Pluto **. The medicine of the Druids was wholly founded on magic. The Samolus (marshwort, or fen berry) was to be gathered fasting, and with the left hand, was to be torn up without looking at it, and so thrown into the watering-places of the cattle; against whose diseases it was a preservative ††. The gathering of the selago (hedge-hyssop) required preparation by ablations, and an offering of bread and wine; the gatherer went to seek it bare-footed, and arrayed in white; as soon as he desisted the plant he stooped as if accidentally, and slipping his right hand under his left arm, plucked it without ever using the knife, and then wrapped it in a napkin, which was to be used but once ‡‡. There was a distinct ceremonial for the gathering of vervain. But the universal remedy, the panacea, as the Druids called it §§, was the famous *mistletoe*, which they believed to be sown on the oak by a Divine hand; and they saw in the union of their sacred tree, with the lasting verdure of the parasitic plant, a living symbol of the doctrine of immortality. It was gathered in winter, just as it flowers, when the plant is most readily distinguishable, and when its long green branches and leaves, and yellow tufts of flowers, present the

only image of life to be seen where all nature around is dead and sterile *.

The mistletoe was to be cut when the moon was six days' old. It was gathered by a druid in white robes, who mounted the tree, and, with a golden sickle, severed the root of the plant, which was caught by his fellow-Druids in a white cloak, for it was essential that it should not touch the ground †. Two white bulls were then sacrificed, which had never borne the yoke.

The Druids foretold the future by the flight of birds, and inspection of the entrails of the beasts sacrificed. They also manufactured talismans; such as the amber beads, worn by the warriors in battle, and which are often met with in their tombs. But the choicest talisman was the *serpent's egg* ‡. Their notions respecting the egg and serpent, call to mind the cosmogonic egg of oriental mythology, as well as the metempsychosis and the eternal renovation of which the serpent was the emblem.

Female magicians, and prophetesses, were affiliated to the Druidical order, but without partaking its prerogatives. Their rule of life imposed on them fantastical and contradictory laws. One order of priestesses could unveil the future only to their polluters; another was devoted to perpetual virginity; a third, although permitted to marry, was enjoined long periods of celibacy. Sometimes, these females had to assist at nocturnal sacrifices, with their naked bodies dyed black, their hair dishevelled, and abandoning themselves to transports of frenzy §. The greater number of them dwelt on the wild reefs, which are scattered throughout the Armorican Archipelago. At Sena (Sein) was the celebrated oracle of the nine terrible virgins, called *Senes*, from the name of their island ||. The privilege of consulting them was confined to seamen; and even they must have made the voyage for the express purpose ¶. These virgins knew the future; cured incurable ailments; predicted and raised tempests.

The priestesses of Nannetes inhabited an island at the mouth of the Loire. Although married, man was forbidden to approach their dwelling. At certain prescribed periods, they visited their husbands on the continent; when, leaving their island

* Cæsar, l. vi. c. 14. Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 306. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9.

† Strabon, l. iv. p. 197. Ἀφάρτους λέγουσι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κορμὸν ἐκπαρτίζουσιν ὅς ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.—Cæsar, l. vi. c. 14. Mela, l. iii. c. 2. Amm. Marc. l. xv. c. 9. Val. Max. l. ii.

‡ Lucan, l. i. Mela, l. iii. c. 2. In the Appendix will be found some particulars respecting the religious traditions of the Welsh and Irish. Recent as these traditions may appear, they yet bear a profoundly indigenous character. The myth of the beaver and of the lake has every appearance of having originated at a period when our western countries were still covered with forests and marshes.

§ Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 306.

¶ Mela, l. iii. c. 2. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9.

‡ Cæsar, l. vi. c. 13. Mela, l. iii. c. 2. Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

* Cæsar, l. vi. c. 18.

† Plin. l. xxiv. c. 11.

‡ Ibid.

§§ *Omnia sanantem* appellantes. Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

* Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.—Virg. Æn. l. vi.

† Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

‡ Plin. l. xxix. c. 44. This pretended egg seems to have been nothing more than an echinite, or petrified sea-urchin.

In summer time, says Pliny, vast numbers of serpents frequent certain caverns of Gaul, where they blend and twine together, and with their saliva, combined with the froth that oozes out of their skin, produce this kind of egg. When it is perfect, they raise it and support it in the air by their hissings. This is the moment to seize it. Some one, placed in watch for the purpose, darts out, catches the egg in a napkin, leaps on a horse which is in readiness, and gallops off at full speed to escape the serpents, who follow him until he puts a river between them. The egg was to be borne away at a certain period of the moon. It was tried by plunging it into water. If it swam, although encircled by a ring of gold, it empowered its possessor to gain law-suits, and secured him a free access to kings. The Druids wore it, richly enchased, on their necks, and sold it at extravagant prices.

§ Plin. l. xxii. c. 2. Tacit. Annal. l. xiv.

¶ Galli *Senas* vocant. Mela, l. iii. c. 5.

‡ Ibid.

at night-fall, in small boats which they managed themselves, they passed the night in huts prepared for their reception. As soon as day broke, tearing themselves from the arms of their husbands, they hurried to their skiffs, and rowed back to their solitudes*. It was their banded task every year, crowned with ivy and green garlands, to pull down and rebuild the roof of their temple, in the space between sunset and sunset; when, if one of them chanced to let any of the sacred material fall on the ground, she was lost—her companions rushed upon her with fearful cries, tore her in pieces, and scattered her mangled body to the winds†. The Greeks conceived that they recognized in these rites the worship of Bacchus; and they also likened to the orgies of Samothrace, other Druidical orgies celebrated in an island off the coast of Brittany‡, whence the sailor heard with fear on the open sea furious cries, and the clashing of barbarian cymbals.

DISCIPLINE AND HIERARCHY OF THE DRUIDS.

If the religion of the Druids did not institute it at least adopted and kept up the practice of human sacrifice. The priests plunged their knives above the diaphragm of the victim, and drew their prognostics from the position in which he fell, the convulsions of his limbs, the abundance and colour of his blood. At times they crucified him on stakes within the temples, or shot him to death with darts and arrows§. Frequently they reared a colossus of wicker-work or hay, and, having filled it with living human victims, a priest threw into it a lighted torch, and the whole soon disappeared in eddies of fire and smoke||. Undoubtedly, these horrible offerings were often redeemed by votive gifts, by casting ingots of gold and silver into the lakes, or nailing them up in the temples¶.

A word as to the hierarchy. It comprised three distinct orders. The lowest order was that of the bards, who handed down orally the genealogies of the clans, and sang upon the *rotte* the exploits of the chiefs and the national traditions. Next came the priesthood, properly so called, consisting of the *Ovates* (or *Eubages*), and *Druids*. The *Ovates* had the charge of the ceremonials of worship, and celebrated the sacrifices. To them belonged especially the application of the natural sciences to religion, astronomy, divination, &c. Interpreters of the Druids, no civil or religious act was complete without their ministration**.

The Druids (*men of the oaks* ††) were the crowning order of the hierarchy. In them dwelt power and knowledge. Theology, morals, all the higher acquisitions, were their privilege‡‡. They were elective. Initiation into the order, which was accompanied by severe trials, sometimes lasted twenty years; for they had to commit to memory

all priestly lore, nothing being entrusted to writing, at least until the period that they became acquainted with the Greek characters*.

A solemn assembly of the Druids was held once a year in the territory of the Carnuti, in a sacred spot which was deemed the centre of all Gaul; and to this the people flocked from the most distant provinces. The Druids then left their solitudes, and gave judgment, seated in the midst of the multitude. Here, undoubtedly, was chosen the Arch-druid; whose office was to preserve the institution in its integrity; and his election, not unfrequently, gave rise to civil wars.

Now, even had Druidism not been weakened by these divisions, the solitary life to which most members of the order seem to have been vowed, must have rendered it incapable of any vigorous action on the people. The case was different from that of Egypt, where the population was massed on a narrow base. The Gauls were dispersed over the forests and marshes of their wild country, and were exposed to the hazards of a barbarous and warlike life. Druidism had no firm hold on so scattered and isolated a people; and they early escaped its grasp.

Thus Gaul, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, seems to have been utterly powerless to organize itself. The old spirit of clanish and warlike feeling of independence which Druidism should have repressed, had gained new vigour; though inequality of strength, indeed, had established a sort of hierarchy among the tribes, some of which were clients of the others, as the Carnuti of the Remi, the Senones of the Ædui, &c. (Now, Chartres, Reims, Sens, Autun.)

Cities had been formed; places of refuge, as it were, in the midst of this life of war. But the tillers of the ground were wholly serfs; so that Cæsar might well say, "There are only two orders in Gaul, the Druids and the Knights (*equites*)."[†] The Druids were the weakest. It was a Druid of the Ædui who called in the Romans.

GALLIC CAMPAIGNS OF CÆSAR. (B. C. 58—49.)

I have elsewhere spoken of Cæsar, and of the motives which decided that marvellous man to abandon Rome so long for Gaul, and exile himself that he might return master. Italy was exhausted; Spain untameable; Gaul was essential to the subjugation of the world. Fain would I have seen that fair and pale countenance‡, prematurely aged

* Cæsar, l. vi. c. 14.

† On the changes that occurred in the Roman province, in the interval between Marius and Cæsar, consult Am. Thierry. Great part of Aquitaine followed the example of Spain, and declared for Sertorius; and from Gaul Lepidus invaded Italy. But Sylla's party gained the day. Aquitaine was reduced by Pompey, who founded military colonies at Toulouse, at Biterre (Beziers), and at Narbonne (p. c. 75), and collected all the Celts who infested the Pyrenees into his new town of *Conceva* (a word signifying an assemblage of men from all quarters), now St. Bertrand de Comminges. The chief agent of the violence of Sylla's party in Gaul had been one Fonteius, whom Cicero managed to get acquitted. (See Orat. pro Fonteio.) The sufferings of Roman Gaul nearly drove the ambassadors of the Allobroges into Catiline's conspiracy. See my History of Rome.

‡ Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 45. *Puisse traditur colore candido.*

* Strabo, l. iv. p. 198.

† Ibid.—Dionys. Perieg. v. 565, et seqq.

‡ Fest. Avien. peripl. Dionys. Perieg.—Strabo, l. iv. p. 198.

§ Strabo, *ibid.*—Diod. l. v. p. 308.

|| Cæsar, l. vi. c. 16. Strabo, l. iv. p. 198.

¶ So at Toulouse. See p. 8.

** *Ὁδὸν τεσσάρων καὶ πεντηκοντίων.* Strabo, l. iv. p. 119.

Diod. l. v. p. 308. Amm. Marc. l. xv. c. 9.

†† *Dew* (Cymric), *Dew* (Armorican), *Dair* (Gaelic)—*Oak*.

‡‡ Diod. l. v. p. 308. Strabo, l. iv. p. 197. Amm. Marc. l. xv. c. 9.

by the debaucheries of the capital—fain have seen that delicate and epileptic man*, marching in the rains of Gaul at the head of his legions, and swimming across our rivers; or else, on horseback, between the litters in which his secretaries were carried, dictating even six letters at a time, shaking Rome from the extremity of Belgium, sweeping from his path two millions of men†, and subduing in ten years Gaul, the Rhine, and the ocean of the north. (B.C. 58—49.)

This barbarous and bellicose chaos of Gaul, was a superb material for such a genius. The Gallic tribes were on every side calling in the stranger. Druidism was in its decline. It seems to have prevailed in the two Britannies, and in the basins of the Seine and Loire‡. But in the south the Arverni and all the Iberian settlers of Aquitaine had, for the most part, remained faithful to their hereditary chiefs. In Celtic Gaul even, the Druids had been able to resist the old spirit of clanship only by favouring the establishment of a free population in the towns, whose chiefs or patrons were at least elective, like the Druids. Thus two factions divided the whole of the Gallic states; the hereditary, or that of the chiefs of clans; the elective, or that of the Druids and temporary chiefs of the inhabitants of the towns§. At the head of the latter were the Ædii; the leaders of the first were the Arverni and Sequani; and here began the enmity between Burgundy (the Ædii), and Franche-Comté (the Sequani). The Sequani, oppressed by the Ædii, who blocked up the navigation of the Saône, and interrupted their lucrative traffic in swine||, summoned from Germany tribes to whom Druidism was unknown, and who went under the common name of Suevi. These barbarians asked no better. They crossed the Rhine, led by an Ariovist, defeated the Ædii, and imposed a tribute on them. They treated their invaders, the Sequani, worse; depriving them of the third of their lands, according to the custom of German conquerors, and ill-treating them all the same. Reconciled by misfortune, the Ædii and Sequani then sought the aid of other foreigners. Two brothers were all powerful among the Ædii.

* *ibid.* Comitiali quoque morbo bis inter res gerendas corruptus est.

† Suet. *Plut. passim*. Plin. vii. 23. Eleven hundred and ninety-two thousand men before the civil wars. The same writer, speaking of Cæsar, says, "His genius could grasp every subject, even the sublimest, and its quickness was like fire—he could dictate four letters at a time, on important business, to his secretaries, and, if not occupied with any thing else, as many as seven."

‡ The Carnutes (Chartres), a Druidical tribe, were clients of the Remi (Reims). The Senones (Sens), who had connexions with the Carnutes and Parisii, had been vassals or clients of the Ædii (Autun), as perhaps the Bituriges (Berry) had also been. Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i. vi. c. 4, and *passim*.

§ Cæsar, *l. i. c. 16*. "The *Vergobretus* (Ver-go-breith, Gaelic, 'man for judgment'), who is chosen annually, and has the power of life and death over his countrymen."—*L. vii. c. 33*. "By the laws of the Ædii, their chief magistrates could not leave the country. The law also forbade the choosing two living members of the same family magistrates, or even that two should sit at the same time in the senate."—*L. v. c. 27*. "Their polity was so constituted, that the multitude had not less power over their chief than he over them." And *passim*.

|| *Scribo*, *l. vi. p. 172*. "Hence the Roman market has its finest supply of salted swine."

Dumnorix, enriched by the taxes and tolls, the monopoly of which he had secured either forcibly or in gift, had acquired popularity among the poorer inhabitants of the towns, and aspired to the sovereignty. Leaguering himself with the Helvetian Gauls, he married one of their countrywomen, and enticed that people to leave their sterile valleys for the rich plains of Gaul. The other brother, who was a Druid—a title in all probability identical with that of Divitiacus, which Cæsar gives as his proper name—sought less barbarous liberators for his country. He repaired to Rome, and implored the assistance of the senate*, which had called the Ædii *kindred and friends of the Roman people*. But the chief of the Suevi also appealed to the same quarter, and managed to get himself as well styled the friend of Rome. Influenced, probably, by the impending invasion of the Helvetii, the senate contracted alliance with Ariovistus.

For three years these mountaineers had made preparations which clearly showed that they wished to render return impossible. They had burnt their twelve towns and four hundred villages, and destroyed the moveables and provisions which they could not carry along with them. The rumour ran that they intended to traverse the whole breadth of Gaul, and establish themselves in the west, in the country of the Santones (Saintes). Beyond doubt, they hoped to enjoy a more tranquil life on the shores of the great ocean than in their rude Helvetia, which formed the central battle-field of all the people of the ancient world, Gauls, Cimbri, Teutons, Suevi, and Romans. Including women and children, they numbered three hundred and seventy-eight thousand souls; and it was the difficulty of transporting so vast a multitude, which made them prefer the road through the Roman province. They found the way barred at the very beginning by Cæsar, who was posted near Geneva, and who kept them in play long enough to gain time to throw up between the lake and Mount Jura a wall sixteen feet high, and nearly six miles long. They were thus compelled to plunge into the rugged valleys of the Jura, traverse the country of the Sequani, and to ascend the Saône. Coming up with them as they were crossing this river, Cæsar fell on the Tigurini whilst they were cut off from the main body, and exterminated the whole tribe. His provisions failing, owing to the ill-will of Dumnorix and of the party who had called in the Helvetii, he was constrained to retire on Bibracte (Autun). The Helvetii, constraining this retrograde movement into a flight, pursued him in their turn. Placed thus between enemies and disaffected allies, Cæsar extricated himself from the dilemma by a bloody victory. Once more overtaking the Helvetii, in their flight to the Rhine, he forced them to surrender their arms, and to pledge themselves to return to their own country. Six thousand of them who had fled in the night, in order to escape this disgrace, were brought back by the Roman cavalry, and, to use Cæsar's own language, *treated as enemies*†.

GERMAN MIGRATIONS INTO GAUL.

To have repulsed the Helvetii was nothing if

* Cic. de *Divin.* i.

† Cæsar, *l. i. c. 28*. Cæsar . . . *reductos in hostium numero habuit.*

the Suevi invaded Gaul. Their migrations were constant, and had already carried there a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men. *Gaul was about to become Germany.* Cæsar affected to yield to the prayers of the Ædui and Sequani, oppressed by barbarians. The same Druid who had solicited the assistance of Rome, undertook to explore the road and to guide Cæsar to Ariovistus. The chief of the Suevi, who had obtained the title of ally of the Roman people from Cæsar himself, whilst consul, was amazed at being attacked by him. "This," said the barbarian, "is my Gaul,—my own; you have yours,—if you leave me in peace, you will be the gainers, for I will fight all your wars, without your incurring trouble or risk. Are you ignorant what manner of men the Germans are? It is now more than fourteen years since we have slept under a roof*." These words told but too deeply on the Roman army. All that had been reported of the stature and ferocity of these northern giants terrified the smaller race of the south †; and nothing was to be seen in the camp but men making their wills. Cæsar shamed them by saying, "If you desert me, I shall still go on; the tenth legion is enough for me." Then leading them to Besançon, he masters the city, pushes on to the camp of the barbarians, which was not far from the Rhine, forces them to give battle, although they were desirous of deferring it till the new moon, and destroys them in a desperate engagement, almost all the fugitives perishing in the river.

The Belge, and other Gauls of the north, judging, and not without probability, that if the Romans had expelled the Suevi, it was only to succeed them as masters of the land, formed a vast coalition; of which Cæsar took advantage to enter Belgium. He had with him, as guide and interpreter, the Divitiac of the Ædui ‡ (*Diritiacus*); and was called in by the Senones, ancient vassals of the Ædui, and by the Remi, suzerains of the Druidical territory of the Carnuti §. It is probable that these tribes, devoted to Druidism,—or at least to the popular party,—hailed with pleasure the arrival of the friend of the Druids, and relied on opposing him to the northern Belge, their ferocious neighbours; just as, five centuries afterwards, the Catholic clergy of Gaul favoured the invasion of the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians by the Franks.

A war in the boggy plains and virgin forests of the Seine and the Meuse would have been a sombre and discouraging prospect to any general less daring than Cæsar. Like the conquerors of America, he was often obliged to clear himself a road with

the hatchet, to throw bridges over marshes, and to advance with his legions sometimes on terra firma, sometimes by fording, or by swimming. Besides, the Belge interwove the trees of their forests together, as those of America are naturally interlaced by creeping plants. But, with their superiority of arms, the Pizarros and Cortes waged a certain war; and what were the Peruvians compared with the hardy and choleric Bellovaci and Nervii (Picardy, Hainault, Flanders,) who marched on Cæsar a hundred thousand at a time? Through the mediation of the Divitiac of the Ædui*, the Bellovaci and Suessiones were brought over; but the Nervii, supported by the Atrebatas and Veromandui, surprised the Roman army on its march along the Sambre, in the depth of their forests, and fancied themselves sure of its destruction. Cæsar was obliged to seize a standard and lead his men on; and the gallant Nervii were exterminated. Their allies, the Cimbri, alarmed by the works with which the Roman general was surrounding their town, feigned to surrender, threw down part of their arms from the walls, and then made a sortie with the rest. Cæsar sold fifty-three thousand of them into slavery.

No longer concealing his design of subduing Gaul, he undertook the reduction of all the coast tribes. He penetrated the forests and marshes of the Menapii and Morini (Zealand and Guelders, Ghent, Bruges, Boulogne); whilst one of his lieutenants subdued the Unelli, Eburovices, and Lexovii (Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux); and another, the young Crassus, conquered Aquitaine, although the barbarians, had summoned to their aid from Spain the old brothers-in-arms of Sertorius †. Cæsar himself attacked the Veneti, and other tribes of our Brittany. This amphibious race inhabited neither the land nor the water. Their forts, erected on peninsulas alternately inundated and deserted by the tide, could be besieged neither by the one nor the other. The Veneti maintained a constant communication with the other Britain, and was supplied from it. To reduce them, it was necessary to be master of the sea. Nothing checked Cæsar. He built vessels, formed sailors, and taught them to secure the Breton ships by using grappling irons, and cutting their ropes. He treated hardly this hard people; but the lesser Britain could only be conquered through the greater. Cæsar made up his mind to invade it.

This barbarian world of the west which he had undertaken to tame, was threefold. Gaul lay between Britain and Germany, and was in communication with both. The Cimbri were in all three countries; the Helvii and Boii, in Germany and Gaul; the Parisii and Gallic Atrebatas were found in Britain as well. In the differences which divided Gaul, the Britons seem to have been for

* Cæsar, l. i. c. 36. Quum vellet, congregaretur; intellectum quid invicti Germani, exercitissimi in armis, qui inter annos xiv. tectum non subissent, virtute possent.—Cæsar restores confidence to his soldiers (c. 40.) by reminding them, that in the war with Spartacus, they had already defeated the Germans.

† Cæsar, l. ii. c. 30. At the siege of Genabum, the Gauls observe, "How can men of such pigmy stature hope to raise so heavy a tower?"

‡ It was this Divitiac who had explored the road when Cæsar previously marched against the Suevi. L. i. c. 41.—"The Germans have no Druids," says Cæsar, "neither do they care for sacrifices." L. vi. c. 21. Apparently, they were the protectors of the anti-Druidical party in Gaul.

§ Cæsar, l. ii. c. 3. and the beginning of l. vi.

* We find the Divitiac of the Ædui accompanying the Romans every where, up to the period of the invasion of Britain; a circumstance calculated to induce the belief that Cæsar was about to re-establish in Belgium the influence of the Ædian, that is, of the Druidical and popular party.—L. ii. c. 14. Quod si fecerit, Æduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturam, quorum auxillis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuevit.

† Cæsar, l. iii. c. 23. "They chose for their leaders the veterans who had served with Sertorius in all his campaigns, and who were supposed to be masters of military science."

the Druidical party, as the Germans were for that of the chiefs of the clans. Cæsar struck both parties, both internally and externally: he crossed the ocean and the Rhine.

Two great German tribes, Usipii and Teucteri, worn out in the north by the incursions of the Suevi as the Helvetii had been in the south, like them had just emigrated into Gaul. (B.C. 55.) Cæsar stopped them; and, under the pretence that he had been attacked by their young men, during parley, he fell unexpectedly upon them, and massacred them to a man. To strike the greater terror into the Germans he went in search of those terrible Suevi, whose neighbours no nation dared to be. In ten days, he threw a bridge over the Rhine not far from Cologne, despite the width and impetuosity of that immense river. After having ransacked in vain the forests of the Suevi, he repassed the Rhine, traversed the whole of Gaul, and in the same year embarked for Britain. When these prodigious marches, more astonishing than victories even, were reported at Rome, such audacity and fearful rapidity provoked one universal burst of admiration. The senate decreed a lectisternium of twenty days in thanksgiving to the gods: "Compared with Cæsar's exploits," exclaimed Cicero, "what did Marius?"

CÆSAR'S DESCENT ON BRITAIN. (B.C. 55.)

When Cæsar desired to cross into Great Britain, he could obtain no information from the Gauls respecting that sacred island. Dumnorix, the Æduan, declared that religion forbade his following Cæsar †, and sought to escape by flight; but the Roman, aware of his restless disposition, ordered that he should be brought back alive or dead, and he was slain whilst defending himself.

The ill-will of the Gauls had nearly proved fatal to Cæsar in this expedition. From the first, they kept him ignorant of the difficulties of landing. The tall ships used on the ocean drew a great depth of water, and could not approach the shore; so that the soldiery were obliged to cast themselves into the deep sea, and form in line in the midst of the waves. This gave considerable advantage to the barbarians, who crowded the strand; but the machines used in sieges were brought into play, and the shore was cleared by a shower of stones and darts. The equinox, however, was nigh; and it was the full of the moon, when the tides are at the highest. In one night the Roman fleet was dashed in pieces, or rendered unfit for service. The barbarians who, in the first moment of astonishment, had given hostages to Cæsar, attempted to surprise his camp; when repulsed with vigour, they again tendered their submission, and were ordered by Cæsar to provide twice the number of hostages. But, having refitted his vessels, he set sail the same night without waiting their answer. A few days more, and the winter season would have interdicted his return.

The year following, we find him almost at one and the same time in Illyria, at Treves, and in Britain: there are only the spirits of our old legends who have journeyed after this fashion. On

this occasion, he was led into Britain by a fugitive chief of the country who had implored his assistance; and he did not return until he had routed the Britons, after laying siege to their king Casswallawn in the marshy precinct in which he had collected his men and his cattle. He wrote to Rome that he had imposed a tribute on Britain; and sent thither a large quantity of pearls of small value collected on its coasts*.

After this invasion of the sacred isle, Cæsar could count upon no more friends among the Gauls. The necessity of purchasing Rome at the expense of Gaul, and of satisfying the numerous adherents who had managed to prolong his command for five years, had driven the conqueror to the most violent measures. According to one historian, he plundered the sacred places, and gave up towns to pillage without a shadow of excuse †. In every direction he established chiefs devoted to the Romans, and overturned the popular government. Gaul paid dearly for the union, quiet, and cultivation bestowed upon it by the Roman conquest.

A scarcity compelling Cæsar to disperse his troops, the whole country is up in arms. The Eburones massacre one legion, and besiege another, to relieve which, Cæsar, with eight thousand men, cut his way through sixty thousand Gauls. The following year, he assembles the states of Gaul at Lutetia; but the Nervii and Treviri, the Senones and Carnuti not attending, he attacks and crushes them singly. He crosses the Rhine a second time, in order to intimidate the Germans, who were about proceeding to their succour. Then, he strikes at once both the parties which divided Gaul. He awes the Senones, the Druidical and popular party (‡) by the solemn trial and execution of their chief, Acco; and overwhelms the Eburones, the barbarian party and friendly to the Germans, by chasing their intrepid Ambiorix through the forest of Ardennes, and delivering them up to the mercy of the Gallic tribes acquainted with their retreats in the woods and marshes, who with cowardly avidity joined in hunting this quarry. The legions blockaded this unfortunate people on every side, and prevented all possibility of escape.

GENERAL REVOLT OF GAUL. (B.C. 52.)

These barbarities united Gaul to a man against Cæsar (B.C. 52); and, for the first time, the Druids and chiefs of the clans found themselves agreed. The Ædui even were, at least secretly, arrayed against their ancient friend. The signal was given from Genabum; from the Druidical territory of the Carnuti. Borne by shouts across the country from village to village †, it reached the Arverni (formerly hostile to the Druidical and popular party, but now its friends) that very evening, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. The Vercingetorix (general-in-chief) of the confederation was of this nation; young, brave, and ardent. His father, who had been in his time the most potent chieftain of Gaul, had been burnt as guilty of aspiring to royalty.

* Sueton. in J. Cæsare, c. 47. "It was reported by many that he had gone to Britain for the sake of the pearls there."

† Sæpius ob prædam quam ob delictum. Ibid. c. 54.

‡ Cæsar, l. vii. c. 3. Nam, ubi major . . . incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt.

* Cicer. de Provinc. Consularibus.—"Marius himself did not force his way to their cities and firesides."

† Cæsar, l. v. c. 6. Quod religionibus sese diceret impediri.

Inheriting his vast clientship, the youth invariably declined the advances of Cæsar; and, in their assemblies, and at their religious festivals, incessantly animated his countrymen against the Romans. He summoned to arms even the serfs who cultivated the soil. He threatened the cowardly with death; less serious offences were to be visited with the loss of ears or of eyes*.

The Gallic general's plan was to attack at once the Province in the south, and in the north the quarters of the legions. Cæsar, who was in Italy, divined all, anticipated all. He passed the Alps, secured the safety of the Province, crossed the Cevennes with the snow six feet deep, and appeared suddenly among the Arverni. The Gallic chief, who had set out for the north, was compelled to return, as his countrymen thought most of defending their own homes. This was to meet Cæsar's desires. He leaves his army, under pretence of raising levies among the Allobroges, ascends, without discovery, the Rhone and the Saône by the frontiers of the Ædui, and by his arrival cheers and rallies his legions. Whilst the Vercingetorix thinks to draw him to an engagement, by laying siege to the Æduan town of Gergovia (Moulins), Cæsar puts every living being to the sword in Genabum. The Gauls hurry to meet their foe, but it is to witness the taking of Noviodunum.

The Vercingetorix then forewarns his countrymen, that their only hope of safety is to starve out the Roman army; and that they can only accomplish this by burning down their own towns. They execute this cruel resolve with the utmost heroism. The Bituriges burnt down twenty of their own towns; but when they were about to set fire to the great Avaricum (Bourges), the inhabitants fell at the feet of the Vercingetorix, and implored him not to ruin the finest city of Gaul†. Their precaution proved their ruin, for their city was destroyed all the same, but by Cæsar, who took it after severe fighting.

Meanwhile, the Ædui had declared against him. Their defection depriving him of cavalry, he was obliged to send for Germans in their stead; and he failed in the siege of Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, whilst Labienus, his lieutenant, would have been overpowered in the north, but for a victory. (The battle was fought between Paris and Melun.) So bad was the aspect of affairs, that he fell back upon the Roman province. The army of the Gauls pursued and overtook him.—They had sworn that they would never behold house, family, wives, or children, until they had twice broken through the enemy's lines‡. The contest was terrible. Cæsar was forced to run the utmost personal risk, was nearly taken, and his sword remained in the hands of the enemy. However, a charge of his German cavalry struck a panic-terror into the Gauls, and decided the victory.

This impressive race then sank into such a state of discouragement, that their chief could only

reassure them by taking post, strongly intrenched, under the walls of Alesia; a town situated on the summit of a mountain (Auxois). Here he was soon attacked by Cæsar; when, dismissing his horsemen, he charged them to spread throughout all Gaul the intelligence, that his provisions would fail in thirty days, and to bring to his succour every one capable of bearing arms. Cæsar, indeed, did not hesitate to besiege this large army. He circumvallated the town and the Gallic camp with vast works; consisting of three ditches, each fifteen or twenty feet wide, and as many deep, a rampart twelve feet high, eight smaller fosses, with their bottom bristling with stakes, covered over with branches and leaves, and palisades of five rows of trees with their boughs interlaced. The counterpart of these works was erected at some distance from the town and camp, so as to enclose a circuit of fifteen miles; and the whole was finished in less than five weeks, and by fewer than sixty thousand men.

FINAL REDUCTION OF GAUL. (B. C. 51.)

Gaul, to a man, dashed itself vainly against these fortifications. The desperate efforts of the besiegers, suffering from extremity of famine, and those of two hundred and fifty thousand Gauls, who attacked the Romans on the other side, alike failed. The utter defeat of these, their allies, by Cæsar's horse, and consequent flight and dispersion, filled the besieged with dismay. The Vercingetorix, alone preserving his firmness of mind in the midst of the general despair, markedly delivered himself up as the sole mover of the war. Clad in his rich armour he mounted his charger, and, wheeling round the tribunal of Cæsar, cast his sword, casque, and javelin at the foot of the Roman, without uttering a word*.

The year following, all the tribes of Gaul essayed by a partial and desultory resistance, to wear out the strength of their unconquerable enemy. Uxellodunum (Cap-de-Nac, in Quercy?) alone detained Cæsar a considerable period. The example was dangerous, for he had no time to lose in Gaul. Civil war might break out at any moment in Italy; and he was lost, if he had to waste whole months before each petty fort. Therefore, to strike terror into the Gauls, he committed an atrocious act, of which, indeed, the Romans had but too frequently set the example—he ordered every prisoner's right hand to be cut off.

From this moment he changed his policy towards the Gauls, caused them to be treated with extreme lenity, and so favoured them in the matters of tribute, as to excite the jealousy of the Province; disguising even its very name under the honourable name of *military pay*†. He allured their best warriors into his legions by high bounties; and even formed an entire Gallic legion, the soldiers of which bore the figure of a hawk on their helmets, and which was thence named the *Alauda*‡. Under

* Cæsar, l. vii. c. 4. Igni . . . necat; leviores dē causa, adibus desectis, defossis oculis, domum remittit.

† Cæsar, l. vii. c. 15. Pulcherrimam propē totius Gallie urbem, quæ et præsidio et ornamento sit civitati.

‡ Cæsar, l. vii. c. 66. Ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem reditum habebat, qui non bis per hostium agmen peregritavit.

* Plut. in Cæs.—Dio, l. xl. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 513. Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδὲν, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ γένου. . . .

† Sueton. in C. J. Cæs. c. 25. In singulos annos stipendii nomen imposuit.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 24. Unam ex transalpinis conscriptam (legionem) vocabulo quoque Gallico (*Alauda* enim appellabatur), &c. Cæsar afterwards made the soldiers of this legion Roman citizens.

this perfectly national emblem of early vigilance and lively gaiety, these hardy soldiers sang as they crossed the Alps, and pursued as far as Pharsalia, with their clamorous shouts of defiance, the taciturn legions of Pompey. Led by the Roman eagle, the Gallic lark took Rome for the second time, and was a sharer in the triumphs of the civil war. Gaul retained the sword which Cæsar had lost, as some consolation for her vanished liberty. The Roman soldiers had wished to tear it from the temple, where it had been hung up by the Gauls,—"Let it alone," said Cæsar, with a smile, "it is sacred."

CHAPTER III.

GAUL UNDER THE EMPIRE.—DECLINE OF THE
EMPIRE.—CHRISTIAN GAUL.

ALEXANDER and Cæsar have had this in common : to be loved and wept by the conquered, and to perish by the hands of their own countrymen†. Such men have no country; they belong to the world.

Cæsar had not destroyed liberty (it had long been dead); rather, he had compromised Roman nationality. The Romans had witnessed with shame and anguish a Gallic army under the eagles; Gallic senators sitting between Cicero and Brutus. In reality, it was the conquered who profited by the victory‡. If Cæsar had lived, it is probable that all the barbarian nations would have found their way into the army and the senate. He had already taken a Spanish guard; and the Spaniard, Balbus, was one of his principal counsellors§.

Antony attempted to copy Cæsar. He undertook to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria, and adopted the dress and manners of the conquered. Octavius overcame him, only by professing himself the patriot and the avenger of the insulted nationality of Italy. He expelled the Gauls from the senate, and increased the tribute of Gaul||; where he founded a Rome—*Valentia* (one of the mysterious names of the eternal city), and planted

many military colonies, as at Orange, Fréjus, Carpentras, Aix, Apt, Vienne, &c. A number of towns became, from name and privileges, *Augustan*, as several in Cæsar's time had become *Julian**. Finally, in contempt of the ancient and illustrious cities of the land, he appointed the recently built town of Lyons—a colony of Vienne, and from the beginning hostile to its parent city—the seat of government. This city, so favourably situated at the confluence of the Saône and of the Rhône, almost resting on the Alps, near the Loire, and brought near the sea by the impetuosity of its current, which sweeps one there at once, surveyed Narbonnese and Celtic Gaul, and seemed like an eye of Italy open upon all the Gauls.

At Lyons, and at Aisnay, at the angle of the Saône and Rhône, sixty Gallic cities reared altars to Augustus, under the eyes of his son-in-law, Drusus. Augustus took his place among the divinities of the country. Other altars were raised to him at Saintes, at Arles, at Narbonne, &c. The old Gallic religion readily blended with the Roman paganism. Augustus had built a temple to the god, Kirk†—the personification of the violent wind which blows in the Narbonnese; and on the same altar might be read in a twofold inscription the names of the Gallic and the Roman divinities,—Mars—Camul, Diana—Arduinna, Belen—Apollo. Rome placed Hesus and Nehalena on the list of her indigent gods.

Nevertheless, Druidism long resisted Roman influence, and was the sanctuary of the nationality of Gaul. Augustus endeavoured to moderate at the least this sanguinary religion,—prohibiting human sacrifices, and only tolerating slight libations of blood‡.

INSURRECTION OF GAUL. (A. D. 21.)

Druidism must have had a share in the insurrection of Gaul under Tiberius; although history ascribes it to the weight of taxes, augmented by usury. The leader of the revolt, Julius Sacrovir, was probably an *Æduan*; the *Ædui* being, as I have said, a Druidical tribe, and the name, Sacrovir, perhaps, but a translation of Druid. The Belgæ were likewise drawn into it by Julius Florus§.

* Plutarch. in Cæs. *Ξαρίδιον*. . . 2 θεσπάζοντες αὐτὸς ὑποταροῖ, ἐμειδίαντες, καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελόντων κελαινόντων, οὐκ ἔλασαν, ἱερὸν ἡγομένους.

† Even supposing that Alexander was not poisoned, it cannot be denied, at least, that his death was little regretted by the Macedonians. A few years saw the extinction of his whole family.

‡ "The only injury done by the Romans to the nations they subdued," says St. Augustine, (*De Civit. Dei*, l. v. c. 16.) "is the blood they shed of theirs. The Roman lived obedient to the laws which he imposed upon others. All the subjects of the empire became citizens; and the poorer people, who had no land, were supported at the public expense. Vain glory apart, what benefit have they derived from so many wars? Do not their lands pay tribute? Have they any privilege of learning what others may not learn? Nay, are there not in other countries senators who have not even seen Rome?"

§ It was he who advised Cæsar to receive the senate, when it waited upon him in a body, seated. See my Roman History.—(See, also, Suet., c. 78.)

|| He caused customs to be levied at the Straits, on ivory, amber, and glass.

* Cæsar settled veterans of the tenth legion at Narbonne, which then took the surnames of *Julia*, *Julia Paterna*, *Colonia Decumanorum*. Inscript. ap. Pr. de l'Hist. du Languedoc.—Arles, *Julia Paterna Arlatensis*.—Biterre, *Julia Biterre*. Scr. R. Fr. i. 135. Bibracte, *Julia Bibracte*, &c.—Under Augustus, Nemausus took in addition the name of *Augusta*, and assumed the title of Roman colony; as did *Alba Augusta*, a town of the Helvi, and *Augusta*, a town of the Tricastini.—*Augusto-Nemetum* became the capital of the Arverni.—Noviodunum took the name of *Augusta*; Bibracte, that of *Augustodunum*, &c. Am. Thierry, iii. 281.

† Senec. *Quæst. Natur.* l. v. c. 17. Aulus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.—In the Monk of St. Gall (*Scr. R. Fr. v. 132.*), *Circetus* is synonymous with Boreas.

(Most writers on Celtic antiquities are agreed that Kirk was the *Nal-N.W.*) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Mela, l. iii. c. 2. Ut ab ultimis credibus temperant, ita nihilominus ubi devotos altaribus admovere, delibant.

§ Tacit. *Annal.* l. iii. c. 40. The author borrows the passages from Tacitus, which he has incorporated into his text, from the esteemed translation of his countryman, M. Burzout. The translation given above is from Murphy's no less excellent version.

"In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at the time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries, secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with such as languished in poverty; or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighbouring Gauls. A general spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander, with a legionary force, detached by Vellius Varro, from the lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of the action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

"Julius Florus, in the mean time, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Trèves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the forest of Arden, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Trèves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking-places; but at length, finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Trèves, after this event, returned to their duty.

"The Ædian commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay

at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum (Autun), the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to less than forty thousand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions: the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CRUPELLARIANS. Their armour was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but at the same time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms; but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals. Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

"Silius, in the mean time, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians (Franchie-Comté), a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were stationed in his centre, his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry: the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armour still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and crushed both men and armour. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augustodunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage."

FAVOUR SHOWN TO THE PROVINCIALS.

Augustus and Tiberius, severe rulers, and true Romans, had to some extent drawn closer the unity of the empire, compromised by Caesar, by withholding from the provincials and barbarians all

share in the government. Their successors, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, adopted quite an opposite line of conduct. Descendants of Antony, the friend of the barbarians, they followed the example of their grandfather; which Germanicus*, Caligula's father, had, indeed, affected to follow. Caligula, born, according to Pliny, at Trèves, and reared in the bosom of the armies of Germany and Syria, manifested an incredible contempt for Rome; a fact which serves to explain part of the follies with which the Romans reproached him, his violent and furious reign being a mockery of, and parody upon, all that had been held in reverence. Like the oriental monarchs, he married his sisters, and did not wait for death in order to be worshipped, but made himself a god in his lifetime. Alexander, his hero, had been satisfied with being the son of a god; but he tore the diadem from the statue of the Capitoline Jupiter, and placed it on his own head†. He tricked out his horse in consular ornaments. He sold piecemeal at Lyons all the heirlooms of his family, thus renouncing his ancestors and prostituting their memories, acting himself as auctioneer, puffing every article, and raising them far beyond their value—"this vase was my grandfather Antony's; Augustus won it at the battle of Actium‡." He also instituted burlesque and terrible sports § at the altar of Augustus; such as contests of eloquence, in which the vanquished was to efface his writings with his tongue, or suffer himself to be thrown into the Rhone. There can be no doubt that these games were revived after some ancient custom. We know that the Gauls and Germans used to sacrifice their prisoners by casting them, man and horse, into rivers, and divine the future from the manner in which they went whirling round. The conquering Cimbrî treated in this wise whatever they found in the camps of Cæpio and Manlius; and, even to this day, tradition points out the bridge over the Rhone, whence the bullocks were precipitated.

Caligula's companions were the most illustrious Gauls, as Valerius Asiaticus and Domitius Afer. Claudius was himself a Gaul. Born at Lyons ||, and kept an utter stranger to public life by Augustus and Tiberius, who mistrusted his singular absence of mind, he had grown old in solitude and the cultivation of letters when, against his will, the

soldiery proclaimed him king. Never did prince more shock the Romans, or show himself more foreign from their tastes and habits. His uncouth stuttering, his preference of the Greek language, his constant quoting of Homer, every thing he did provoked their laughter; so that he left the freedmen by whom he was surrounded to govern. It might very well be—whatever Tacitus may say to the contrary—that these slaves, who were so carefully educated in the palaces of the Roman nobles, were worthier to rule than their masters. The reign of Claudius was a kind of reaction of slavery, since slaves governed in their turn, and public affairs were not a whit the worse for it. Cæsar's plans were followed out *: the port of Ostia was deepened, the circumference of Rome enlarged, the draining of Lake Fucinus undertaken, the aqueduct of Caligula continued, the Britons subdued in sixteen days, and their king pardoned †; whilst in contrast with the tyrannical authority of the Roman nobles who ruled the provinces as prætors or præconsuls, stood the procurators of the prince, men of no family, but whose responsibility was therefore the more certain, and whose excesses could be the more easily repressed.

Such was the government in the hands of freedmen under Claudius; by so much the less national as it was the more human. He himself made no secret of his predilection for the provincials. He wrote the history of the conquered races, of the Etrusci, of Tyre, and of Carthage ‡, thus repairing the long injustice of Rome; and founded a chair in the Museum of Alexandria for the annual reading of these works of his. Unable to save those nations, he endeavoured to preserve their memory. His own deserved better treatment. Whatever may have been his carelessness, his weakness, or even his brutishness in his latter years, history will pardon much to him who declared himself the protector of the slave, forbade his master to kill him, and endeavoured to hinder his being exposed to die of famine, when worn out by years or disease, on the island of the Tiber §.

According to Suetonius, had his life been prolonged, Claudius would have admitted the whole of the west to the privilege of Roman citizenship: Greeks, Spaniards, Britons, Gauls, and first of all the Ædui; which latter people he readmitted into the senate, after the example of Cæsar. The oration which he pronounced on this occasion (A. D. 48), and which is still preserved at Lyons on tablets of bronze, is the first authentic monument of our national history, the patent of our admission into this vast initiation of the world ||.

At the same time, he strove to suppress the sanguinary worship of the Druids, who, proscribed in Gaul, had been compelled to take refuge in

* "It is even said, that barbarous nations, both such as were at variance amongst themselves, and those that were at war with us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been all in mourning for some very near and common friend; that some petty kings shaved their beards upon it, and their wives' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings (the king of Parthia) forbore his exercise of hunting and feasting with his nobles, which, among the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of public mourning with us." Suet. in Calig. c. 5.

† One day Caligula asked of a Gaul, who was silently staring at him, "What do you see in me?" "A gaudy dotard" (μεγα παραλήρημα), was the reply. The emperor did not punish him; he was only a shoemaker. Dio Cass. l. xlix. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 524.

‡ Dio Cassius, l. lix. 656.

§ He signalized his journey to Gaul in a more honourable manner, by building a lighthouse for the navigation between Gaul and Britain, traces of which have been supposed discernible.

|| Sueton. in Claud. c. 2. Senec. de Morte Claudii, ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 667.

* Sueton. in Claud. c. 20.

† Tacit. Annal. l. xli. c. 37. Dio. l. ix.

‡ Grecas scriptis historias, Tyrrhenicon viginti, Carchedoniaco octo, &c. Sueton. in Claud. c. 42.

§ "It being the custom of some to expose their ailing slaves, when they despaired of their recovery, on the island of Æsculapius, he ordered that all who should be so exposed, and should recover, should be considered free; and that whoever put a slave to death, as preferable on this account to exposing him, should be held guilty of murder." Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

|| See Tacit. Annal. l. x. c. 24, and my History of Rome,

Britain. He went in person to pursue them in this latter asylum. His lieutenants erected the countries which form the basin of the Thames into a Roman province, and left in the West a strong military colony, at Camulodunum (Colchester). The march of the legions was constantly to the west. They overthrew the altars, destroyed the antique forests; until, in Nero's time, Druidism was shut up within the little island of Mona*, (Anglesey). Thither it was tracked by Suetonius Paulinus. In vain the sacred virgins hurried to the shore like furies, in mourning habits, with dishevelled hair, and brandishing torches†. He forced the passage, slaughtered every living being that fell into his hands—Druids, priestesses, and warriors, and burst his way through those forests, so often the witnesses of bloody sacrifice. (A.D. 61.)

Meanwhile, the Britons rose in the rear of the Roman army, headed by their queen, the famous Boadicea, whom intolerable outrages animated to vengeance. They had exterminated the veterans of Camulodunum, and the entire infantry of a legion. Suetonius retraced his steps, and coolly got together his forces, abandoning the defence of the towns, and giving up the allies of Rome to the blind rage of the barbarians, who massacred seventy thousand souls; but he crushed them in a pitched battle, slaying to the very horses. After him, Cerealis and Frontinus followed up the conquest of the north; and, under Domitian, Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, completed the reduction, and began the civilization of Britain. (A.D. 84.)

Nero was favourable to Gaul, and projected the junction of the Mediterranean with the Atlantic by a canal, which was to unite the Moselle with the Saône‡. He relieved Lyons, which was ravaged by fire in his reign; and which, in the civil wars preceding his fall, remained faithful to him. The prime mover of this revolution was the Aquitanian, Vindex; at the time, pro-prætor of Gaul. This man, "full of daring for every thing great," excited Galba to revolt in Spain, and gained over Vitellius, commander of the German legions. But the two armies engaging in a murderous battle before they could be apprized of this agreement, Vindex glew himself in despair. Gaul sided with Vitellius; the German legions with which he conquered Otho and took Rome, mainly consisted of Germans, Batavians, and Gauls||: no wonder, then, that she saw with pain the triumph of Vespasian. A Batavian chief, named Civilis, one-eyed like Hannibal and Sertorius, like them too a hater of Rome, and who had sworn, in consequence of some outrage by the Romans, that he would not cut his beard or his hair until revenged, seized the opportunity. He cut in pieces the soldiers of Vitellius, and in an instant the Batavians and Belgæ declared for him. He was encouraged by the famous Velleda, whom all the Germans revered as inspired by the gods, or rather as if she were indeed a divinity. "To her were sent all pri-

soners, and the Romans besought her to arbitrate between them and Civilis. The Druids of Gaul, too, so long victims of persecution, issued from their retreats, and showed themselves to the people. A report having reached them that the Capitol had been burnt in the civil war, they proclaimed that with this pledge of eternity the Roman empire had perished, and was to be succeeded by that of Gaul*.

RECIPROCAL ACTION OF GAUL AND ROME.

Such, however, was the force of the bond which united these nations with Rome, that the enemy of the Romans thought it safest at first to attack the troops of Vitellius in the name of Vespasian. Julius Sabinus, the chief of the Gauls, gave himself out to be the son of the conqueror of Gaul, and styled himself Caesar. Thus, far from requiring a Roman army to destroy a party so inconsistent with itself, the Gauls who had remained faithful were sufficient. The old jealousy of the Sequani revived against the Ædui, and they defied Sabinus. All know the devotion of his wife, the virtuous Eponina. She buried herself with him in the cave where he had taken refuge. Children were born to, and reared by them there. After ten years' concealment, they were finally discovered; and she knelt to Vespasian, surrounded by the hapless beings who then first saw the open light of day†. The cruel policy of the emperor was inexorable.

In Belgium and Batavia the war was more serious, but the first soon submitted; the last held out in its marshes. Cerealis the Roman general, twice surprised, and twice conqueror, concluded the war by gaining over Velleda and Civilis; who pretended that he had not taken up arms against Rome originally, but only against Vitellius and for Vespasian.

The result of this war was to show how Roman, Gaul had already become. No province, indeed, had received impressions from the conqueror‡ with more promptitude or readiness. At first sight, the two countries, the two people, had seemed less to become acquainted than to renew their knowledge of each other. The Romans frequented the school of Marseilles; that petty Greece§, more

* Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 54. Fatali nunc igne signum celestis ire datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus potestati, superstitione vanâ Druidæ caneant.

† Her words were, "These, O Caesar, have I brought forth and nursed in a tomb, that there might be more of us to supplicate you." Dio Cass. l. lxvi.

‡ Strabo, l. iv. ap. Scr. R. Pr. l. 9. "Rome subdued the Gauls with much more ease than the Spaniards."—See the speech of Claudius ap. Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 14. "Review all our wars, you will find none more quickly ended than that of Gaul—hence, constant and firm peace."—Hirtius ad Cæs. l. viii. c. 49. "Cæsar easily kept Gaul, worn out by so many defeats, tranquil and docile."—Dio Cass. l. lili. ap. Scr. R. Pr. l. 520. "Augustus forbade the senators to leave Italy without receiving permission from him,—a custom still kept up: no senator can travel, except into Sicily or the Narbonnese."

§ Strabo, l. iv. ap. Scr. R. Pr. l. 9. "This town had made the Gauls such *Philhellènes*, that they even drew up their contracts in Greek (*ῥωτὴ καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν*), and even now it attracts the Romans thither in preference to Athens."—The towns paid sophists and physicians out of the public revenue; thus Juvenal says, "Thule now talks of hiring a rhetorician."—Martial (l. vii. epigr. 87.)

* Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 29.

† Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 30. Intercursantibus feminis, in modum furiarum, quæ veste ferall, crinibus dejectis, facies præferant. Druidæque circum, preces diras, sublati ad cœlum mûntibus, fundentes, &c.

‡ Tacit. Annal. l. xlii. c. 53.

§ Dio Cass. l. lxxli. 684. Πρὸς πᾶν ἄνθρωπον μέγα εὐτολμος.

|| Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 57. 61. l. i. c. 69.

sober and more modest than its prototype*, and which lay at their door. The Gauls crossed the Alps in crowds; not only with Cæsar, under the eagles of the legions, but as physicians† and rhetoricians. Here we already descry the genius of the school of Montpellier, of Bordeaux, Aix, Toulouse, &c., with its positive and practical tendency: the philosophers were few. These Gauls of the south (it is too early to speak of those of the north), bustling and intriguing, just as we see them at the present day, could not fail to succeed both as fine speakers and pantomimists: the Roman Roscius was a Southern Gaul. Nevertheless, they were not unsuccessful in more serious branches. It was a Gaul, Trogus Pompeius‡, who wrote the first Universal History; and romance is the creation of another Gaul, Petronius Arbiter§. Rivals, too, rose among them to Rome's greatest poets: witness Varro Atacinus, from the neighbourhood of Carcassonne||, and Cornelius Gallus, Virgil's friend¶, a native of Fréjus. At the same time burst forth the true genius of France, the oratorical. From its birth, Gallic eloquence became a power, and swayed Rome herself. The Romans sought the Gauls as their instructors, even in their own tongue. A Gaul, Gniphon (M. Antoninus) was the leading rhetorician of the capital. Abandoned at his birth, a slave at Alexandria, a freedman, and then stripped of his gains by Sylla, he but gave himself up the more to the bent of his genius. The career of political eloquence was closed to a wretched Gaul, a freedman; and the only means he had of displaying his talent was by declaiming publicly on market days. He established his professional chair in the very house of Julius Cæsar**; and there formed the eloquence of the two great orators of the day—Cæsar and Cicero††.

congratulates himself on his poetry being read by even the women and children of Vienne.—The most celebrated schools were those of Marseilles, Autun, Toulouse, Lyons, and Bordeaux: Greek continued to be taught in the latter longer than in any of the rest.

* Strabo, lxxd. "Among the inhabitants of Marseilles, no dowry exceeds a hundred pieces of gold; no more than five pieces are allowed to be spent upon a dress, and the same for jewellery—not the slightest proofs of the simplicity and prudence of the Massiliotes."—Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 4. "His own ingenuous disposition guarded him against the seductions of pleasure; and this happy temperament was assisted by the advantage which he had enjoyed of pursuing his studies at Marseilles, that seat of learning, where the refinements of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial economy."—A proverb occurs in Athenæus, l. xii. c. 6. which appears contradictory of these authorities—"Sail to Marseilles."

† Pliny mentions three, of great celebrity, in the first century. One of them gave a million towards the repair of the fortifications of his native place.

‡ Justin. l. xliii. c. 5. "Trogus says that his ancestors sprung from the Vocontii."

§ Born near Marseilles. Sidon. Apollinar. Carmen xxiii. || The following remarkable epigram is from the pen of this Varro:—

Marmoreo Lícinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nulli. Credulus esse deos?
(Lícinus has a marble tomb, Cato a poor one, Pompey none. Is there a God?)

¶ Virg. Eclog. 10.

** Suet. de illustr. Grammat. c. 7. In domo divi Julii, adhuc pueri.

†† Id. ibid.

The triumph of Cæsar, which opened Rome to the Gauls, enabled them to speak on their own account, and to enter into the career of politics. Under Tiberius, Montanus rises to the first rank of orators, both as regards freedom of speech and genius. Caligula, who plumed himself on his eloquence, had two eloquent Gauls among his intimates. One of them, Valerius Asiaticus, a native of Vienne, and, according to Tacitus, an honest man, at last conspired against him, and fell a victim, under Claudius, to the arts of Messalina, as suspected of ambitiously courting popularity in Gaul*. The other, Domitius Afer, of Nîmes, and consul under Caligula, was eloquent, but corrupt, and an indiscriminate public accuser: he died of indigestion. The capricious emulation of Caligula had nearly proved as fatal to him, as that of Nero was to Lucan; for the emperor, rising one day in the senate, pronounced a laboured oration, in which he hoped he had surpassed himself, showing cause why that body should condemn Domitian to death. The Gaul betrayed no confusion, and seemed less struck by his own danger than by the emperor's eloquence. He confessed himself convicted, declared that he could not dare to open his mouth after such a speech, and raised a statue to Caligula†. The emperor was satisfied to spare his life, only requiring his silence.

From its origin the ancients recognized the tendency of Gallic art to the impetuous, exaggerated, and tragic: a tendency especially observable in its first essays. The Gaul, Zenodorus, who delighted in carving small figures and vases with the most minute delicacy, erected a colossal figure of the Gallic Mercury in the city of the Arverni. Nero, who loved the vast and prodigious, summoned him to Rome, to execute a statue of him a hundred and twenty feet high, which was placed at the foot of the Capitol, and was visible from the Alban Mount‡. Thus a Gallic hand impressed on art that impulse towards the gigantic and ambition of the infinite, which at a later day launched forth the vaulted roofs of our cathedrals.

Equal to Italy in art and literature, Gaul was not slow to exercise a more direct influence on the destinies of the empire. Under Cæsar and Claudius, she had given senators to Rome; under Caligula, a consul. Vindex, the Aquitanian, dethroned Nero, throned Galba; Bec (Antonius Primus), the Toulousan§, the friend of Martial, and himself a poet, gave the empire to Vespasian; Agricola, the Provençal, subdued Britain for Domitian; finally, the best emperor Rome ever had sprang from a family of Nîmes—the pious Antoninus, successor of the two Spaniards, Trajan and Hadrian, and father, by adoption, of the Spaniard||, Marcus Aurelius¶. The impress of the sophist, apparent in each of these philosophical and rhetorical emperors, was derived as much at least from their

* Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 1. Quando genitus Viennæ, multique et validis propinquitatibus subnixus, turbare gentiles nationes promptum haberet.

† Dio Cass. l. lxx.

‡ Sueton. in Nerone, c. 31.—Plin. l. xxiv. c. 7.

§ Suet. in Vitell. c. 18. "When a boy he had the name of Becus, which signifies a cock's bill."—Bec (Armorican), Big (Cymric), Gob (Gaelic). Am. Thierry. t. iii. 417.

|| At least their families were originally from Spain.

¶ See the correspondence of Hadrian with his master, Fronto.

connexion with Gaul, as their predilection for Greece. Hadrian's special friend was Favorinus, the sophist of Arles, and preceptor of Aulus-Gellius; that singular being, who wrote a book against Epictetus, a eulogium on ugliness, and a panegyric on the quartan fever.*

A Gaul by birth †, Syrian on the maternal and African on the paternal side, Caracalla is the type of that discordant mixture of races and ideas, presented at this period by the empire; the impetuosity of the north, the ferocity of the south, and the fantasticalness of oriental superstitions uniting, in one and the same man, to form a monster—a chimera. After the philosophical and sophistical epoch of the Antonines, the grand Eastern idea which had filled the minds of Cæsar and of Antony—the accursed dream which drove so many emperors mad, was revived; and Caligula, and Nero, and Commodus, were all possessed, in the decrepitude of the world, with youthful thoughts of Alexander and Hercules. Caligula, Commodus, and Caracalla seem actually to have believed themselves incarnations of these two heroes; like the Fate-mite caliphs and the modern lamas of Thibet, worshipping themselves as gods. This idea, so ridiculous to Greek and Western habits of thought, created no surprise in the Eastern subjects of the empire, Egyptians and Syrians: if emperors become gods after their death, they might very well be so in their lifetime.

In the first century of the empire, Gaul had made emperors; in the second, she had supplied emperors herself; in the third, she aimed at separating herself from the empire, then crumbling to pieces, and at forming a Gallo-Roman monarchy. The generals who in the time of Gallienus assumed the purple in Gaul, and governed with glory, appear to have been almost all superior men. Posthumus, the first of these, was surnamed the restorer of Gaul ‡. He had formed his army in great part of Gallic and Frankish troops §, and was slain by his soldiers for refusing them the plunder of Mentz, which had revolted against him ||. Elsewhere I give the history of his successors: of Victorinus and Victoria, the MOTHER OF LEGIONS; of the armourer, Marius; and, finally, of Tetricus, whom Aurelian had the glory of dragging behind his triumphal car, together with the queen of Palmyra ¶. Although Gaul was the theatre of these events, they belong less to the history of the country than to that of the armies which occupied it.

Most of these provincial emperors—tyrants, as

they were called—were great men. Their successors, who re-established the unity of the empire,—the Aurelians, and Probus,—were greater still. Yet the empire mouldered away in their hands. This is not attributable to the barbarians; the invasion of the Cimbri under the Republic had been more formidable than those under the Empire. Neither are the vices of the princes to be blamed for it: the most guilty of them as men, were not the most odious as rulers. Often did the provinces breathe freely under those cruel princes, who shed in seas the blood of the great of Rome. The government of Tiberius was prudent and economical*; that of Claudius, mild and indulgent. Nero himself was regretted by the people; and his tomb was long kept constantly crowned with fresh flowers †. While Vespasian was on the

* In the affair of M. Serenus, Tiberius, contrary to his usual practice (*contra morem suum*) countenanced the informers. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30.—“Amidst these acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate.” Id. l. vi. c. 30.—When, through a general enforcement of the payment of debts, whole families had been ruined, their credit destroyed, and every prospect of hope had vanished, “Tiberius interposed with seasonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thousand great sesterces, as a public loan, for three years, free from interest, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the state, should mortgage lands of double the value. By this salutary aid public credit was revived.” Id. l. vi. c. 17.—“To some governors of provinces, who advised him to load them with taxes, he answered, ‘It is the part of a good shepherd to shear, not to flay his sheep.’” Sueton in Tiber. c. 32.—“By degrees he assumed the exercise of the sovereignty, but for a long time with great variety of conduct, though generally with a due regard to the public good. At first, he only interposed to prevent ill management. . . . If a rumour prevailed, that any person under prosecution was likely by his interest to be acquitted, he would suddenly make his appearance in court, and from the ground benches, or the prætor’s seat, would remind the judges of the laws, their oath, and the nature of the charge brought before them. He likewise took upon him the correction of the public manners, where any abuse had been countenanced, either by neglect of duty in the magistrates, or the prevalence of custom.” Id. ibid. c. 33.—“He reduced the expense of public sports and diversions for the entertainment of the people, by diminishing the allowance to stage-players for their service, and abridging the number of gladiators on those occasions. . . . He moved in the senate, that a new sumptuary law should be enacted, and that the markets should be subjected to such regulations as should appear proper to the house. . . . And, to encourage frugality in the public by his own example, he would often, at his entertainments on solemn occasions, have at his table victuals which had been served up the day before, and were half eaten, and the half of a boar, declaring, ‘It has all the same good bits that the whole had.’” Id. ibid. c. 34.—“Nor did he ever entertain the people with public sports and diversions.” Id. ibid. c. 47.—“Above all things, he was careful to secure the public quiet against the attempts of house-breakers, robbers, and such as were disaffected to the government.” . . . “He abolished every where the privileges of all places of refuge.” Id. ibid. c. 37.

† “There were, however, some, who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers. They likewise one while placed his image upon the Rosæra, dressed up in state robes; another while published proclamations in his name, as if he was yet alive, and would shortly come to Rome again, with a vengeance to all his enemies. Volageus, king of the Parthians, when he sent ambassadors to the senate to renew the alliance betwixt that nation and the Romans, earnestly requested that due honour should be paid to the memory of Nero: and to conclude, when, twenty years after, at which time I was a

l. xlix. Philostratus, in Apollon. Thyan. l. v. c. 4.—Dio Cass.

† “Born at Lyons.” Aurelii Victor. Epitome, c. 21.—Dio Cass. excerpt. ad ann. J. C. 69.

‡ Zosim. l. i. —P. Oros. l. vii. “He assumed the purple, to the great advantage of the republic.”—Trebell. Pollio, ad ann. 260. “Posthumus freed Gaul with a strong hand from all the surrounding barbarians. . . . He was intensely beloved in Gaul, from his having driven out the German hordes, and restored the Roman empire to its pristine security. Being willingly proclaimed emperor by the army, and by the Gauls generally, he managed in seven years’ time to rehabilitate Gaul.”—On a medal of his appears the words, *RESTITUTORI GALLIÆ*. Ser. Fr. i. 538.

§ Aurelii Victor, c. 33.—Trebell. Pollio, ad ann. 260. *Quam multis auxiliis Posthumus iuvaretur Cæsaribus ac Franciis.*

¶ Entrop. l. ix.—P. Oros. l. vii.—Aurelii Victor, c. 43.

¶ See my article, *Zénobie*, in Michaud’s *Biographie Universelle*.

throne, a pretender, who assumed the name of Nero, met with enthusiastic support in Greece and Asia; and the recommendation of Heliogabalus to the purple, was his being believed the grandson of Septimius Severus, and son of Caracalla.

The provinces were not subjected under the emperors, as under the republic, to a yearly change of governor: an innovation ascribed by Dion to Augustus, and attributed by Suetonius to the negligence of Tiberius, though Josephus expressly asserts his motive to have been "the relief of the people." And, in truth, by continuing in a province, a governor not only acquired a knowledge of its wants, but at length contracted ties of affection and of humanity there, to the amelioration of tyranny. No longer, as in the days of the republic, did contractors flock thither, eager to fill their purses in order to return to the pleasures of the capital. It was the difference intimated in the fable of the fox who declines the offer of the hedge-hog to free him from his tormentors, the flies: "others will come famished," said he,—"these are gorged and glutted."

The procurators—men of low birth, the creatures of the prince, and responsible to him—had his vigilance to fear; to enrich themselves was to tempt the cruelty of a master, whose avarice only required an excuse for severity.

This master judged both great and little: for the emperors administered justice themselves. In Tacitus, we read of an accused person who, fearing popular prejudices, demands to be tried by Tiberius, as superior to prepossessions of the kind; he was influenced, too, by the notion that one judge can discern the truth better than many*. Both under Tiberius and under Claudius, we find the convicted escaping by appeal to the emperor†. Claudius, anxious to terminate a business in which his own interest was compromised, declares that he will himself officiate as judge, in order that he may show by his sentence, in his own cause, how

young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, he met with so favourable a reception from the Parthians, that he was powerfully supported by that nation, and it was with much difficulty that they surrendered him." Suet. in Nerone, c. 57.

* In the cause of Piso, accused of having poisoned Germanicus, Tacitus states that "application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamour. . . . Besides this, the truth, he thought, would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party-violence too often prevailed. . . . Tiberius consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate." Annal. iii. c. 10.

† "The first men in Rome willingly came forward against him. (Messallinus Cotta.) He knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor." Tacit. Annal. i. vi. c. 5.—"Vulturnus Tullius and Marcellus, senators, and Calpurnius, a Roman knight, by appealing to the emperor, avoided instant condemnation." Ibid. i. xii. c. 28.—Two influential informers, Domitius Afer and Publius Dolabella, having combined to ruin Quintilius Varus, "the senate stopped the progress of the mischief, by ordering the cause to stand over till the emperor's return: procrastination being the only refuge of the unhappy." Ibid. i. iv. c. 66.

apprisingly he would act in that of another*: undoubtedly, no one would have dared to give judgment to the detriment of the emperor.

Domitian administered justice assiduously and intelligently, and often reversed the sentences of the centumviri, who were supposed to be obnoxious to intrigue†. Hadrian was in the habit of consulting on cases submitted to his judgment, not his friends, but the jurisconsults‡. Even that rude soldier, Septimius Severus, did not conceive himself exempt from this duty; but, in the quiet of his villa, gave sentence, and willingly descended into the minutest details of the matters submitted to him. The assiduousness of Julian in discharging his judicial functions has also been noticed§. This zeal of the emperors for civil justice greatly counterbalanced the evils of the empire, by inspiring oppressive magistrates with a salutary terror, and remedying in detail a mass of general abuses.

Even under the worst emperors, the civil law was steadily extended and improved. The jurisconsult Nerva, grandfather of the emperor of that name (a disciple of the republican Labeo—the friend of Brutus, and the founder of the Stoic school of jurisprudence), was the adviser of Tiberius||. Papinian and Ulpian flourished in the times of Caracalla and of Heliogabalus; just as Dumoulin, l'Hopital, and Brisson did, in those of Henri II., Charles IX., and Henri III. By affording more and more with natural equity, and consequently with the common sense of nations, the civil law became the strongest bond of the empire, and the compensation of political tyranny.

SLAVERY; THE CANKER OF THE EMPIRE.

Tyranny, the tyranny of the princes, and the tyranny of the magistrates,—different in kind and far more burthensome—was not the principal cause of the ruin of the empire. The real evil which undermined it proceeded neither from the government nor the administration. Had it been simply of an administrative nature, so many good and great emperors would have found a remedy for it. But it was a social evil; and its source was not to be dried up by less than an entire renovation of the social system. Slavery was this evil. The other ills of the empire—most of them at least, as the all-devouring taxation and constantly increasing demands of the military government—were only, as we shall see, a consequence: a direct or indirect effect. Nor was slavery a result of the imperial government. It appears every where among the people of antiquity. We read of it &c

* Suet. in Claud. c. xv. Allum interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite, negantemque cognitionis rem, sed ordinari juris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, proprio negotio documentum daturum quam æquus iudex in alieno negotio futurus esset.

† "In the administration of justice he was diligent and assiduous; and frequently sat in the Forum out of course, to cancel the judgments of the Centumviral court, which had been procured through favour or interest." Suet. in Dom. c. 68.

‡ Quam judicaret (Adrianus), in consilio habuit non amicos suos . . . solum, sed jurisconsultos. Spartian.

§ Amm. Marcellin. i. xxii. c. 10.—Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 90, 91.—S. Greg. de Naz. Orat. iv.

|| Tacit. Annal. i. vi. c. 26.—"Cocceius Nerva was the constant companion of the prince, a man distinguished by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine."

existing in Gaul before the Roman conquest; and if it strikes us as being more terrible and disastrous under the empire, it is because we are better acquainted with the Roman than with previous epochs. And the ancient system being founded on war, on the conquest of man (industry is the conquest of nature), the system necessarily went on from war to war, from proscription to proscription, and from servitude to servitude, till it ended in a fearful diminution of the population. There were people of antiquity which, like the savage tribe of America, might boast of having eaten up fifty nations.

In my Roman history I have already shown how the class of small cultivators, having gradually disappeared, the large proprietors who succeeded them supplied their place with slaves, who quickly perished through the rigorous labour exacted of them, and disappeared in their turn. Draughted for the most part out of the civilized nations of antiquity, Greeks, Syrians, and Carthaginians, they had cultivated the arts for the behoof of their masters. The new slaves by whom they were replaced*—Thracians, Germans, and Scythians—could at the most only rudely imitate the models left by their predecessors. Objects, the fabrication of which required any industry, soon becoming imitations of imitations, grew ruder and ruder; and as the workmen who could achieve them became fewer and fewer, their price was constantly on the rise. The salaries of those dependent on the state ought to have been raised in the same proportion; and what marvel that the poor soldier who had to pay fifty sous† of our money for the pound of meat, and twenty-two francs for the commonest shoes manufactured, was bent on seeking any alleviation of his wretchedness, and ready to make revolutions in order to attain it. There has been much denunciation of the violence and rapacity of the soldiers who, for increase of pay, made and unmade emperors; and the cruel exactions of Severus and Caracalla, and the princes who drained the country to maintain the soldiery, have been severely blamed. But has

attention been directed to the excessive price of the necessities which the soldier had to provide out of very moderate pay! The insurgent legions say in Tacitus,—"Our blood and our lives are valued at ten asses a day. Out of this we must pay for our dress, our arms, our tents; must pay for our furloughs, and buy off the tyranny of the centurion*."

It was worse still when Diocletian created another army—that of civil functionaries! Till his time there existed a military power and a judicial power, which have been too often confounded. He created, or at least completed, the administrative power. This highly necessary institution was, nevertheless, at the beginning, an intolerable charge on the already ruined empire. Ancient society, very different from ours, was not incessantly reproducing riches by industrial means. Always consuming, but, since the destruction of the industrious classes by slavery, no longer producing, the land was constantly required to yield more, whilst its cultivators daily dwindled in numbers and in skill.

A more terrible picture has never been drawn than that left us by Lactantius, of this murderous strife between the hungry treasury, and the worn-out people, who could suffer and die, but not pay. "So numerous were the receivers, in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the labourer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been. . . . It were impossible to number the officials who were raised upon every province and town—*Magistri, Rationales*, clerks to the prefecture. Condemnations, proscriptions, and exactions were all they knew; exactions, not frequent but perpetual, and accompanied by intolerable outrages. . . . But the public distress, the universal mourning was when the scourge of the census came, and its takers, scattering themselves in every direction, produced a general confusion, that I can only liken to the misery of a hostile invasion, or of a town abandoned to the soldiery. The fields were measured to the very clods; the trees counted; each vine-plant numbered. Cattle were registered as well as men. The crack of the lash, and cry of the tortured filled the air. The faithful slave was tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against his sire. For lack of evidence, the torture was applied to extort one's own witness against oneself, and when nature gave way, they wrote down what one had never uttered. Neither old age nor sickness was exempted; the sick and the infirm were alike summoned. In taking ages, they added to the years of children, and subtracted from those of the elderly. Grief and consternation filled the land. Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumerators, they sent a succession of others, who each swelled the valuation—as a proof of service done; and so the imposts went on increasing. Yet the number of cattle fell off, and the people died. Nevertheless, the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead†."

* The following inscription was found at Antibes:—

D. M.
PUBLI SEPTENTRI
ONIS ANNOX XII QUI
ANTIPOLI IN THEATRO
BIDUO SALTAVIT SE FLA
GUIT.

"To the manes of the boy Septentrio, aged 12, who appeared twice on the stage of Antibes, danced, and pleased." This poor child was evidently one of those slaves who were educated with a view to their fetching high terms from managers, and who fell victims to the severity of their training. I know nothing more tragic than the brevity of this inscription, or which makes one more sensible of the hardness of the Roman world. "Appeared twice on the stage of Antibes, danced, and pleased."—Not a regret. Is not this a well-fulfilled fate! No mention of parents; the slave had no family. It is singular that he should have had a monument. The Romans, indeed, often raised them to their broken playthings. Nero built a monument "to the manes of a crystal vase."

† See Moreau de Jonnés, Tableau du prix moyen des Denrées d'après l'édit de Dioclétien retrouvé à Stratonicé.—A pair of calves (the commonest kind of covering for the foot) cost 25fr. 50c.; beef and mutton were 2fr. 50c. a pound; pork, 3fr. 60c. the pound; wine of the poorest quality, 1fr. 60c. the litre; a fat goose, 45fr. a hare, 35fr.; a fowl, 15fr.; a hundred of oysters, 22fr. &c.

* Tacit. Annal. l. 17.—The emperors were at last obliged to clothe and feed their troops. See Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. l. iii.

† Lactant. de M. Persecut. c. 7, 23. Adeo major esse corporat numerus accipitum quam dantium. . . . Filii & versus parentes suspendebantur, &c.—A sort of warfare was esta-

Who suffered for these numerous insults and vexations, endured by freemen—the slaves, the dependent colonists or labourers, whose condition daily became more akin to slavery. On them the proprietors heaped all the insults and exactions with which they were overwhelmed by the imperial agents; and they had been wrought to the highest pitch of misery and despair at the time Lactantius traced the foregoing picture. Then all the serfs of Gaul flew to arms, under the name of *Bagaudæ*.* They at once became masters of all the rural districts, burnt several towns, and committed more ravages than the barbarians could have done. There is a tradition that the two leaders whom they had elected, Ælianus and Amandus, were Christians; and there is no improbability in supposing that this struggle for the natural rights of man, was in some degree instigated by the doctrine of Christian equality. These indisciplined multitudes were overwhelmed by the emperor Maximian, whose victory seems to have been commemorated by the column of Cussy, in Burgundy†. But the *Bagaudæ* are mentioned long afterwards by Eumenius in one of his Panegyrics‡; and Idatius speaks on several places of the *Bagaudæ* of Spain§. Their misfortunes are particularly deplored by Salvian: "Stripped of their all by bloody judges, they had lost the rights of Roman freedom, have lost the name of Romans. We upbraid them with their misfortune, and reproach them with the name that we have forced upon them. How have they become *Bagaudæ* save through our tyranny, the perversity of the judges, and their proscriptions and rapine ||?"

blished between the treasury and the people, between torture and the obstinacy of silence. Ammian. Marc. says (in Comment. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 7. leg. 3^a), "that man among them would blush for himself, who could not show the marks of stripes received for eluding the payment of taxes."

(Modern travellers state exactly the same thing of the Egyptian fellahs.) TRANSLATOR.

* Prosper Aquit. in Chronik. "Almost all the slaves of Gaul entered into the Bagaudæ conspiracy."—Ducange, v. BAGAUDÆ, BACAUDÆ: Ex Paul. Oros. l. 7. c. 15. Eutrop. l. 9. Hieronymus in Chronico Euseb. "Diocletian shared the imperial dignity with Hericulus Maximian, who, having crushed the rural population that rose up under the name of *Bacaudæ*, had pacified Gaul."—Victor Scot. "A band of rustics and robbers, whom the inhabitants call *Bagaudæ*, having risen up in Gaul," &c.—Paganus, the Greek translator of Eutropius, says, "The boors of Gaul having revolted, the conspirators took the name of Bakaudai, signifying masters of the country." Suidas interprets βαγειν, to wander; but says, "Since Aurelius Victor states it to be a Gaulish word, may it not derive from *bagat*, or *bagad*, which, with the Armorican and Welsh (and therefore with the ancient Gauls) signifies a troop and assemblage of men?"—Catholicon Armoricum: "*Bagat*, assembly, a crowd, a flock." The first edition of Salvianus (1530) has it, *Bagaudas*, or *Bagaudas*. We find *Baugardos* in the Liber de Castro Ambasia, num. 8.—*Bacchardas*, Idatius in Chronico, in Dioeletiano.—"Some jeeringly call the Parisians *Badauts*, as if they were descendants of the *Bagaudæ*."—Turner says, "*Bagach*, in Irish, is warlike; in Erse, is fighting; *Bagad*, in Welsh, is multitude."—St. Maur-des-Possès, near Paris, was called the chateau of the *Bagaudæ*. See Vit. S. Baholeni.

* Millin, Voyage dans le Midi de la France, t. I.

† Eumen. de Schol. instruat.

‡ In the reigns of Rechila and Theodorici.

§ Salvian. De vero jud. et provid. iv. Imputamus nomen quod ipsi fecimus. Quibus enim rebus aliis Bagaudæ facti sunt, nisi iniquitatibus nostris, &c.?

• There can be no doubt that the Menapien, Carausius (born in the neighbourhood of Antwerp), was supported by the fugitive remnant of the *Bagaudæ*, in his usurpation of Britain. He had been commissioned to intercept at sea the Frank pirates, who were constantly crossing over into Britain; and he did so, but it was on their return voyage, for the sake of their booty. On this being discovered by Maximian, he reared his standard in Britain, declared himself independent, and was for seven years master of the province and of the straits*.

The accession of Constantine (A.D. 306, July 25th) and of Christianity was an era of joy and hope. Constantine Chlorus†, born, like his father, in Britain, was the child and nursing of Britain and of Gaul. At his father's death, he reduced the numbers obnoxious to the poll-tax in the latter country, from five-and-twenty to eighteen thousand ‡; and the army with which he subdued Maxentius must have been for the most part levied there.

The laws of Constantine are those of a party chief, who offers himself to the empire as a liberator and saviour. "Far, far from the people," he exclaims, "be the rapacious hands of the tax-gatherer §. All who have suffered from their extortions, should apprise thereof the presidents of the provinces. And, if these screen the wretches, we permit all to lay their complaints before the counts of the provinces, or before the prætorian prefect, if he is in the neighbourhood, in order that, duly informed of such robberies, we may punish the perpetrators as they deserve."

This language reanimated the empire. The sight of the triumphant cross alone was already balm to the heart. Vague and immense hopes sprang up at this sign of universal equality; and all believed that the end of their woes had come.

However, Christianity could do nothing for the material sufferings of society; which were as feebly remedied by the Christian emperors as by their

* Sext. Aurél. Victor, in Cæsar. ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 566.—Eutrop. l. ix. Ibid. 572.

† Schæpflin thinks not. See his Dissertation, Constantinus Magnus non fuit Britannus. Bale, 1741, in 4to.

‡ Eumen. Panegyric. ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 720. Great part of Autun was uncultivated.

§ Cessant jam nunc rapaces officialium manus. . . . Lex Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 7. leg. 1^a.—"Whoever, of any place, order, or degree, has good proof of injustice done by any of my judges, counts, friends, or palatines, let him come boldly and securely to me. I will hear whatever he has to say; and, if he substantiate his accusation, I will punish the wretch who has heretofore deceived me into belief of his integrity, and will honour and reward his accuser and convictor." Ex lege Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 4^a.—"If wards, widows, or other unprotected persons, shall beseech a hearing from our serenity, especially if they dread any person in power, the defendants against them must submit the case to us." Ex Lege Constantini, l. i. tit. leg. 2^a.—"We remit all arrears from the sixth assessment to the eleventh just made, as well to the curia as to the actual holder of the property assessed; so that we remit to all, under the name of arrears, whatever has remained unpaid during the last twenty years, whether due in kind or in money: of these twenty years, the public granary, the chest of the most honourable prefecture, nay, both our treasuries, must expect nothing." Constantin. in Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. leg. 10^a.—"You have remitted us the arrears of five years," says Eumenius to Constantine. See Ammian. Marc. in Commo Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. leg. 1^a.

predecessors. The result of every attempt at amelioration was but to show the certain powerlessness of the law, which could only revolve in the same fruitless circle. At one time, alarmed at the rapid depopulation of the country, it would attempt to ameliorate the fate of the labourer, and protect him against the proprietor*; and then the latter protested that he could not pay his taxes. At another, it would abandon the labourer, deliver him up to the proprietor, sink him in slavery†, try to root him to the soil; but the wretch died or fled, and the land was a desert. As early as the time of Augustus, the magnitude of the evil had called forth laws by which every thing, even morality‡, was sacrificed in order to keep up the population. Pertinax exempted from taxes for ten years all who should occupy deserted lands in Italy, in the provinces, or in allied kingdoms§, as well as securing them the right of property therein. He was followed in this policy by Aurelian. Probus was forced to transport from Germany men and cattle for the cultivation of Gaul||; and ordered the replanting of the vineyards* destroyed by Domitian¶. Maximian and Constantine Chlorus transported Franks and other Germans into the solitudes of Hainault, Picardy, and of the district

of Langres*; and yet the population fell off both in town and country. Some citizens ceased to pay taxes; which, therefore, were squeezed out of the rest, for the famished and pitiless treasury held the curiales and the municipal magistrates accountable for any deficiency.

To have the spectacle of a whole people in mortal agony, that fearful code must be read by which the empire essays to retain the citizen in the city, that crushes him whilst crumbling under his feet. The unfortunate curiales, the last who in the general poverty possessed a patrimony†, are declared the slaves, the serfs of the commonwealth. They have the honour of governing the city, and of apportioning its assessment at their own risk and peril; having to make good all deficiency‡. They have the honour of supplying the emperor with his *aurum coronarium* (coronary gold §). They are the most noble senate of the city, the very illustrious order of the curia||. However, so insensible are they to their happiness, that they are constantly seeking to escape from it. Daily is the legislator obliged to have recourse to new precautions, in order to close and barricade the curia—a strange magistracy which the law is constrained to keep constantly in sight, and bind to their curule chair. It prohibits their absenting themselves¶, from living in the country**, becoming soldiers††, or priests; and they can only enter orders on condition of making over their property to some one who will be curial in their stead. The law treats

* "If any tenant has a greater rent exacted of him by his lord than he has been in the habit of paying, &c. than has been formerly paid, let him appeal to the judge, and bring his proof; so that he who is convicted of having demanded more than he had been accustomed to receive, may be prevented from repeating such offence. The latter must also refund what he is proved to have exacted more than his due." Constant. in Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. 49.

† "Whoever is found harbouring another's tenant, must restore him to his rightful owner. . . . Tenants attempting flight may be put in irons like slaves, and compelled to do the labour that befits freemen, as slaves." Ex lege Constantini, in Cod. Theod. l. v. leg. 9^a. l. i.—"If any tenant, born on the estate, or transferred to it, shall have left it for thirty years, nor have been claimed for that period, no charge lies either against him or his immediate owner." Ex lege Honor. et Theod. in Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 10. leg. 1^a.—"We refuse access and deny hearing to men of this class in civil cases against their lords or patrons (those cases of extreme hardship excepted, in which princes have formerly given them a right of appeal)." Arc. et Hon. in Cod. Justin. l. xi. tit. 49.—"Whoever harbours or detains another's tenant, must pay two pounds' weight of gold to him, whose lands have been left untilled through the flight of their cultivator, and shall restore the runaway with all his goods and chattels." Theod. et Valent. in Cod. Just. l. xi. tit. 51. leg. 1^a.

These fluctuations in the law terminate by its identifying the tenant with the slave. "The tenant is transferable with the land." Valent. Theod. et Arc. in Cod. Justin. l. xi. tit. 46. leg. 2^a.—"The tenant follows the law of his birth: although, in point of condition, apparently free-born, he is the slave of the soil on which he is born." Cod. Justin. tit. 51.—"A tenant secreting himself, or seeking to desert from his patron's estate, is to be held in the light of a fugitive slave." Cod. Justin. tit. 37. See, also, the *Cours de Droit*, t. iv.—Savigny conceives their condition to have been, in one respect, worse than that of slaves, since he holds that the tenant could not be enfranchised.

‡ By the Julian law, no unmarried man can inherit of a stranger, or, indeed, of the majority of his kindred, except as a slave "a concubine, for the sake of a family."

§ See Herodian.

¶ Probi Epist. ad senatum, in Vopisc. Arantur Gallicana turba barbarie bonus, et Juge Germanica captiva præbent nostris colla cultoribus.

¶ Aurel. Vict. in Cesar.—Vopisc. ad ann. 281.—Eutrop. l. ix.—Euseb. Chronic.—Sueton. in Domit. c. 7.

* Eumen. Panegy. Constant. "As at thy nod, august Maximian, the Frank, restored by remitter to all his rights as a subject, joyfully tills the neglected lands of the Nervii and Treviri; so now, by thy victories, unconquered Constantius Caesar, the desert lands of the Ambiani, Bellocaci, Tricassini, and Lingones, smile under the labours of their barbarian cultivators."

† At the least, twenty-seven jugera.

‡ Neither could they dispose of their property without a warrant. ("He must apply to the judge, and explain, *seriatim*, the causes of his involvement." Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 33.) A curial, without family, could only will away the fourth part of his property; the remainder went to the curia.

§ Crowns of gold were anciently presented to victorious Roman generals by the allies whom their victories had served. The Italian cities imitated the custom. These crowns were suspended in the temple of Jupiter. Caesar, who had no fewer than two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two of these costly offerings, set the example of melting them down. At length, a present of money became the substitute; and what was at first a free-will gift, was rigidly exacted on every conceivable occasion of public rejoicing.) TRANSLATOR.

|| However, the law is good and generous, for it closes the curia neither against Jews, nor bastards. "This is no slur on the order, which must always be kept filled up." Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 1.—Spurio, &c. l. *Generatim* s. § 2. D. l. 1. tit. 2.

¶ Cod. Theod. l. x. t. 31. "He must not absent himself without having intimated his wish to the judge (*insinuato judicii desiderio*) and obtained his leave."

** Ibid. l. xii. t. 18. "All curiales are to be severely admonished not to quit or desert the towns for the country; well knowing that their town property is amenable to the treasury, and that they have nothing to do with the country, for the sake of which they have acted *impudently* in voiding their native place."

†† L. 51 *cohortalis* 30. Cod. Theod. l. viii. t. 4. "Whoever has dared to turn soldier is to be forced back to his primitive condition."—This provision disarmed all the proprietors.

transgressors in the latter respect with little ceremony—"Whereas certain worthless and idle persons have deserted their duties as citizens, &c., we shall not hold them free until they shall despise their patrimony. Is it fitting that souls intent on divine contemplation, should retain attachment for their worldly goods?"

The wretched curial has not even the hope of escaping servitude by death. The law pursues his sons. His office is hereditary. The law requires him to marry, and to beget and rear victims for it. Dejection took possession of men's souls; and a deadly inertia seized the whole social body. The people lay down on the ground in weariness and despair, as the beast of burden lies down under blows, and refuses to rise. Vainly did the emperors endeavour by offers of immunities and exemptions to recal the labourer to his abandoned field. Nothing could do that; and the desert increased daily. At the beginning of the fifth century, there were in Campagna the *Happy*, the most fertile province of the whole empire, three hundred and thirty thousand acres lying untilled.

In their panic at the sight of this desolation, the emperors had recourse to a desperate experiment. They ventured to pronounce the word, liberty. Gratian exhorted the provinces to form assemblies. Honorius endeavoured to organize those of Gaul; and besought, prayed, menaced, fined those who would not attend them. All was in vain; there was no arousing a people grown torpid under the weight of their ills. They had fixed their views elsewhere; and cared not for an emperor as powerless for good as for evil. They desired but death; or at least social death and the invasion of the barbarians. "They call for the enemy," say the authors of the time, "and long for captivity. . . ."

* Quidam ignavie sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta. . . . *L. quidam* 63. Cod. Theod. l. xii. t. 1.—Nec enim eos aliter, nisi contemptis patrimoniis, liberamus. Quippe animos divina observatione devinctos non deest patrimoniorum desiderio occupari. *L. curiales*, 104. ibid.

† "Deserted farms are to be made over to the decuriones of the neighborhood, free of taxes for three years" Constantine. in Cod. Justin. l. xi. t. 58. lex. 1.

‡ "By the indulgence of Honorius, we have remitted the taxes for a certain portion of Campania, as being waste land. . . . We order allowance to be made for three hundred and thirty thousand and forty-two acres, which, from the accounts of the surveyors and from ancient records, are known to be lying waste in Campania, and the records are burnt, as out of date." Arc. et Honor. in Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28 l. 2

§ By a law passed A. D. 382, it was enacted that, "Whether the provinces hold one general assembly, or each province holds its own, no magistrate whatever is to interfere with or interrupt the discussions required by the public interest." *L. sine integritate*, 9. Cod. Theod. l. xii. t. 12. See Raynour, *Historie du Droit Municipal en France*, l. 192.

¶ The principal provisions of the law of 418 are as follow: I. The assembly is to be held yearly. II. It is to meet on the Ides of August. III. It is to consist of the honourables, the proprietors, and the magistrates of each province. IV. If the magistrates of Novempopulania and Aquitaine are detained by their duties, those distant provinces may, as heretofore, send deputies. V. Absent magistrates are to be fined five pounds of gold; absent honourables and curiales, three. VI. The duty of the assembly is to take prudent counsel with regard to the public interests. Ibid. p. 199.

¶ Mamertin. in Panegy. Juliani. "Lands, safe by distance from the barbarians, were seized by shameless robbers under the plea of judgment in their favour. Freemen were subjected to shocking cruelties, and no one was safe from

Our countrymen who happen to be among the barbarians, so far from wishing to return, would rather leave us to join them. The wonder is, that all the poor do not the same. They are only hindered by the impossibility of carrying their little huts with them."

THE OLD AND THE NEW ERAS.

The barbarians arrive. The ancient social system is condemned. The long work of conquest, slavery, and depopulation touches its term. Must we conclude, then, that all this has been wrought in vain, and that devouring Rome leaves nothing in this land of Gaul, which she is about to evacuate? What remains of her, is every thing. She leaves them organization, government. She has founded the city; before her, Gaul had only villages, or, at the most, towns. These theatres, circuses, aqueducts, roads, which we still admire, are the lasting symbol of civilization established by the Romans, the justification of their conquest of Gaul. And such is the power of the organization so introduced, that even when life shall appear to desert it, and its destruction by the barbarians inevitable, they will submit to its yoke. Despite themselves, they must dwell under the everlasting roofs which mock their efforts at destruction: they will bow the head, and, victors as they are, receive laws from vanquished Rome. The great name of empire—the idea of equality under a monarch—so opposed to the aristocratical principle of Germany, has been bequeathed by Rome to this our country. The barbarian kings will take advantage of it. Cultivated by the Church, and received into the popular mind, it will move onward with Charlemagne and St. Louis, until it will gradually lead us to the annihilation of aristocracy, and to the equality and equity of modern times.

Such is the work of civil order. But by its side was planted another conservator of peace, by which it was harboured and saved during the tempest of barbarian invasion. By the side of the Roman magistracy, which is about to be overshadowed and to leave society in danger, Religion everywhere stations another protector which shall not fail it. The Roman title of *defensor civitatis* is everywhere devolved on the bishops. The ecclesiastical dioceses are divided on the model

injury; so that the barbarians were longed for, and the wretched people coveted captivity."—P. Oros. "There are Romans who prefer poverty with freedom among the barbarians, to the slavery of taxation at home."—Salvian. de Provid. l. v. "They had rather nominal captivity with freedom, than nominal liberty with captivity. The name of Roman citizen, once highly prized, is now repudiated. They live as captives under the yoke of the enemy, bearing the punishment of their existence of necessity, not of will; panting for freedom, but suffering under the extreme of servitude. They fear the enemy less than the tax-gatherer: the proof is, that they fly to the first to avoid the last. Hence, the one unanimous wish of the Roman populace, that it was their lot to live with the barbarian. Not only do our brethren decline to fly from them to us, but they fly from us to them; and, indeed, their marvel would be, that all our impoverished tributaries do not follow their example, were it not for being aware that they are detained by the impossibility of removing their families and small dwellings. Some who leave their fields and huts, under the pressure of taxation, fly to the lands of those who are richer than they, and become their labourers."—See, also, in Priscus, the story of a Greek who sought refuge with Attila.

of the imperial. The imperial universality is destroyed, but there appears the catholic universality. Dimly and uncertainly, the day of Roman primacy and of St. Peter begins to dawn*. The world will be maintained and regulated by the Church; her nascent hierarchy is the frame by which every thing is ranged or modelled. To her are owing external order, and the economy of social life; the latter, in particular, the work of the monks. The rule of St. Benedict sets the first example to the ancient world of labour by the hands of freemen†. For the first time the citizen, humbled by the ruin of the city, lowers his looks to the earth which he had despised. He bethinks himself of the labour, ordained in the beginning of the world, by the sentence pronounced on Adam. This great innovation of free and voluntary labour is to be the basis of modern existence.

The idea of free personality, faintly perceptible in the warlike barbarism of the Gallic clans, but more clearly seen in the Druidical doctrine of the immortality of the soul, expands into the full light

* At the beginning of the fifth century, Innocent I. advances some timid pretensions, appealing to custom and the decisions of a synod. Epist. 2. "When important causes occur, they should be referred, after the bishop has delivered judgment, to the apostolic see, as authorized by a synod, and required by holy use and wont."—Epist. 29. "The fathers have decreed, not prompted by themselves, but by God, that no business should be esteemed settled, even as regards distant and widely remote provinces, until it shall have been submitted to this see."—The meaning of the celebrated text, *Petrus es*, &c. was much disputed. Neither St. Augustin nor St. Jerome interpreted it in favour of the bishopric of Rome. Augustin. de Diversa. Serm. 108. Id. in Evang. Joan. tract. 124.—Hieronym. in Amos vi. 12. Id. adv. Jovin. l. 1. But St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, &c., recognise the rights of St. Peter and his successors. In proportion as we advance into the fifth century, we see the opposition disappear, and the popes and their partisans speak in a loftier tone. Concil. Ephes. ann. 431. actio iii. "To no one is it doubtful that Peter is the chief and head of the apostles, the pillar of faith, the foundation-stone of the catholic church; who to this time, and for ever, lives and gives judgment in the person of his successors."—Leonis I. Epist. 10. "The Lord has provided for the maintenance of his holy religion by sending forth the truth, for the salvation of all, through the apostolic trumpet; and has chiefly assigned that duty to the blessed Peter."—See, also, Epist. 12.—At last Leo the Great assumed the title of *Head of the Church Universal*. Leonis I. Epist. 103, 97.

† Regula S. Bened. c. 48. *Otiolitas inimica est anime, &c.* "Idleness is the enemy of the soul: therefore, the brethren must occupy themselves at certain hours in manual labour, at others in holy reading." After specifying the hours of work, it continues: "And if the poverty of the spot, necessity, or harvesting the produce, keep the brethren constantly occupied, let them not be afflicted therewith, since they are veritable monks if they live by the labour of their hands, as our fathers and the apostles did."

Thus, to the Ascetics of the East, offering up their solitary prayers from the heart, of the Thebaid, to the Stylites, alone on their columns, and to the wandering *Egyptions*, who rejected the law, and abandoned themselves to all the vagaries of an unbounded mysticism, there succeeded in the West wise communities, attached to the soil by labour. The independence of the Asiatic cenobites was replaced by a regular and invariable organization; the rule of which was no longer a string of admonitions, but a code. Liberty had been lost in the East in the quietude of mysticism: in the West she disciplined herself, and, to redeem herself, submitted to rule, to law, to obedience, and to labour.

of day in the fifth century. Pelagius the Briton*, lays down the law of the Celtic philosophy, the law followed by, the Irish Erigenes, the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. The steps which led to this great event can only be explained by tracing the history of Gallic Christianity.

When Gaul, introduced by Rome into the great community of nations, took her part in the general life of the world, it might be feared that she would forget herself and become wholly Greek or Italian, and, in fact, Gaul would have been vainly looked for in her towns. With those Greek temples and Roman basilics, how could her individuality exist! However, out of the towns, and, especially, towards the north, in those vast countries in which towns became more infrequent, nationality was still to be found. Druidism, proscribed, had taken refuge in the country and with the people. To please the Gauls, Pescennius Niger is said to have revived ancient mysterious rites; which, undoubtedly, were those of Druidism†. It was a Druidess who promised the empire to Diocletian‡. Another, when Alexander Severus was preparing again to attack the Druidical island, Britain, threw herself in his way, and called to him in the Gallic tongue—"Go, but hope not victory, nor trust in thy soldiers§." Thus the national language and religion had not perished; but slumbered under Roman culture until the advent of Christianity.

When the latter appeared in the world, and substituted the God-man for the God-nature, and replaced the poor sensual enthusiasm with which the ancient worship had wearied humanity by the serious joys of the soul and transports of martyrdom, the new belief was received by each nation according to the bent of its own peculiar genius. Gaul embraced it as something once prized, and now recovered. The influence of Druidism still fermented the land, and belief in the immortality of the soul was no novelty in Gaul. The Druids appear, too, to have inculcated the notion of a mediator. So that the Gallic nations rushed into the arms of Christianity, and in no country did martyrs more abound. The Asiatic Greek, St. Pothimus (ποθιμὸς, the desired) the disciple of the most mystical of the apostles, founded the mystic church of Lyons, the religious metropolis of the Gauls||; and the

* Born, according to some, in our Brittany, but according to others, in Great Britain. This, however, does not affect the question. It is enough that he was of Celtic origin.

† Eilianus Spartianus, in Pescenn. Nigro.—"Pescennius authorized, with general approval, the celebration of certain sacred rites which, in Gaul, are held in honour of the most chaste."

‡ Vopisc. in Numeriano.—"Whilst among the Tungri in Gaul, abiding in a hostelry, and contracting with a Druidess for his daily meals, she said to him, 'Diocletian, thou art too close, too miserly'; to which, the tale goes, Diocletian answered, 'I will be liberal when I shall be emperor'; to which her rejoinder is said to have been, 'Jest not, Diocletian, for emperor thou wilt be, when thou shalt have slain a wild boar.'" (Aper.)—Id. in Dioclet. ano. "Diocletian related that Aurelian once consulted some Druidesses, to know whether his descendants would enjoy the empire, and that the answer was, that no name would be more illustrious in the republic than theirs."

§ Æl. Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. Muller Druias auti exclamavit Gallico sermone, 'Vades, nec victoriam speres, nec militi tuo credas.'

|| It is to this period, about A. D. 177, and in the reign of

catacombs, and the height to which the blood of the eighteen thousand martyrs rose therein, are still shown there. Of these martyrs, the most celebrated was a woman, a slave, St. Blaudina.

Christianity made slower progress in the north, especially in the rural districts. Even in the third century, St. Martin found whole populations there to be converted, and temples to be overthrown*. This ardent missionary became as a god to the people; and the Spaniard Maximus, who had conquered Gaul with an army of Britons, thought himself insecure until he had won him over. The empress waited upon him at table; and, in her veneration for the holy man, picked up and eat the crumbs that he let fall. Virgins, whose convent he had visited, kissed and licked the spots which his hands had touched. Miracles marked every step of his progress. But what will for ever preserve his memory in honour, is his unsparing efforts to save the heretics whom Maximus was willing to sacrifice to the sanguinary zeal of the bishops†. For this, he hesitated at no pious fraud, but lied, cheated, and even compromised his reputation for sanctity: a heroical charity which is the sign by which we moderns know him from saint.

With St. Martin we must rank the archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, born at Trèves, and whom we may therefore account a Gaul. The haughtiness with which this intrepid priest closed the church to Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica, is well known.

The Gallic church was not less distinguished by knowledge than by zeal and charity; and she carried into religious controversy the same ardour with which she shed her blood for Christianity.

Marcus Aurelius, that writers assign the earliest conversions and martyrdoms which took place in Gaul. Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sacra, ap. Scr. R. Fr. I. 573. "Under Aurelius, the fifth persecution took place, and martyrdom was the first witnessed in Gaul."—Forty-six martyrs died along with St. Pothinus. Gregor. Turonens. de Glor. Martyr. I. i. c. 49.—Under Severus (A. D. 202) St. Irenæus, at first bishop of Vienne, and then successor of St. Pothinus, suffered martyrdom together with nine thousand (others say eighteen thousand) of each sex and all ages. Half a century after him, St. Saturninus and his companions had founded seven other bishoprics. Passio S. Saturni. ap. Greg. Tur. I. i. c. 28. "In the time of Decius there were sent as bishops to preach in Gaul, Gatianus to Tours, Trophimus to Arles, Paulus to Narbonne, Saturninus to Toulouse, Dionysius to the Parisii, Stremonius to the Arverni, Martial, bishop elect, to the Lemovices."—Pope Zosimus claims the primacy for Arles. Epist. I. ad Episc. Gall.

* Which temples? I incline to think that temples devoted to the national religion, and to local superstitions, are here meant. The Romans who penetrated into the north could not in so short a time have inspired the natives with much attachment to their gods. Sulp. Sev. vita S. Martini. See Appendix.

† Id. ibid. ap. Scr. R. Fr. I. 573. See also Greg. de Tours, I. x. c. 31. St. Ambrose, who happened to be at Trèves at the same time, gave him his support. Ambros. epist. 24. 26.—St. Martin had founded a convent at Milan, of which city Ambrose shortly after became bishop. The difficulty which the Milanese had to prevail upon him to accept the see, is well known. It was the same with St. Martin, with whom stratagem and almost violence had to be used to induce him to accept the bishopric of Tours. Sulp. Sev. loco citato.—These coincidences in the fate of two men, equally distinguished by their ardent and courageous charity, are curious.

Greece and the East, whence Christianity went forth, endeavoured to bring it back to themselves, if I may so speak, and to induce it to return to their own bosom. On one hand, the Gnostics and Manicheans tried to amalgamate it with Parsism; claiming a share in the government of the world for Ahriman or Satan, and seeking to make Christ compound with the principle of evil. On the other, the Platonists proclaimed the world to be the work of an inferior god; and their disciples, the Arians, saw in the Son a being dependent on the Father. The Manicheans would have made Christianity altogether an eastern religion: the Arians, pure philosophy; and both were equally attacked by the fathers of the Gallic Church. In the third century, St. Irenæus wrote his work against the Gnostics, entitled *On the Unity of the Government of the World*. In the fourth, St. Hilary of Poitiers heroically defended the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father, was exiled as Athanasius was, and languished many years in Phrygia: whilst Athanasius took refuge at Trèves with St. Maximin, bishop of that city, and native of Poitiers likewise. St. Jerome wants terms in which to express his admiration of St. Hilary. He finds in him Hellenic grace, and "the loftiness of the Gallic buskin." He calls him "the Rhone of Latinity." Elsewhere, he says, "the Christian Church has grown up and flourished under the shadow of two trees, St. Hilary and St. Cyprian." (Gaul and Africa.)

Up to this period, the Gallic follows the movement of the Universal Church, and is part thereof. The question raised by Manicheism is that of God and the world; Arianism concerns Christ, the Man-God. Polemics have yet to treat of man himself; and then Gaul will speak in her own name. At the very time that she gives Rome the emperor Avitus (a native of Auvergne), and that Auvergne under the Ferreols and Apollinarii* seems desirous of forming an independent power between the Goths, already established in the south, and the Franks, who are about to precipitate themselves from the north, at this very time Gaul claims an independent existence in the sphere of thought. By the mouth of Pelagius she adjuces the great name of human Liberty, which the West is no more to forget.

Why is there evil in the world?—with this question begins the controversy†. Eastern Manicheism replies, *Evil is a god*; that is to say, an unknown principle. This is no answer: it is advancing one's own ignorance as an explanation. Christianity replies, Evil arises out of human liberty: not by the fault of men, but of one man, Adam, whom God punishes in his posterity.

This solution only partially satisfied the logicians of the Alexandrian school, and was the cause of much suffering to the great Origen; who, seeing no means of escaping from the innate corruption of humanity, went through a kind of voluntary

* See Appendix.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 37. ap. Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte, v. 139. "The question, 'Whence is evil?' is much discussed by the heretics."—Tertullian de Præser. Heret. c. 7. ibid. "The same subjects are revolved by heretics and philosophers, the same complexities bandied to and fro,—

Whence comes evil, and why comes it? and whence is man, and how produced?"

martyrdom by self-mutilation. To mutilate the flesh is easier than to extirpate the passions. Shrinking from the belief that they who have not committed are answerable for the sin,—unwilling to accuse God, fearing to find Him the author of evil, and thus to lapse into Manicheism,—he preferred the supposition that souls had sinned in a previous state of existence, and that men were fallen angels*. If each man were responsible for himself, and the author of his own fall, it would follow that he must be his own expiation, his own redeemer, and soar up to God through virtue. "Let Christ have become God," said the disciple of Origen, the audacious Theodore of Mopsuesta, "I envy him not : what he has become, I also can become by the strength of my nature†."

This doctrine, impressed as it is with Greek heroism and stoical energy, was readily accepted by the West, where, undoubtedly, it would in time have arisen of itself. The Celtic genius, which is that of individuality, is closely affined to the Greek. Both the Church of Lyons and that of Ireland were founded by Greeks; and the Scotch and Irish clergy long spoke no other tongue. John Scotus, or Hibernicus, revived the doctrines of the school of Alexandria in the time of Charles the Bald; but the history of the Celtic Church will be pursued in another place.

The man who, in the name of that Church, proclaimed the independence of human morality, is only known to us by his Greek name of Pelagios (the Armenian,—that is, the man from the seashore‡). Whether he were layman or monk is uncertain; but the irreproachableness of his life is uncontested. His opponent, St. Jerome, in drawing the portrait of this champion of liberty, represents him as a giant: giving him the stature, strength, and shoulders of Milo of Crotona§. He spoke with labour, and yet with power||. Com-

pelled by the invasion of the barbarians to take refuge in the East, he promulgated his doctrines there, and was attacked by his former friends, St. Jerome and St. Augustin; and, in point of fact, Pelagius, by denying original sin*, argued against the necessity for redemption, and struck at the root of Christianity†. So that St. Augustin, who, till then, had his whole life supported liberty against Manichean fatalism, devoted the remainder of his years to subjecting the pride of human liberty to Divine grace so vehemently as to run the risk of crushing it altogether; and, in his writings against Pelagius, the African‡ founded that mystic fatalism so often revived in the middle ages, especially in Germany, where it was proclaimed by Gotterchalk, Tauler, and numerous others, until it finally prevailed through Luther.

It was not without reason that the great bishop of Hippo, the head of the Christian Church, opposed Pelagius with such violence. To reduce Christianity to philosophy was to strip it of the future, and to strike it dead. What would the dry rationalism of the Pelagians have availed, at the approach of the Germanic invasion? It was not with this fierce theory of liberty that the conquerors of the empire were to be humanized,—but by preaching to them the dependence of man and the all-powerfulness of God. The whole power, both of the religion and poetry of Christianity, was not more than was required to subdue and soften these unbridled barbarians; and the Roman world instinctively felt that its place of refuge would be the ample bosom of religion—its hope, and sole asylum, when the empire, which had boasted itself eternal, became in its turn a conquered nation.

Thus Pelagianism, at first favourably received, even by the pope of Rome, soon gave way to the doctrine of grace. Vainly did it make concessions, and assume in Provence the softened form of semi-Pelagianism, and endeavour to reconcile human liberty with Divine grace‡. Despite the sanctity

* S. Hieronym. ad Pammach. "He says in his treatise, *Depl. appt.*, that souls are confined in this body, as in a dungeon, and that they dwell among rational creatures in the heavens, where man was made in Paradise." St. Jerome then reproaches him "with so allegorizing Paradise as totally to deprive it of historical truth, understanding by trees, angels, by rivers, celestial virtues, and destroying the whole keeping and character of Paradise by a figurative interpretation." Thus, by giving another explanation of the origin of evil, Origen renders the doctrine of original sin useless, and subverts its history. He denies its necessity first, then its reality. He also held that the demons—angels who had fallen like men—would repent and amend, and be happy with the saints (*et cum sanctis ultimo tempore regnantes*). Thus this doctrine, thoroughly stoical in character, endeavoured to establish an exact proportion between the sin and the punishment; but the terrible question returned in its entirety, for it still remained to be explained how evil had begun in a former life.

† Augustin. t. xli. Diss. de Primis Auct. Hæc. Pelagianism.

‡ He was also called Morgan (*môr*, sea, in the Celtic tongue). He was a disciple of the Origenist Rufinus, who translated Origen into Latin (*Anastasi Epist. ad Glisler*, i. 372.), and published in his defence a vehement invective against St. Jerome. Thus Pelagius reaps the inheritance of Origen.

§ S. Hieronym. Pref. l. ii. in Jerem. Tu qui Milonis humeris intumescis—"The dumb Rufinus howls through the dog of Albion (Pelagius), large and bulky, who does more by kicking than by biting."

|| St. Augustin. t. xli. gls. 1. De Primis Auct. Hæc. Pelag.

* There can be no hereditary sin, argued Pelagius, for it is will alone that constitutes sin.—"Quæregendum est, peccatum voluntatis an necessitatis est? Si necessitatis est peccatum, non est; si voluntatis, vitari potest." (Augustin. De Pecc. Origin. 14.) Therefore, he continues, man can be without sin; just like Theodore of Mopsuesta.—"It is asked whether man should be without sin? Undoubtedly he should. If he should, he can. If it is commanded, he can." (*Id. De Perfectione Justitie Homin.*) Origen, likewise, only asked for perfection—"liberty, aided by the law and doctrine." Ibid. xli. 47.

† Origen, who also had denied original sin, conceived the incarnation to be mere allegory; at least, he was reproached with it. (*Ibid. li. 49. V. Pamphylus in Apol. pro Origen.*) St. Augustin saw clearly the necessity of this consequence. See the treatise, *De Naturâ et Gratia*, t. x. p. 128.

‡ The first who attempted this difficult reconciliation was the monk John Cassian, a disciple of St. Chrysostom, and who pleaded with the pope to recall the latter from exile. He asserted that the first movement towards good sprang from free-will, and that grace then came to enlighten and support it. He did not, with St. Augustin, believe grace to be free and preventing, but only efficacious. (*Collat. xlii. c. 3. Qui (Deus) cum in nobis ortum quendam bonæ voluntatis insexperit, illuminat eam confestim atque confortat, et incitat ad salutem!* And he cites the text of the Apostle, "for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.") He dedicated one of his books to St. Honoratus, who, as well as he, had visited Greece (Gallia Christ.), and who founded Lerins, from

of the Breton Faustus*, despite the renown of the bishops of Arles, and the glory of that illustrious monastery of Lerins†, which gave the Church a dozen archbishops, twelve bishops, and more than a hundred martyrs, mysticism triumphed. The approach of the barbarians hushed all disputes; the philosophic chairs were deserted, and the schoolmen silent. Faith, simplicity, and patience were what the world then needed: but the seed was sown—to ripen in its season.

CHAPTER IV.

RECAPITULATION.—DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.—INFLUENCE OF THE NATIVE AND OF FOREIGN RACES.—CELTIC AND LATIN SOURCES OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.—DESTINY OF THE CELTIC RACE.

The religious philosophy of Pelagius is the type of the Helleno-Celtic genius; the distinctive characteristic of which is formalized in the independent I, the free personality, of later philosophical writers. The German element, very different in its nature, will be seen struggling with it, and so constraining it to justify and develop itself, and bring out all that is within it. The middle ages are the struggle; modern times, the victory.

which Monastery went forth the most illustrious defenders of semi-Pelagianism. The struggle soon began. St. Prosper of Aquitaine had denounced Cassian's writings to St. Augustin, and they combined to combat his doctrines. Servius opposed Vincent to them, and that Faustus who maintained against Mamertius Claudian the materiality of the soul, and who wrote, like Cassian, against Nestorius, &c. Arles and Marseilles inclined to semi-Pelagianism; and the first expelled its bishop, St. Heros, who was hostile to Pelagius, and chose in his stead St. Honoratus, who was succeeded by his relative, St. Hilary,—like him, a supporter of the opinions of Cassian. Both were buried at Lerins. In the ninth century, the history of semi-Pelagianism was written by Gennadius.—Consult on this controversy the excellent *Lectures* of M. Guizot; no where has the question been more clearly stated.

* Sidon. Apollin. epist. ad Basil. "Sacratissimorum pontificum, Leonii, Fausti," etc. In 447, St. Hilary of Arles forces him to sit down, although simply a priest, between two holy bishops, those of Fréjus and of Riez. Hist. Littéraire de France, i. 540.

† Gallia Christ. iii. 1189. Lerins was founded by St. Honoratus, in the diocese of Antibes, at the close of the fourth century. St. Hilary of Arles, St. Cæsarius, Sidonius of Clermont, Ennodius of Ticino, Honoratus of Marseilles, and Faustus of Riez, call Lerins the blessed isle, the land of miracles, the isle of saints (this name was also given to Ireland); the abode of those who live in Christ, &c. (See, also, Eucher. ad Hilari. Sidon. Apoll. in Eucharist., Cæsarius in Hom. xx.) Innocent reformed this monastery. It was annexed to Cluny, then to St. Victor of Marseilles, in 1366, and, finally, in 1516, to Monte Cassino. "At this time (1725)," say the authors of *Gallia Christiana*, "it contains only six monks, of whom three are septuagenarians."—Lerins was intimately connected with St. Victor of Marseilles, which was founded by Cassian, about the year 410. According to a contemporary, the rules of the Egyptian monks were followed at St. Victor (Gall. Christ. ii.); and Ennodius says of Lerins (de Laude Ereni ad Hilari.), "There are now in Lerins religious old men, who live in separate cells, and represent in Gaul the fathers of Egypt," &c. The two monasteries were a nursery of freethinkers.

But, before bringing the Germans on the soil of Gaul, and assisting at this new interfusion of race, I must retrace my steps in order to estimate with precision, how far the different races previously settled there may have modified the primitive genius of the country, and inquire what share these races had in producing the collective result, what was the position of each in the community, and ascertain how much there remained of the indigenous element in the midst of so many foreign ones.

The *origines* of France have been explained on different systems.

Some deny foreign influence; and will not have France owe any thing to the language, literature, or laws of the conquerors. What do I say?—why, if it depended upon them, all mankind would find their originals in ours. Le Brigant, and his disciple, Latour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of the republic, derive every language from the Bas-Breton. Intrepid and patriotic critics, the liberation of France does not content them, unless they subject to it the whole of the rest of the world. Historians and legislators are less daring. Nevertheless, the abbé Dubos will not allow the conquest of Clovis to have been a conquest; and Grosley affirms our common law to be anterior to Cæsar.

Others less chimerical, perhaps, but as exclusive and attached to a system, deduce every thing from tradition, and the different importations of commerce or of conquest. In their opinion, our French tongue is a corruption of the Latin; our law, a corruption of the Roman or German law, and our traditions, a simple echo of the foreigners. They give one-half of France to Germany, the other to the Romans, and leave her nothing to claim in her own right. Apparently, those great Celtic nations, so much bruted by antiquity, were of so abandoned a cast as to be disinherited by nature, and to have disappeared without leaving a trace. Gaul, which armed five hundred thousand men against Cæsar, and which, under the empire, appears still so populous, has wholly disappeared, dissolved by intermixture with some Roman legions, or the bands of Clovis. All our northern French are the offspring of the Germans, although their language contains so little German; and Gaul has perished utterly, like the Atlantes. All the Celts are gone; and if any remain, they will not escape the arrows of modern criticism. Pinkerton does not suffer them to rest in the tomb, but fastens furiously upon them like a true Saxon, as England does on Ireland. He contends that they had nothing of their own, not a particle of original genius; that all the *gentlemen* are descended from the Goths (or Saxons, or Seythians, it is all the same to him); and, in his whimsical furor, desires the establishment of professorships of Celtic, "to teach us to laugh at the Celts."

The time is gone by for choosing between the two systems, and for declaring oneself the exclusive partisan of native genius or of external influences. History and good sense are repugnant to both. That the French are no longer Gauls, is obvious: vain would be the search among us for those large, white, soft frames, those infant giants, who burnt Rome as a pasture. On the other hand, the French is widely distinct from both the Roman and German genius; neither of which serve to throw any light upon it.

We have no wish to reject incontestable facts. It is indisputable that our country is largely indebted to foreign influence. All the races of the world have contributed to dower this Pandora of ours.

The original basis*—where all has entered and all been received—is the race of the Gæli, young, soft, mobile, clamorous, sensual, and fickle, prompt to learn, quick to reject, and greedy of novelty. Here we have the primitive, and the perfectible element.

Such children require stern preceptors, and they will have them both from the South and the North. Their mobility will be fixed, their softness become hardened and strengthened, reason will be added to their instinct, and reflection to their impulsiveness.

In the South, appear the Iberians of Liguria and the Pyrenees, with all the harshness and craft of the mountaineer character; then, the Phœnician colonies; and after a long interval, the Saracens. The mercantile genius of the Semitic nations strikes root early in the south of France. In the middle ages, the Jews are altogether domiciled there; and at the epoch of the Albigenses, Eastern doctrines, had easily obtained a footing.

From the North, sweep down in good time the obnoxious Cymry, the ancestors of our Bretons and of the Welsh. They have no mind to pass over the earth and be forgotten. Their progress must be marked by monuments. They rear the needles of Loc Maria Ker, and trace the lines of Carnac: rude and mute memorials, futile attempts to hand down traditions which posterity will be unable to understand. Their Druidism points to immortality, but is incapable of establishing order even in the present life. It only reveals the germ of morality which exists in savage man, as the mistletoe, shining through the snow, testifies to the life that lies dormant in winter's embrace. The genius of war is still in the ascendant. The Bolg descend from the North, and the whirlwind sweeps over Gaul, Germany, Greece, and Asia Minor. The Gauls follow, and Gaul overflows the world. It is the exuberant sap of life running out in every direction. The

* (Dr. Prichard (*On the Celtic Nations*) has satisfactorily demonstrated the oriental origin of the native Celt, as well from etymological proofs as from similarity of physical conformation and strong resemblance of superstitions, manners, customs, and observances. The connexion of the Slavonian, German, and Pelagian races with the ancient Asiatic nations, may be established by historical testimony; and the relation between the languages of those races and the Celtic, is such as to identify them as branches of the same original stock.

Logan conjectures that the Greek *Galactoi* (milky-white men) was first used to distinguish the whites generally from the negro races, as the native Americans style themselves the red men in contradistinction to the Anglo-Americans; and that when the most ancient Celtic had become unknown, it was given as the origin of the name, Celts, having been derived from the primitive language of the first settlers of the country. He adds, "It is worthy of observation, that 'Gæli' has been by good antiquaries translated the language of white men. *Gælis* signifies whitened, and comes from Gaul, white. The similarity of this word to the term 'Celts' is striking; from it, in all probability, came the Roman *Gallus*." *Traveller*.

† The true, they were often ill-treated there, but less so than elsewhere. They were allowed schools in Montpellier, and in many other towns of Languedoc and Provence.

Gallo-Belgæ have the warlike temperament and prolific power of the modern Bolg of Belgium and of Ireland; but in their history the social powerlessness of the latter countries is already visible. Gaul is as weak to acquire as to organise. The natural and warlike society of clanship, prevails over the elective and sacerdotal society of Druidism. Founded on the principle of a true or a fictitious relationship, the clan is the rudest of associations, its bond flesh and blood: clanship centres in a chief, a man*.

But there is need of a society in which man shall no longer devote himself to man, but to an idea; and, firstly, to the idea of civil order. The Roman *agrimensores* will follow the legions to measure, survey, and lay out according to the true cardinal points as prescribed by their antiquaries, the colonies of Aix, of Narbonne, and of Lyons. The city enters into Gaul; Gaul enters into the city. The great Caesar, after having disarmed Gaul by fifty battles and the death of some millions of men, opens to it the ranks of the legions, and, throwing down every barrier, introduces it into Rome and the senate. Then, our Gallo-Romans become orators, rhetoricians, jurists; and may be seen surpassing their masters, and teaching Latin to Rome herself. There, they learn in their turn, civil equality under a military chief—learn the lesson already taught them by their levelling genius. Fear not their ever forgetting it.

However, Gaul will not know herself until the Greek spirit shall have aroused her. Antoninus the Pious, is from Nismes. Rome has said—the city. Stoic Greece says, through the Antonines—the city of the world. Christian Greece says, likewise, but better still, through Saints Pothinus and Irenæus, who, from Smyrna and Patmos, bear to Lyons the word of Christ; mystic word, word of love, which offers worn-out man rest and sleep in God, as Christ himself, at his last supper, rested his head on the bosom of the disciple whom He loved. But in the Cymric genius, in our hard west, there is a feeling repugnant to mysticism, and which hardens itself against the mild and winning word, refusing to lose itself in the bosom of the moral God, presented it by Christianity, just as it rejected the dominion of the God Nature of the ancient religions. The organ of this stubborn protest of the *I*, is Pelagius, heir to the Greek Origin.

If these reasoners triumphed, they would found liberty before society was settled. Religion and the Church, which have to remodel the world, require more docile auxiliaries. The Germans are needed. Whatever miseries their invasion may inflict, they will soon aid the Church. From the second generation, they are her's; a touch, and

* Independently of this common bond, we shall find men devoting themselves to this man who supports them, and whom they love. In this feeling originated the "Devotees" of the Gauls and Aquitanians. Caesar, Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 22. "Devoti, whom they call *solduri*, . . . nor has there ever been an instance of any one refusing to die when he; so whose friendship he had devoted himself, was slain."—Athenæus, l. vi. c. 13. "They say that the king of the Scythians (a Celtic race) has a guard of six hundred picked men, who are called *solduri* by the Gauls, or, as we should say in Greek, *εὐχόμενοι* (men who have vowed to live and die with their lords)." *Zaidi*, or *Soldi*, signifies a hyge in the Basque tongue.

they are overcome, and will remain in their state of enchantment a thousand years. "*Bow the head, mild Sicamber* *," the stubborn Celt would not have bowed it. These barbarians, who seemed instruments for universal destruction, become, whether wittingly or not, the docile instruments of the Church, who will employ their young arms in forging the band of steel which is to unite modern society. The German hammer of Thor and Charles Martel will ring upon, subdue, and discipline the rebellious genius of the West.

Such has been the accumulation of races in our Gaul: race upon race, people upon people, Gauls, Cymry, Belg— from one quarter, Iberians; from other quarters again, Greeks, and Romans: the catalogue is closed by the Germans. This said, have we said—France! rather, all remains to be said. France has formed herself out of these elements, whilst any other union might have been the result. Oil and sugar consist of the same chemical elements. But the elements given, all is not given; there remains the mystery of a special and peculiar nature to be accounted for. And how much the more ought this fact to be insisted upon, when the question is of a living and active union, such as a nation; a union, susceptible of internal development and self-modification! Now, this development and these successive modifications, through which our country is undergoing constant change, are the subject matter of French history.

Let us not give too much importance either to the primitive element of the Celtic genius, or to the additions from without. The Celts have contributed to the result, there can be no doubt; so have Rome, Greece, and the Germans. But who has united, fused, converted these elements, who has transmuted, transformed, and made a single body of them, who has eliminated out of them our France? France herself, by that internal travail and mysterious production, compounded of necessity and of liberty, which it is the province of history to explain. The primitive acorn is poor compared with the gigantic oak which springs from it: let then the living oak which has cultivated, made, and is making itself, lift its head with pride.

And first; are we to refer the primitive civilization of Gaul to the Greeks? The influence of Marseilles has plainly been exaggerated. It might enrich the Celtic tongue with some Greek words†; the Gauls, having no letters of their own, might borrow the Greek characters for important matters‡. But the Hellenic genius had too much contempt for the barbarians, to gain real influence over them. Few in number, traversing the country with distrust, and only for commercial purposes,

the Greeks differed too widely from the Gauls both in race and language, and were too superior to them for fellowship. They stood in the same relation to them that the Anglo-Americans do to their savage neighbours, who are driven further into the wild, and are gradually disappearing, without sharing the benefits of a state of civilization so far beyond their capacity, but into which it was sought to have initiated them all at once.

It was late when Greece, through philosophy and religion, exerted an influence upon Gaul. She aided Pelagius; but only in giving a logical expression to a feeling already existent in the national genius. Then came the barbarians; and it took ages for resuscitated Gaul to remember Greece.

The influence of Rome is more direct; and has left stronger traces in manners, law, and language. It is still popularly believed that our language is wholly Latin; yet, is not this a strange exaggeration?

To believe the Romans, their language prevailed in Gaul, as throughout the empire*. The conquered were assumed to have lost their language with their gods. The Romans did not choose to know that there existed any other language than their own; their magistrates answered the Greeks in Latin†; and, in Latin, says the Digest, the prætors must expound the laws‡.

Thus the Romans, hearing only their own tongue from the tribunal, the prætorium, and the basilica, fancied they had extirpated the languages of the conquered. However, many facts exist to teach us what to think of this pretended universality of the Latin tongue. The rebel Lycians, having sent a countryman of theirs, but a citizen of Rome, to sue for pardon, it turned out that he was utterly ignorant of the language of the city§. Claudius found that he had given the government of Greece, a most distinguished office, to an individual unacquainted with Latin||; and since Strabo observes,

* St. Augustin, De Civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 7. "The impetuous city labours, not only to impose her yoke on the conquered nations, but to give them her language also."

† Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2. "An idea may be formed of the anxiety of the ancient magistrates to preserve their own dignity and that of the Roman people, from the fact that, among other signs of grave authority, they were most strict in never answering Greek pleaders except in Latin. Nay, even denying them the advantages derivable from their own plastic tongue, they compelled them to speak through an interpreter, not only in our city, but even in Greece and Asia, in the view of spreading through the world a profound respect for the speech of Rome."

(Gibbon says, "So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue.") TRANSLATOR.

‡ L. Decreta, D. l. xlii. t. i. Decreta a prætoribus Latine interponi debent. Tiberius apologized to the senate for using the Greek word monopoly, "Adeo ut monopolium nominatur, prius veniam postulârit quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset." "When, too, a decree was about to pass the senate, in which the Greek word *ἐπιστολή* had been inserted, he recommended its being changed." Suet. in Tiber. c. 71.

§ Dio Cass. l. ix. ed. Keymar, p. 955.

|| Suet. in Claud. c. 16. Splendidi virum, Græcæque provinciæ principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum.

(What Suetonius says is, that "he (Claudius) not only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of his freedom of Rome, a man of great distinction, and of the first rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the

* Mitis Sicamber. See the following chapter.

† M. Champollion Figeac has recognized some even in Dauphiny. The tradition of the recognition of Ulysses and Penelope is found, under a romantic shape, in Marseilles. Not very long since, even the Church of Lyons observed the rites of the Greek Church. It appears that the Celtic medals, prior to the Roman conquest, present a striking resemblance to the Macedonian coins. Caumont. Cours d'Antiq. Monument. i. 249. All this seems to me insufficient to prove that the Gallic genius has been much or deeply modified by Greek influences. I incline rather to believe in a primitive analogy between the two races, than in the strong effect of their intercommunication.

‡ See the quotation from Strabo, p. 20.

that the tribes of Bœtica, and most of those of Southern Gaul, had adopted the Latin tongue*, the circumstance could not have been common, or he would not have taken the trouble to remark it. "I learnt Latin," says St. Augustin, "without fear or flogging, in the midst of the caresses, smiles, and sports of my nurses †," just the plan followed with Montaigne, and on which he congratulates himself. But the acquisition of the language must have generally been a harder task, or St. Augustin would not have introduced the subject.

If Martial congratulates himself that all the world at Vienne had his book in their hands ‡; if St. Jerome addresses the ladies of Gaul, St. Hilary and St. Avitus, their sisters, and Sulpicius Severus his mother-in-law, in Latin; and if Sidonius recommends the reading of St. Augustin to women §, all this only proves what no one doubts—namely, that the higher ranks of the south of Gaul, particularly of Roman colonies, as of Lyons, Vienne, or Narbonne, spoke Latin by choice.

As to the mass of the people, and I say this of the northern Gauls particularly, one can hardly suppose that the Romans invaded Gaul in sufficiently large numbers to induce it to abandon the national speech. According to the judicious rules laid down by M. Abel Renuzat, it appears that a foreign tongue generally mingles with an indigenous one, in proportion to the number of those who introduce it into the country; and we may add, that in the particular case in question, the Romans, confined to the towns, or to the quarters of the legions, can have had but little communication with the slaves who were the tillers of the soil, the half-servile husbandmen who were scattered in the country. Even among the inhabitants of the towns and the persons of distinction—and in the language of those false Romans, who arrived at the dignities of the empire—we find traces of the national idiom. The Provençal Cornelius Gallus, a consul and prætor, used the Gallic word *casnar* to signify *associator puella* (a girl's suitor), and Quintilian objects it to him ||. Antonius Primus, that Toulousan, whose victory gained the empire for Vespasian, was originally named *Bœ* ¶, a Gallic word found in all the Celtic dialects, as well as in French. In 230, by a decree of Septimius Severus, feoffments of trust are to be received, not only when executed in Latin and Greek, but in the *Gallic tongue* as well **. It has previously been

related that a Druidess addressed Alexander Severus in Gaelic; and, in 473, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, thanks his brother-in-law, the powerful Ecdicius, for having induced the nobility of the Arverni to discontinue the rude Celtic*.

What, it will be inquired, was the vulgar tongue of the Gauls? Are there any grounds for thinking it to have been analogous to the Welsh and Breton, the Irish and Scotch dialects? There is reason to believe so. The words *Bœ*, *Alp*, *barad*, *derwid* (Druid), *argel* (cave), *trimarkisia* (three horse-men †), and numerous names of places, mentioned by classic writers, are found unchanged in those dialects up to the present day.

These examples are enough to render it probable that the Celtic tongues have been perpetuated, and to prove the analogy of the ancient Gallic dialects with those spoken by the modern populations of Wales and Brittany, Scotland and Ireland. They who are aware of the marvellous pertinacity of these people, their attachment to their ancient traditions, and hatred of the foreigner, will not consider our proofs trifling.

A remarkable peculiarity of these languages is their striking analogy with Greek and Latin. The first

Romance rustic language that was referred to when the Council of Auxerre prohibited young girls from singing hymns in mingled Latin and Romance; whilst, on the contrary, those of Tours, Reims, and Mentz, (813. 847.) order the prayers and homilies to be translated into it. And, finally, it was in this language that was couched the famous oath, taken by Lewis the German to Charles the Bald, which is the earliest monument of our national tongue. There is no doubt that the proportion in which either language contributed to its formation, differed according to the locality. About 960, an Italian could write "our vernacular language approximates to the Latin," (Martene, Vet. Scr. i. 298.) which explains why the vulgar Provençal tongue was common to parts of Spain and Italy, but there is nothing to show that it was the same with the vulgar tongue of central and northern Gaul. Gregory of Tours (l. viii.), describing the entrance of Gontran into Orleans, clearly distinguishes between the Latin and the common tongue. In 955, we find a bishop preaching in the Gallic tongue. (Gallicæ. Concil. Hardouin. v. 731.) The monk of St. Gall gives *celtres* for lévriers, greyhounds, as a Gallic word. We read in the life of St. Columba, (Acta SS. sec. ii. p. 17.) "a little wild animal, which men vulgarly call *squirum*" (*écureuil*, squirrel). It is curious to observe our French language thus gradually dawning, in a despised jargon.

* "For that the nobility, casting off the scales of the Celtic tongue, cultivate the graces of oratory, and even of the muses." Sidon. Apollin. Epist. 3. lib. iii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 790.

† *Alb*, whence Alps, Albania; *penn*, peak, whence Apennines, Pennine Alps. *Barra*, *Bárbai* ap. Strab. l. iv. et Diod. l. v. *Bardi*, ap. Ann. Marc. l. xv. etc. *Derwydd*, (See note, p. 12); to this day, in Ireland, *Drui* signifies magician, *Druidheacht*, magic. Toland's Letters, p. 58. In Wales, amulets of glass are called *gleini ya Droedh*, Druids' glasses.—*Trimarkisia*, from *tri*, three, and *marc*, a horse. Owen's Welsh Dict., Armstrong's Gael. Dict. "Each Gallic cavalier," says Pausanias (l. x. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 469), is followed by two servants who, in case of need, give him their horses; this is what they call in their language *Trimarkisia* (*τρίμαρκισία*), from the Celtic word *marca*." Many other examples might be added to these. We find the *gaesum* (Gallic javelin) of classic writers, in the Gallic words, *galed*, armed, *gaig*, bravery; the *cat-ia* (the barbed dart used by Gauls and Germans) in *gath-teth* (pronounced *gau-tay*); the *rotla* or *chrotla* (harp),—Fortunat. vii. 8,—in the Gaelic, *crut*, in the Cymric *crwd*, is the *rotte* of the middle ages; and the *sagum* (military cloak) in the Armorac *sac*, &c. &c.

Latin language;" so that whilst the reference perfectly bears out the author's line of reasoning, he has accidentally misinterpreted the passage. Suetonius does not say that Claudius had given the individual in question the government of Greece; nor do the words, "Græciæ provincie principem" mean "governor of Greece," but simply, "a man of the first rank in Greece." TRANSLATOR.

* Strab. l. iii. ed. Oxon. p. 202; l. iv. p. 258.

† Confess. l. i. c. 14.

‡ Martial. l. vii. epigr. 87.

§ Sid. Apoll. l. ii. ep. 9. Roquefort, Glossaire de la Langue Romaine, 1808. See on this subject, in particular, the learned work of M. Raynouard, t. i.

|| Institut. Orat. l. i. c. 65, init.

¶ Suet. in Vitell. c. 18, ad calcem.

** Digest. l. xxxii. tit. i. From the eighth century, the union of the Gallic and Latin tongues seems to have given rise to the Romance language. In the ninth century, a Spaniard could make himself understood by an Italian. (Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sec. iii. P. 24, p. 258.) It was this

verse of the *Æneid*, and the "*let there be light*" (both in Latin and in Greek), are purely Welsh and Irish*. These analogies might be accounted for by the influence of the ecclesiastics, if they bore only on scientific or theological terms; but they are equally met with in those which concern the near ties or circumstances of local existence†. They are also met with in nations which have experienced in a very unequal degree the influence of the conquerors and that of the Church, in countries almost without communication with each other, and placed in very different geographical and political situations; for instance, in our continental Bretons and the insular Irish.

A language so analogous with the Latin, must have furnished ours with a considerable number of words, which, from their Latinised appearance, have been ascribed to the learned tongue, to the language of the law and of the Church, rather than to the obscure and despised idioms of the conquered races. The French language has preferred boasting of her connexions with the noble Roman tongue to claiming kindred with her less brilliant sisters. Nevertheless, to prove the Latin origin of a word, it must be proved that the same word is not still more, closely affined with Celtic dialects‡; and, perhaps, the latter original should be preferred, when there is reason to doubt between the two, since apparently the Gauls were more numerous in Gaul than their Roman conquerors. I would admit of hesitation when the French word is found in Latin and Breton only, since, rigorously speaking, the Breton and the French may have received it from the Latin. But when the same word occurs in Welsh, the brother dialect of the Breton, it

is very probable that it is indigenous, and that the French has received it from the old Celtic root; a probability, heightened almost into certainty, when the word exists likewise in the Gaelic dialects of the highlands of Scotland, and of Ireland. A French word, found in these distant countries, now so isolated from France, must be due to a period in which Gaul, Great Britain, and Ireland were still sisters, in which there was between them identity of race, religion, and language, and in which the union of the Celtic world was still unbroken*.

It follows from the preceding that the Roman element is not everything, and that by far, in our language; and language being the faithful representation of the genius of a race, the expression of its character, and revelation of its inmost life, its *Word*—if I may use the term—if the Celtic element has abided in our tongue, it must have left traces in other directions‡, and must have survived in manners as in language, in action as in thought.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Celtic tenacity; and beg leave to return to the subject, and to dwell on the obstinacy, characteristic of these nations. France will be better understood, by strongly defining its starting point. The mixed Celts, who are called French, may be partially illustrated by the pure Celts, Bretons and Welsh, Scotch and Irish. Let me be permitted to pause, and to raise a stone at the cross-way where these kindred races are about to separate by such opposite roads, to follow so different a destiny; for I should be pained did I not take a solemn farewell of these people, from whom the Germanic invasion will isolate our France. Whilst undergoing the long and painful initiations of the Germanic invasion and of feudalism, she will proceed from serfhood to liberty, and from shame to glory—the old Celtic races, seated on their native rocks, and in the solitude of their isles, will remain faithful to the poetic independence of barbarous life, until surprised in their fastnesses by the tyranny of the stranger. Centuries have elapsed since England has surprised and struck them down; and her blows incessantly rain upon them as the wave dashes on the promontory of Brittany or of Cornwall. The sad and patient Judæa, who counted her years by her *captivities*, was not more rudely stricken by Asia. But there is such a virtue in the Celtic genius, such a tenacity of life in this people, that they subsist under outrage, and preserve their manners and their language.

* The notions which I here venture to throw out will be thoroughly and irrefragably demonstrated in the great work preparing by Mr. Edwards, on the languages of western Europe. Having mentioned the name of my illustrious friend, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the truly scientific method which he has for twenty years pursued in his researches into the natural history of man. After having first taken his subject in its external point of view (*Influence Des Agents Physiques sur l'Homme*), he has considered it in regard to the principle of its classification (*Lettres sur les Races Humaines*), and, finally, he has now sought for a new principle of classification in language, and has undertaken to deduce from the affinity of languages the philosophical laws of human speech. He has thus seized the point where man's outward existence and his inner life blend and are lost together.

† Premising, as I have already explained and insisted, that the primitive germs are little in comparison with the various developments they have acquired from the spontaneous labour of human liberty.

* There is not an uneducated person in Ireland, Wales, or the north of Scotland, who would not understand,—

Arma virumque (ac) cano Trojæ qui primus ab oris.

GAELIC. *Àrm ags fer can pi pim fra or.*

WELSH. *Arwa ac gwr canwyf Troiaid cw prio o or.*

Fevnþrwa gáor kai éyeveto gáor.

G'ennet pheor agg genneth pheor.

Ganed fawdd ac y genid fawdd.

Fiat lux et (ac) lux facta fuit.

Feet lur agg tur feet fet.

Tydded lluch a lluch a feithied.

Cambro-Briton, January, 1822.

† ARDENÆ; compounded of the article *ar*, and *den* (Cymr.), *don* (Bas-bret.), *domhainn* (Gael.), *profond*, deep.—ABELATE; *ar*, *sur*, upon, and *lath* (Gael.), *lath* (Cymr.), *marais*, marsh.—AVENIO; *abhainn* (Gael.), *avon* (Cymr.), *can*, water.—BATAVIA; *bat*, *profond*, deep, and *av*, *can*, water.—GENABUM (Orleans, and, also, Geneva); *cen*, point, and *av*, water.—MORINI (Boulogne); *mor*, *mer*, sea.—RHODANUS; *rhod-an*, *rhod-an*, rapid water, (Adelung. Dict. Gael. and Welsh), &c.

‡ Take the following examples:—

Breton.	Welsh.	Irish.	Latin.
Báton (stick),	batta baculus.
Bras (arm),	...	braich,	brachium.
Carriole, chariot, carr	...	carr	currus.
Chaine, chadden	...	caddan	catena.
Chambre, cambr	camera.
Cire (wax),	...	ceir	cera.
Dent (tooth),	...	dant	dens.
Glaive (sword), glaif	gladius.
Haleine (breath), halan	...	alan	halitus.
Lait (milk),	...	laeth	lac, lactis.
Matin (morning), mintin	...	madin	mane, matutinus.
Prix (prize), pris	...	pris	pretium.
Sœur (sister), choar	...	seuar	soror.

They are a race of stone*; immovable as their rude Druidical monuments, which they still revere†. The delight of the Scotch mountaineers is to pile rock on rock, and rear a petty dolmen in imitation of the ancient‡. The native of Galicia, at his yearly emigration, casts a stone, and the heap§ is the measure of his life. The Highlanders say as a token of friendship, "I will add a stone to your cairn||." and but last century they restored the tomb of Ossian, thrown down by English impiety: "In Glenamon stood Clach Ossian, a block seven feet high and two broad, which, coming in the line of the military road, Marshal Wade overturned it by machinery, when the remains of the bard and hero were found, accompanied with twelve arrow-heads. So great respect had the Highlanders for this rude, but impressive monument, that they burned with indignation at the ruthless deed. All they could do, they did; the relics of Ossian were carefully collected, and borne off by a large party of Highlanders, to a place where they were thought secure from further disturbance. The stone is said still to remain with four smaller, surrounded by an inclosure, and retains its appellation of *Cairn na Huseoig*, or Cairn of the Lark, apparently from the sweet singing of the bard¶."

The Duke of Atholl, as descendant of the kings of the Isle of Man, sits to this day with his face turned towards the east**, on the moor of Tynwald. Not long since, the churches were used as courts of justice in Ireland††. The trace of the

* As is the soil, so the race. The idea of deliverance, says Turner (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 813), delighted the Cymry in their wild land of Wales, in their paradise of stones—*stone Wales*, to use the expression of Taliesin.

† J. Logan, *The Scottish Gaël, or Celtic Manners*, as preserved among the Highlanders, 1831, vol. ii. p. 354. "It has been carefully noted, that none who ever meddled with the Druids' stones prospered in this world."

‡ Logan, ii. 308. "CLACH CUID FIR, is lifting a large stone two hundred pounds or more from the ground, and placing it on the top of another about four feet high. A youth that do this is forthwith reckoned a man, whence the name of the amusement, and may then wear a bonnet."

§ W. von Humboldt, *Recherches sur la Langue des Basques*.

|| Logan, ii. 371.

¶ Id. ii. 373.

** Id. i. 208. See, also, the third book of this History.

(In 1829, government purchased from the late Duke of Atholl, the whole of his remaining rights, titles, revenue, and patronage, in his Lordship of Man, for 430,000*l*.)

No act of the Imperial Parliament extends to the Isle of Man, except it contain an express provision to that effect. The legislature of the island consists of two Chambers; the Council and the House of Keys. The latter originates laws, which, if they pass the Council, are laid before the Sovereign, whose assent is seldom refused. To give a law validity, it must be promulgated by the Lieutenant-Governor, who does so, seated in great state, seated on the top of an ancient tumulus called the Tynwald mount, round which are collected, at the same time, the Council, the Keys, the officers of government, and, generally, a numerous cortège of the people. Hence its laws are commonly called—*Acts of Tynwald*. See, *Isle of Man*, in *Enc. Brit.*

TRANSLATOR.

†† Id. ii. 325. "Where zeal for Christianity did not lead to the destruction of circles and their condemnation as places of meeting, they continued to be used as courts, especially by the northern nations, until very late times."

One of the latest instances of this appropriation of 'the standing stones' occurs in 1380, when Alexander Stewart, lord of Badenach, held a court at those of the Rath of Kingusle."

worship of fire is found every where in the language, the beliefs, and the traditions* of these people; and, as regards our Brittany, I shall adduce at the beginning of my third book, a number of proofs of the tenacity of the Breton genius.

It would seem, that a race which remained unchangeable when all was changing around it, must have gained the ascendancy by its pertinacity alone, and have moulded the world to take the impress of its own character. The contrary has happened. The more isolated this race has been, the more it has preserved its primitive originality, the more it has sunk and decayed; since for a people to continue in their original condition, apart from all foreign influence, and rejecting all foreign ideas, is to remain weak and imperfect. This is the isolation which has constituted at once the greatness and the weakness of the Jewish nation. It has had but one idea, has given it to the nations, but has borrowed hardly anything from them. It has always remained—*itself*; strong yet limited, indestructible yet humiliated, the enemy of mankind and its eternal slave. Woe to that stiff-necked individuality, which desires to exist for itself alone, and stands stubbornly aloof, from community with the world.

The genius of our Celts, particularly of the *Gaël*, is strong and fecund, and therefore powerfully urged towards the maternal and natural, towards pleasure and sensuality. Generation and the pleasures of generation occupy a large share of their thoughts. Elsewhere, I have spoken of the manners of the ancient *Gaël*, and of Ireland, which have deeply tinged those of France—the *Vert-galant*† is the king of popular fancy. For a man to have a dozen wives‡ was common in Brittany, in the middle ages. The soldiers, who took pay under any banner§, did not fear to beget soldiers;

* See Appendix.

† ("A brisk gallant." The attribute given to Henry the Fourth of France in the national song, *Vive Henri Quatre*.)

TRANSLATOR.

‡ Guillelm. Pictav. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 88. "The confidence of Conan II. was kept up by the incredible number of men-at-arms which his kingdom furnished; for you must know that here, besides that the kingdom is extensive as well, each warrior will beget fifty, since, bound by the laws neither of decency nor of religion, each has ten wives, or more, even." The count of Nantes says to Louis the Debonnaire, "Brother and sister there unite," &c. Ermold. Nigellus, i. liii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 52.—*Hist. Brit. Armerique*, *ibid.* vii. 52.

"Adulterous with their sisters, nieces, cousins, and other men's wives, and, worse still, homicides; they are children of the devil."—Cæsar says of the natives of Great Britain, "Ten or twelve of them will have their wives in common, and, for the most part, brothers with brothers, and parents with sons. The children born of such promiscuous intercourse belong to those who first knew the mothers." Bell. Gall. l. v. c. 14.—See also the letter of the synod of Paris to Nomenot (A.D. 849), ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 504; and that of the council of Savonnières to the Bretons (A.D. 859), *ibid.* 584.

§ Ducange, *Glossarium*.—"A Breton was synonymous with a soldier, a swordsman, a robber." Guilbert. de Laude B. Marie, c. 10.—*Chart. ann.* 1395. "Through these parts there passed men-at-arms, Britons and plunderers, and drove off four head of cattle." Breton was also used to signify the supporter of one engaged in the trial by battle. We find it set down in an edict of Philip the Fair . . . et doit aler cius ki a pelet devant, et ses Bretons porte sen escu devant lui: "The challenger must go first, with his Bretons carrying his shield before him." Carpentier, Supplement to Ducange.—May we not deduce from Breton, the

and in all Celtic nations bastards succeeded even to the throne, or to the leading of the clan. Woman, an object of pleasure, and mere toy of voluptuousness, appears not to have had among these people the same honour as among the Germanic nations*.

This proneness to the material has hindered the Celts from easily acceding to laws, founded on an abstract notion. The law of primogeniture is odious to them. This law originates in a strong feeling for the indivisibility of the sacred domestic hearth, and perpetuity of the paternal godship†. But, with our Celts, the shares are equal among brothers, just as their swords are equally long. They will with difficulty be made to comprehend that one should be sole heir. With the Germanic race the task is easier‡—the eldest will be able to support his brothers, and they will be satisfied to

preserve their seat at the table, and at the fraternal hearth*.

This law of equal succession which they call the *gabail-cine* (gavel-kind†), and which the Saxons borrowed from them, particularly in the county of Kent, imposes on each generation the necessity of division, and keeps up a constant change in the appearance of property. When death carries off a proprietor who had begun to build, cultivate, and improve, the division of the estate ends these plans, and all is to begin anew: besides, the division itself gives rise to frequent enmities and disputes. Thus, the law of equal succession which, in a ripe and settled state of society, constitutes at this very moment the beauty and strength of our France, was among barbarous nations a constant source of trouble, an invincible obstacle to improvement, a perpetual revolution; and, wherever it prevailed, the land was long left half cultivated, and in pasture‡.

Whatever has been the result, it is honourable to our Celts to have established in the west the law of equality. That feeling of personal right, that vigorous assumption of the I, which we have already remarked in Pelagius and in religious philosophy, is still more apparent here; and in great part lets us into the secret of the destiny of the Celtic races. Whilst the Germanic families converted moveable into immoveable property, handed it down in perpetuity, and successively added to it by inheritance, the Celtic families went on dividing, subdividing, and weakening themselves—a weakness chiefly owing to the law of equality and of equitable division. As this law of precocious equity has been the ruin of these races, let it be their glory also, and secure to them at least the pity and respect of the nations to whom they so early showed so fine an ideal.

This tendency to equality, this levelling disposition, which kept men aloof from each other in matters of right and law, needed the balance of a close and lively sympathy which would attach man to man, though isolated and independent through the equity of the law, by voluntary bonds; and this is what at last took place in France, and accounts for its greatness. By this, we become a nation, whilst the pure Celts have remained in a state of clanship. The petty society of the clan, formed by the rude bond of a real or fictitious relationship§, was incapacitated from receiving

words, *bretteur, bretteiller*,—bully, Hector?) "They are a race of men," says William of Malmesbury, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 13.) "penniless at home, who take pay and refuse not the hardest service abroad. You may buy them for civil war, which they will engage in without any care for right or for kindred; but will fight for the side which pays best."

* Nevertheless, at first, she is a slave even among the Germans, the same as with the Celts. This is the common law of ages, in which brute force enjoys an undivided reign.—See above, p. 2.—Rabo, Dion, Solinus, and St. Jerome, are agreed as to the licentiousness of Celtic manners. O'Connor says that polygamy was permitted; Derrick, that they exchanged wives once or twice a year; Campion, that they married for a year and a day. The Scottish Picts chose their kings, preferentially, in the female line (Fordun, ap. Low, Hist. of Scotland); just as among the Nairs of Malabar, the most corrupted people of India, the female line is preferred,—for the greater certainty of the descent. Perhaps it was as mothers of kings that Boadicea and Cartimandua are styled queens of the Britons in Tacitus. The Welsh laws limit the right of the husband to beat his wife, to three cases: the having wished disgrace to his beard, attempted his life, or committed adultery. The very limitation is proof of the brutality of the husband. However, the idea of equality is early apparent in the Celtic marriage bond. Cæsar (Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 19.) tells us that among the Gauls the man brought a portion equal to that of the wife, and that the survivor enjoyed the whole. By the laws of Wales, man and wife could equally demand a divorce; and, in case of separation, the property was divided. Finally, in the poems of Ossian (largely modified, it is true, by the spirit of modern times) we see women sharing with heroes their shadowy life of the clouds. On the contrary, they are excluded from the Scandinavian Valhalla.

† In ancient Italy, the parent was as a god.—DRIVEI PARENTES. See Cornelia's letter to Caius Gracchus.

‡ The law of equality of division soon fell into disuse in Germany; the north clung to it longer. See Grimm, *Alterthümer*, p. 475, and *Mitternæier, Grundsätze des Deutschen Privatrechts*, 3 edit. 1827, p. 730.—I have met with a very characteristic anecdote on this subject in some tour (M. de Stael's, if I mistake not). The French traveller, conversing with some common miners, greatly surprised them by the information that many French workmen had a little land which they cultivated in their off hours. "But when they die, whose is it?"—Their children's. Here was a new surprise for our Englishmen; who, on the Sunday after, met to put the following questions to the vote: "Is it good for workmen to have lands?"—A unanimous "Yes." "Is it good that such lands should be divided, and not go exclusively to the eldest?"—A unanimous "No."

(The work referred to by the author is the *Lettres sur l'Angleterre* of M. A. de Stael-Holstein, published in Paris in 1825. A notice of these letters will be found in the 85th number of the Edinburgh Review.) TRANSLATOR.

* Or else they emigrate. Hence, the Germanic *Wargus*, the *Ver Sacrum* of the Italian nations. The law of primogeniture, which is often equivalent to the proscription and banishment of the younger sons, thus becomes a fertile source of colonization.

† See the Second Part of this work; and the works of Somner, Robinson, Palgrave, Dalrymple, Sullivan, Low, Price, Logan, the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, and the *Usances de Rohan, Broutece*, &c. Blackstone understood nothing of the matter.

‡ According to Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 233, it was the custom of gavel-kind which delivered Great Britain into the hands of the Saxons, by the incessant subdivision of the possessions of the chiefs into small tyrannies. He cites two remarkable instances from two Lives of the Saints.

§ It is well known that in Brittany the title of uncle is given to the cousin who is superior by one degree; a custom evidently tending to draw the ties of kindred tighter. Generally speaking, the spirit of clanship has been stronger in Brittany than is supposed, although less dominant among

anything from without, or connecting itself with anything foreign. The ten thousand men who constituted the clan Campbell were all cousins of the chief*, all named Campbells, and were so little desirous of knowing or being more, as scarcely to recollect that they were Scotch. The small and dry nucleus of the clan has ever proved unfit for purposes of aggregation. Flints serve badly for building, as they do not readily take the mortar †; whereas Roman brick so affects it, that to this day cement and brick unite in forming in the Roman monuments one compact and indestructible block.

On becoming Christians, one would suppose that the Celtic nations would have been softened into union and fellow feeling. This was not the case. The Celtic Church partook of the nature of the clan. At first, fecund and ardent, it seemed about to take the west by storm. The Pelagian doctrines were eagerly received in Provence, though welcomed but to die there. Later still, whilst the Germans invade the land from the east, the Celtic Church moves on the west, on Ireland; where intrepid and ardent missionaries land, armed with poetic fervour and vain of their logical skill. Nothing was ever more wildly imaginative than the barbarous Odysseys of these holy adventurers, these bird-like travellers, who alight in flocks upon Gaul, both before and after St. Columbanus. The impetus is immense; the result small. Vainly do the glowing sparks fall upon this world, drenched with the deluge of German barbarism. St. Columbanus, says his contemporary biographer, was about to cross the Rhine, to convert the Suevi, when a dream stayed him. What the Celts omit, the Germans will accomplish of themselves; and St. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon, will convert those whom St. Columbanus has disclaimed. The latter saint passes into Italy; but it is to give battle to the Pope. The Celtic Church separates from the Church Universal, rejects unity and co-operation, and refuses to lose herself humbly in European

catholicity. But the Culdees of Ireland and of Scotland, who permitted themselves marriage, and were independent even whilst living under the rule of their order, which associated them in small ecclesiastical clans* of twelve members each, have to give way before the influence of the Anglo-Saxon monks, disciplined by the Roman missions.

The Celtic Church will perish, as the Celtic State has already. The tribes of Britain, indeed, endeavoured, when the Romans abandoned their island, to form a kind of republic†. The Cambrians and Loegrians (Cumry and Lloegrys, Wales and England), united for a moment under the Loegrian Vortigern, in order to oppose the Picts and Scots from the north. But, badly supported by the Cambrians, Vortigern was obliged to call in the Saxons, who, from auxiliaries, soon became enemies. Loegria conquered, Cambria held out under the famous Arthur, and prolonged the resistance for two centuries. The Saxons themselves were to be subdued in a single battle, by William the Bastard; so ill-calculated is the Germanic race for resistance. In the same manner the Franks, established in Gaul, were subdued and thoroughly changed in the second generation, by ecclesiastical influence.

* See the following book. ✓

† We learn from Gildas, p. 8, that the Saxons had a prophecy, according to which they were to ravage Britain for a hundred and fifty years, and keep possession of it a hundred and fifty (may not the last clause be an interpolation of the Welsh ?):—

"A serpent with enails
Towering and plundering
With armed wings
From Germania, &c."

Taliesin, p. 94, and Turner, i. p. 312.

The following is Merlin's famous prophecy as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who has preserved for us the religious traditions of Britain, formerly contained in the books of exaltation (*libri exaltationis*), as the Latins styled them:—

"As Vortigern was sitting on the bank of a dried-up lake, two dragons came out of it, one white, the other red." The red chases the white, and the king asks Merlin what that portends. . . . Merlin weeps; the white is the Briton, the red the Saxon. . . . "The wild-boar of Cornwall will trample their necks under his feet. The isles of Ocean will be his, and his will be the ravines of Gaul. He will be famous in the mouths of his people, and his actions will be as food to those who shall sing them. Then will come the lion of justice; at his roar the towers of Gaul and the dragons of the isles will tremble. Then will come the goat with horns of gold, and beard of silver. So strong will be the breath of his nostrils, that it will shroud in vapours the whole breadth of the island. The women will have the gait of serpents, and their every step shall witness their pride. The flames of the funeral pile shall be changed into swans, who will swim upon the land, as in a river. The stag of ten tynes will bear four crowns of gold. His six remaining branches will be changed into ox horns, which will shake, with an unheard-of sound, the three isles of Britain. The forest will tremble at it, and will cry out with human voice:—'Come, Cambria, gird Cornwall to thy side, and say to Ghintonihi—'The earth shall swallow thee up.'—'Then shall there be massacre of the foreigner. The fountains of Armorica shall leap, Cambria shall be filled with joy, the oaks of Cornwall shall put forth their luxuriance. Stones shall speak; the straits of Gaul shall be contracted. . . . Three eggs shall be hatched in the nest, whence shall issue fox, bear, and wolf. On which shall arise the giant of iniquity, whose look shall freeze the world with fear.' Galfrid. Monemutensis, i. iv.

the Cymry than the Gaël. (See in the Second Part, a note upon Lauriere's important article, FORJURER LES FAC-TEURS, in the *Ossaire du Droit Français*.)

But the obedience of these cousins was not without its price and independence. "Stronger than the laird were the vassals," is an old Celtic saying—Logan, i. 192. "The right of primogeniture among the Celtic race was, however, obliged to give way to superiority in military abilities. The anecdote of the young chief of Clanrannald is well-known. On his return to take possession of his estate, observing the profuse quantity of cattle that had been slaughtered to celebrate his arrival, he very unfortunately remarked that a few hens might have answered the purpose. This exposure of a narrow mind, and inconsiderate display of indifference to the feelings of his people, were fatal. 'We will have nothing to do with a hen-chief,' said the indignant clansmen, and immediately raised one of his brothers to the dignity. So highly did the Highlanders value the qualifications of their commanders, that in the deposition of one whom they deemed unworthy, they risked the evil of a deadly feud. On this occasion, the Frasers, among whom young Clanrannald had been fostered, took arms to revenge his disgrace; but they were, after a desperate battle, defeated with great slaughter, and the unhappy hen-chief perished on the field."

† A Breton proverb says—"A hundred countries, a hundred ways; a hundred parishes, a hundred churches"—

Kant brot, kant kis,

Kant pàrrez, kant ilis.

A Welsh proverb—"Two Welshmen, and a fight."

The Cambrians held out two hundred years by force of arms, and more than a thousand by dint of hope. Untameable hope (the "unconquerable will" of Milton) has been the characteristic of these races. The *Saxons* (Saxons—English, in the languages of the Highlands and of Wales,) believe Arthur to be dead. They are deceived. Arthur lives, and bides his time. Pilgrims have even found him in Sicily, lying enchanted under Etna*. The sage of sages, the Druid Myrdhyn (Merlin), is also somewhere in existence. He sleeps under a stone in the forest, through the fault of his mistress, Vyvyan. She chose to try her power, and brought the sage to tell her the fatal word by which he could be spell-bound. He, who knew all, was not ignorant of the use to which she was about to put it. Nevertheless, he told it her, and, solely to please her, laid himself quietly down in his tomb†.

Whilst waiting for his resurrection, this great race weeps, and sings‡ songs as full of tears as those of the Jews by Babel's stream. This impression of melancholy is stamped on the few Ossianic fragments which are really ancient. The language of our less unfortunate Bretons abounds in melancholy sayings. They sympathise with night, and with death. "I never sleep," says their proverb, "that I do not die a bitter death;"—and, to him who passes over a tomb, "Step from off my corpse." It is another saying of theirs, that "the earth is too old to bring forth."

They have no great reason to be gay, since all has been against them. Brittany and Scotland have voluntarily espoused the weaker party and the losing side. The Chouans supported the Bourbons, the Highlanders, the Stuarts. But the Celts lost the power of making kings when the mysterious stone, formerly brought from Ireland into Scotland, was transferred to Westminster§.

* Gervasius Tilburienus, de Otis imperialibus, ap. Scr. R. Brunswic. p. 721. Thierry, Conquête de l'Angleterre, 2nd ed. t. iv. p. 25.

† It is the history of Adam and Eve, Samson and Delilah, Hercules and Omphale; but the Celtic legend is the most affecting.

‡ The following is the most popular of the Welsh songs; it is partly in Welsh, partly in English.—

"Sweet is the tale of the minstrel merry,

Ar hyd y Nos (All the night),

Sweet the rest of herdsmen weary,

Ar hyd y Nos;

And for hearts oppress with sorrow,

Forced the mask of joy to borrow,

Comfort is there, till the morrow,

Ar hyd y Nos."

Cambro-Briton, November, 1819.

§ Logan, i. 197. "The practice of crowning a king upon a stone is of remote antiquity. The celebrated coronation chair, the seat of which is formed of the slab on which the kings of Scotland were inaugurated, is an object of curiosity to those who visit Westminster Abbey. The history of this stone is carried back to a period far beyond all authentic record; and the Irish say that it was first in their possession. According to Wintoun, its original situation was in Iona. It was certainly in Argyle, where it is believed to have remained long at the castle of Dunstaffnage, before it was removed to Scone, the place of coronation for the kings of Scotland, whence it was carried to London by Edward the First. This curious relic is of a dark colour, and appears to be that sort found near Dundee. It was looked on with great veneration by the ancient Scots, who believed the fate of the nation depended on its preservation. The Irish

Of all the Celtic nations, Brittany is the least to be pitied, having been so long the sharer of equality—France is a humane and generous country. The Welsh Cymry, again, were admitted under the Tudors (from Henry the Eighth's time), to the privileges of Englishmen; still, it was by torrents of blood and the massacre of the Bards, that England led the way to this happy fraternity, which, after all, is perhaps more apparent than real*. As for Cornwall, so long the Peru of England, who saw in her only her mines, her fate has been to lose even to her language†:—"There are only four or five of us who speak the language of the country, said an old man in 1776, and they are all old folk like me, from sixty to eighty years of age: not one of the young people know a word of it."

Singular fate of the Celtic world! Of its two great divisions, one, although the least unfortunate, is perishing, wearing away, or at all events losing its language, costume, and character—I allude to the Highlanders of Scotland and the people of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany‡. Here we find

called it cloch na cinearnna, the stone of fortune, and the Scots preserve the following oracular verse—

Cinnidh Scuil saor am fine,

Mar breug am faistine :

Far am faighear an lia-fail,

Dlighe faihneas do ghabhail.

"('The race of the free Scots shall flourish, if this prediction is not false; wherever the stone of destiny is found, they shall prevail by the right of Heaven.'). . . Saxo Grammaticus, lib. i., says it was the ancient custom in Denmark to crown the kings sitting on a stone. . . These inauguration seats were always placed on eminences. On Quoth-quan Law, a beautiful green hill in the ward of Lanark, is a stone artificially hollowed, on which it is said that Wallace sat in conference with his chiefs."

* The Tudors placed the Welsh dragon in the arms of England, as the Stuarts afterwards adorned them with the gloomy Scotch thistle; but the fierce leopards have not admitted either on a footing of equality any more than the Irish harp.

† Memoirs of the London Society of Antiquaries, ii. 305. Thierry, Conq. de l'Anglet. iv. 241.

(The paper referred to by the author is in the fifth volume of the Transactions of the London Antiquarian Society; being a letter from Daines Barrington, read March 21st, 1776, in continuation of some remarks of his "On the Expiration of the Cornish Language," published in the third volume of the Society's Transactions. Appended to this letter, is a letter written in Cornish and English (deposited with the Society) sent to him from an aged Cornish fisherman; of which the following is part:—"My age is threescore and five, I learnt Cornish when I was a boy, I have been to sea with my father and five other men in the boat, And have not heard a word of English spoken in the boat. For a week together, I never saw a Cornish book, I learned Cornish going to sea with old men, There is not more than four or five in our town, Can talk Cornish now, Old people fourscore years old, Cornish is all forgot with young people."

This letter is dated Mousehole, July 3rd, 1776. It is written in lines of various length: the Cornish above, the English under. The punctuation of the foregoing copy shows the length of each line.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ See the Cambro-Briton (having for motto, KYMYRY, KYMYRYDD). Many laws were passed prohibiting the Irish from speaking their native tongue, and the Welsh as well, about the year 1760. In the principal Welsh grammar schools, particularly in North Wales, Welsh, far from meeting encouragement, has been for many years discountenanced by severe penalties. The boys there speak it incorrectly, are unacquainted with its grammar, and are unable to write it. Cambro-Briton, 1821. But it appears that the Celtic tongues have taken refuge in literature. In

the serious and moral element of the race, which seems dying of sadness and soon to be extinguished. The other, filled with inexhaustibleness of life, multiplies and increases despite of everything: it will be felt that I speak of Ireland.

Ireland! poor, elder child of the Celtic race, so far from France, her sister, who cannot stretch out her arm to protect her across the waves—the *isle of Saints**, the *emerald of the sea*, all fertile Ireland, whose men grow like grass, to the terror of England, in whose ear is daily shouted—"they are another million"—land of poets, of bold thinkers, of John Erigenes, of Berkeley, of Toland, land of Moore, land of O'Connell†—land of the brilliant speech and lightning sword, which, in the cecility of the world, still preserves the power of poetry. The English may laugh when they hear in some obscure corner of their towns the Irish widow improvising the *coronach* over the corpse of her husband‡—*pleurer à l'Irlandaise* (to weep Irish), is with them a by-word of scorn. Weep,

1711, there existed seventy words printed in Welsh; their number is supposed now to exceed 10,000. Logan, ii. 38.—The Celtic dress has undergone no less persecution than the language. In 1585 an act of parliament forbade the natives to assemble in the Irish dress. However, the Irish appear to have given it up in the middle of the seventeenth century with less reluctance than the Scotch Highlanders. It is stated in a Scotch paper of 1750, that a murderer was acquitted, as the individual he killed wore a Tartan dress.

(The various enactments against the use of the Highland dress were repealed by a bill introduced into parliament by the Duke of Montrose, in 1782; and the perpetuation of the language and dress of the Scottish Gael is one of the main objects of the Celtic Society.) TRANSLATOR.

* Giraldus Cambrensis (Topograph. Hiberniæ, lib. c. 29) reproached the Irish as the only people in the world who did not cement the Church of Christ with blood. "All the saints of this country," he says, "are confessors, but no martyr, which can scarce be paralleled by any other Christian nation. There has not been found those who would cement the foundations of the rising Church with blood." Then, playing on the words of the Psalmist, he exclaims—"There is none that doeth good, no, not one." To this reproach, the Abbot, Archbishop of Cashel, replied—"It is true our country boasts of numbers of holy men and scholars, who have enlightened not only Ireland, but all Europe; but we have ever held piety and learning in too much reverence, to injure, much less destroy the promoters of either. Perhaps now, sir," added he, "that your master holds the monarchy in his hands, we shall be enabled to add martyrs to our catalogue of saints." The good Archbishop alludes to the murder of Thomas à Becket. O'Halloran, Introd. to the Hist. of Ireland. (Dublin, 1772, p. 182, 183.)

† Since Mirabeau's time, no assembly, I think, has witnessed a finer burst of eloquence than O'Connell's unpremeditated speech on the 5th of February, 1833.

‡ Logan, ii. 382. It is an extempore composition, descending on the virtues and respectability of the deceased. At the end of each stanza, a chorus of women and girls swell the notes into a loud, plaintive cry. The Irish, in remote parts, before the last howl, expostulate with the dead body, and reproach it, for having died, notwithstanding he had a good wife and a milch cow, several fine children, and a competency of potatoes. Ibid. 383. The singing of the *coronach* appears to have given place to the playing of the bagpipes, among the Highlanders.

§ (Sic in orig.)

(The passage of Logan which the author has introduced

poor Ireland, and may France weep as well, as she beholds at Paris, over the gate of the asylum which receives your sons, that harp which asks for succour. Let us weep at our inability to give back the blood, which they have shed for us. In vain, in less than two centuries, have four hundred thousand Irish* fought in our armies. We must witness the sufferings of Ireland, without uttering a word. In like manner have we long neglected and forgotten our ancient allies, the Scotch—and the Scotch mountaineer will soon have disappeared from the face of the earth†. The Highlands are daily unpeopled. The conversion of small holdings into large farms, which ruined Rome, has destroyed Scotland‡. Estates may be found ninety-six square miles in extent, others twenty miles long and three broad§; so that the Highlander will soon only exist in history and in Walter Scott. When the tartan and claymore are seen passing, the inhabitants of Edinburgh run to their doors to gaze at the unusual sight. The Highlander expatriates himself and disappears; and the bagpipe awakens the mountains with one air||—

"Cha till, cha till, cha till, sin tuile."

We return, we return, we return, no more.

into his text, is as follows:—"This wild and melancholy dirge has been termed 'the howl,' and gave rise to the expression among the English of 'weeping Irish.'" TRANSLATOR.

* O'Halloran, i. 95. 376. Louis XIV. wrote several letters with his own hand, to press the claims of the Irish on Charles II. See, particularly, the letter dated Sept. 7th, 1660. O'Halloran states, that, according to the registers of the War-Office, 450,000 Irish enlisted under the French banners between 1691 and 1745 inclusive. Perhaps, this estimate should include all the Irish who entered our armies up to 1789.

† The Scotch mountaineers are now compelled to emigrate by want. The land is every where converted into pasture. Regiments can hardly be raised there. The pibroch may sound; no warriors will reply to it.

The entire passage of Logan, which M. Michelet has condensed into the above note, is as follows:—"Many Highland proprietors have of late turned their almost exclusive attention to sheep-farming, and have followed their object with so much zeal, that whole districts have been depopulated that they might be turned into extensive sheep-walks. How far this may be ultimately of advantage to proprietors it is not easy to foresee, but its policy is certainly very objectionable. To force so great a number of the inhabitants to emigrate, and thus deprive the country of the services of a large proportion of the best part of the peasantry is surely a serious national evil. Regiments can no longer be raised in case of need, in those places where now are only to be seen the numerous flocks of the solitary shepherd. The pibroch may sound through the deserted glens, but no eager warriors will answer the summons: the last notes which pealed in many a valley were the plaintive strains of the expatriated clansmen in 'Cha till, cha till, cha till, sin tuile.'"

‡ Latifundia perdiderit Italian. Pliny, xviii. In Scotland, the lairds have taken possession of the lands belonging to the clan, and have converted their suzerainship into property.—In Brittany, on the contrary, many farmers who held lands at the lord's pleasure, have become proprietors; the former owners having been deprived of their estates as feudal lords.

§ Logan, ii. 75.

|| Id. ibid. 56.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE GERMANS.



CHAPTER I.

GERMANIC WORLD.—INVASION.—MEROVINGIANS.

BEHIND the old Celtic, Iberian, and Roman Europe, so precisely defined by its peninsulas and islands, lay stretched out another world—the Germanic and Slavonic world of the north—equally, though differently, vast and vague, and with its boundaries, left indeterminate by nature, determined by political revolutions. Nevertheless, this indecisive character is ever striking in Russia, Poland, and in Germany itself. On our side, the frontiers of the German language and population run down into Lorraine and Belgium. Eastwards, the Slavonic frontier of Germany has been upon the Elbe, then on the Oder, and then,—as unsettled as this capricious stream which so often changes its course. Through Prussia and Silesia, at once German and Slavonic, Germany dips towards Poland and towards Russia, that is to say, towards the boundless world of barbarism. Northwards, the sea is hardly a better defined boundary. The sands of Pomerania are the continuation of the bottom of the Baltic; and there, lie under the level of the water towns and villages like those threatened to be swallowed up by the sea in Holland. Pomerania is but the battle-field of the two elements.

The land is undefined, its inhabitants unsettled. Such at least is the picture given by Tacitus in his *De Moribus Germanorum*. He speaks of marshes and forests of greater or smaller extent, as they are cleared and retreat before man, or grow denser in the spots which he has abandoned; of scattered habitations, and of scanty cultivation, transferred each year to a virgin soil. The forests were alternated with *marches*, vast openings, an indeterminate and common territory, which yielded a path for migrations, the scene of the first attempts at cultivation, and where a few huts would be collected together as caprice dictated. "Their dwellings," says Tacitus, "are not contiguous; here, they will stop near a spring, there, near a clump of trees." To determine the limits of the *march*, is the all-important office of the forest council—but the limits are not very accurately drawn. "What size," it is asked, "can the husbandman make his plot in the *march*? As far as he can hurl his hammer." The hammer of Thor is the sign of property, and the instrument of this peaceful conquest over nature.

However, it must not be inferred from these changes of abode, and this desultory mode of cultivation, that they were a nomade people. They display none of that spirit of adventure which has equally led ancient Celt and modern Tartar over Europe and Asia.

Specific causes are usually assigned for the first migrations of the great Germanic swarm: thus, the Cimbri were forced towards the south by an irruption of the ocean, and in the course of their

flight hurried numerous nations along with them. War and famine, and a craving for a more genial soil, as is evident from Tacitus, often forced tribe after tribe upon each other; but when they found a spot to their liking and with natural defences, they settled down there. The Frisians, who have for so many ages remained faithful both to the soil and the customs of their ancestors, are a case in point.

Notwithstanding the lively colours with which Tacitus has delighted to adorn them, the manners of the early inhabitants of Germany do not appear to have differed from those of most barbarous nations. The hospitality, deadly spirit of revenge, passionate addiction to gaming, love of fermented drinks, abandonment of agriculture to their women, and numerous traits of the kind supposed by writers unacquainted with any other savage people to be peculiar to the Germans, are common to most races of men in a state of nature. However, they are not to be confounded with the pastoral Tartar or American hunting tribes. The German hordes, more agricultural and less scattered than they, and not covering the same vast spaces, appear to us under softened features, seeming rather barbarian than savage, rather rude than ferocious.

At the time Tacitus described Germany, the Cimbri and Teutons (Ingævones, Istævones), were fading and dying away in the west; the Goths and Lombards were beginning to rise in the east; we hardly hear of the Saxon vanguard, the Angles; and the Frankish confederation was not formed. The Suevi (Hermiones) were the dominant race*. The prevailing religion, although many tribes may have cherished peculiar local superstitions, consisted, there is every reason to believe, in the worship of the elements, of the groves, and of the fountains†; and every year the goddess Hertha (*erð*, the earth), issuing in a covered car from the mysterious forest in which she had placed her sanctuary, in an island of the Northern Ocean‡, showed herself for adoration.

* *Majorum enim Germaniæ partem obtinent. Tacit. German. c. 38.*

† When St. Boniface went to convert the Hess, he found that "some sacrificed to groves and fountains privately, others openly." *Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sæc. iii. in S. Bonif.*

(The adoration of stones in woods and elsewhere was forbidden by a Council of Lateran, in 452. Gregory of Tours states that woods, waters, birds, beasts, stones were worshipped in his time—he wrote in the sixth century; and the Germans were prohibited from sacrifices or auguries beside sacred groves or fountains by Pope Gregory III., about 740. "So difficult is it," says Logan (ii. 354), from whom the foregoing facts are taken, "to wean people from the religion of their fathers, and that which has been long venerated, that the first Christians were obliged to conciliate their proselytes by tolerating some of their prejudices; perhaps they themselves were somewhat affected by a respect for ancient usages.") TRANSLATOR.

‡ Tacit. *Germania*, c. 40. "They all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or, as they call her, Hertha, whom they con-

Just as we have seen Druidical Gaul established in Gallic Gaul by the invasion of the Cymry, so a new Germany rose above these races and religions, and succeeded the infant world of primeval Germany, which, colourless, vague, and indecisive, bowed down in worship to matter. The invasion of the worshippers of Odin, of the Goths (Jutes, Gepidae, Lombards, Burgundians), and of the Saxons, imparted to the Suevic tribes a higher civilization, and bolder and more heroic aspirations: for although the system of Odin was undoubtedly far from having reached the elevation it subsequently attained, particularly in Iceland, it already contained the elements of a nobler life and deeper morality. It promised the brave immortality, a paradise, a Valhalla, where they would battle the whole day, and at eve sit down to the feast of heroes: whilst on earth it spoke to them of a sacred city—city of the Asi, Asgard, a happy and hallowed spot, from which the Germanic races had been formerly driven forth, and which was to be the object of their wanderings over the world*.

As the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in mundane affairs, and, at times, visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and reconduces her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live."

May not *Ægætum nemus* of Tacitus be the holy isle of the Saxons, *Heligland* (Heligoland), situated at the mouth of the Elbe, and which is also called *Foœtesland*, from the name of the idol worshipped there? (à nomine dei sui falsi, *Foœtes*, *Foœtesland* est appellata. Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. 9. p. 25.) According to Adam de Brema, it was held in veneration by mariners, even in the eleventh century. Pontanus describes it in 1530. It consists of two rocks, like Mont St. Michel and the rock of Delphi. (See Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 125.) The sea, which all but swallowed up North-Strand in 1634, nearly washed away Heligoland in 1649.—Since 1814, this Danish isle, which was the cradle of their ancestors, has belonged to the English. Its arms are, a vessel under full sail.

(Gibbon supposes the Isle of Rugen to be the island in question; and, with respect to the suspension of war which honoured the presence of the goddess, observes, "The *truce of God*, so often and so ineffectually proclaimed by the clergy of the eleventh century, was an obvious imitation of this ancient custom." Decline and Fall, vol. i. c. ix. p. 373. See also, quoted by him, Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. i. note 10.) TRANSLATOR.

* Consult an interesting memoir, by M. Leo, on the worship of Odin in Germany.—In Regnar Lodbrog's Saga, the Normans are represented as going to seek Rome, of whose fame and opulence they have heard so much. Coming to Luna, they take it for Rome, and plunder it. Finding their mistake, they set out again, and meet an old man, who has iron shoes on his feet. He tells them that he is bound to Rome, but that it is so far off that he has already worn out a

It is not improbable that the migrations of the barbarians were in some degree prompted by this belief, and had in view the discovery of the sacred city, as another holy city was at a later age the object of the crusades.

There is an essential difference to be noted among the Odinic tribes. The Goths, Lombards, and Burgundians, looked up to and fought under military chiefs, as the Amali and Balti*; and the spirit of warlike fellowship, of the *comitatus*, described by Tacitus in the early Germans, was all powerful amongst these people:—"Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers or companions. A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his companions. In that consists his dignity; to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Nor is 'his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts, ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valour by his companions; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies on the field, he who survives him survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine, a train of dependants cannot be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands at one time this warlike horse; at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain†."

In the other branch of the Odinic tribes this principle of attachment to a chief, this personal devotion and worship of man by man, which at a later period became the vital principle of feudal-

similar pair of shoes: at which they lose heart.—See Ampère, Sur la Littérature du Nord.

* Jormandes (c. 13, 14), has given the genealogy of Thæderic, the fourteenth offshoot of the race of the Amali, beginning with Gapt, one of the asi or demigods; "a wondrous origin," says the same author. See Gibbon, i. 394, and vii. c. 39.—Baltha, or BOLD (hence the English, bold).—Alaric was of this illustrious stock. The family of Baux, belonging to Provence and to Naples, boast their descent from the Balti.—Gibbon, i. 394, vii. 2.

† The above is from Murphy's translation.

ism,—is of late development. The Saxons seem at first to have been strangers to this warlike hierarchy mentioned by Tacitus. Equal under the gods, and under the Asi, children of the gods, their chiefs had no authority over them, except when supposed to be divinely commissioned. The very names of Asi and Saxons are perhaps identical*. They were divided into three nations and twelve tribes; and every other division was so obnoxious to them, that when the Lombards invaded Italy, the Saxons refused to follow them, through dislike to conform to the military division of tens and hundreds in use among their allies†. It was not till a late period—some, indeed, state not till Alfred's time—when, hemmed in between the Franks and Slaves, they betook themselves to the ocean and threw themselves upon England, that the authority of military chieftainship and division into *hundreds* prevailed among them.

Once established in the north of Germany, the Saxons seem to have long remained sedentary, whilst the Goths or Jutes, on the contrary, undertook distant expeditions, migrating into Scandinavia and Denmark, and appearing almost at the same time on the Danube and the Baltic; vast expeditions which could never have been undertaken except the entire population had formed one band, and the *comitatus*, the apprenticeship to war, had been organised under hereditary chiefs. Pressing on all the Germanic tribes, the latter were obliged to put themselves in motion,—either to give place to the new comers, or to follow them in their wanderings. The youngest and the boldest arrayed themselves under leaders, and began a life of war and adventures—another trait common to all barbarous nations. In Lusitania and ancient Italy the young men were draughted off to the mountains; and, among the Sabelli, the banishment of part of the population was regularly organised, and consecrated by the appellation of *ver sacrum*‡. These banished or banned men (*banditti*), thrust out of their country into the world, and out of the pale of the law (*outlaws*) into a state of warfare, these wolves (*tearjars*), as they were called in the north§, constitute the adventurous and poetic portion of all ancient nations.

The young and heroic form which the Germanic race happened to assume in the eyes of the old Latin world, has been imagined the invariable character of the race; and historians, whose authority has great weight with me, have considered that we are indebted to the Germans for the spirit of independence and the genius of free personality. Before subscribing, however, to this opinion, it should be ascertained whether all races have not, in similar situations, presented similar characteristics. As the Germans were the last who arrived

of the barbarians, may not the qualities which have composed the barbarian genius of all ages have been ascribed to them? May we not even say that their successes over the empire are attributable to their readiness to band together in large armaments, and to their hereditary attachment to the families of their chiefs—in a word, to that personal devotion and submissiveness to order which have in every age been characteristic of Germany; so that what has been adduced in proof of the indomitable spirit and strong individuality of the German warriors, is, on the contrary, the sign of the eminently social, docile, and flexible genius of the Germanic race*†.

When Alaric swears that an unknown power draws him on towards the gates of Rome, we recognise in the fact that manly and youthful buoyancy of spirit, characteristic of the freeman of the illimitable forest, who, lord of the world, in the joyousness of his strength and liberty, is borne as if on ocean to unknown shores, or rushes on like the wild horse of the steppes and pampas. The same intoxication of spirit prevails in the Danish pirate, who proudly careers over the seas, and animates the glade where Robin Hood sharpens his good arrow against the sheriff. But is not the same discernible in the Gallician guerilla, in the Don Luis of Calderon, the *enemy of the law*? Is it less striking in those joyous Gauls who followed Cæsar under the standard of the lark, and marched singing to the capture of Rome, Delphi, and Jerusalem? Is not this character of free personality, of the boundless pride of the *I*, equally marked in the Celtic philosophy, in Pelagius, Abelard, and Descartes; whilst the mystic and ideal have been the almost invariable characteristics of the German philosophy and theology†?

* We must carefully separate from our idea of primitive Germany the two forms under which she has presented herself externally: firstly, as bands of adventurous barbarians who descended upon the south, and entered the empire as conquerors and as mercenary soldiers; secondly, as lawless pirates, who, at a later period, when stopped in their progress westward by the Franks, left first the banks of the Elbe, and then the shores of the Baltic, to plunder England and France. Both committed fearful ravages.—Undoubtedly, great misery must have followed the first contact of races, strangers alike in habits and in language: still, the conquered omitted no exaggeration, to increase their own terror.

† In another work I have pointed out the profound impersonality which is the characteristic of German genius, and I shall return to the subject in this. The sanguinary complexion, which is very remarkable in the youth of Germany, frequently throws this characteristic into the shade; and whilst this ebullience of blood lasts, the German displays much heady impulse and blind enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the fundamental character of the German mind is impersonality. (See my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*.) This point has been admirably seized in ancient sculpture. To illustrate my meaning, I would refer to the colossal busts of the captive Daci, in the new wing of the Vatican, and to the polychrome statue—far inferior, it is true, to these—which are in the vestibule of our Museum. The Daci of the Vatican, with their enormous proportions and forest of wild hair, suggest no idea of barbarian ferocity, but rather of that immense brute power, like the ox and the elephant, presenting, as well, a singularly indecisive and vague air. They see, but without seeming to look: just like the statue of the Nile, also in the Vatican, and Vietti's charming statue of the Seine, in the Lyons' Museum. I have often noticed and been struck with this indecision of look in the most eminent men of Germany.

* Saxones, Saxen, Sacæ, Asi, Arifi.—Turner, i. 115. Saxones, that is, *Sakai Sana*, sons of the Sacæ, conquerors of Bactriana. Pliny says that the Sakai settled in Armenia called themselves *Saccasani* (l. vi. c. 11); the province of Armenia, where they were, was called *Saccasena*. (Strab. l. xi. p. 776-8.) We find *Saxoi* on the Euxine. (Stephan. de Urb. et Pop. p. 657.) Ptolemy calls a Scythian people, sprung from the Sakai, Saxons.

† I am sorry that the author in whom I have read this important fact has slipped my memory.

‡ See my History of Rome, 2nd ed. i. 58.

§ Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, 1828, p. 396.

From the day that, according to the beautiful Germanic legend, the *Wargus* threw dust upon all his kindred, and cast grass over his shoulders, and leaped with his staff the small enclosure of his field, from that day—whether he tossed a feather in the air* to direct his choice of road, or hesitated with Attila between attacking the empire of the East or of the West†—hope and the world were the German's!

It is out of the amplitude of this poetic state that the Germanic beau-ideal had its origin, personified by the Scandinavian Sigurd—the *Siegfried* or *Dietrich Von Bern* of Germany. In this colossal figure are combined what Greece divided—heroic strength and the passion for travel—Achilles and Ulysses: *Siegfried overran many countries by the strength of his arm*‡. But, with the Germans, the man of craft, so lauded by the Greeks, is accursed, in the person of the perfidious Hagen, the murderer of Siegfried; Hagen, of the pale face, the one-eyed and monstrous dwarf, who has dug into the entrails of the earth, who knows everything, and whose sole desire is mischief§: The conquest of the North is typified in Sigurd; that of the South, in Dietrich Von Bern (Theodoric of Verona!). By the side of Dante's tomb, the silent town of Ravenna guards the tomb of Theodoric; an immense rotunda, whose dome—a single stone—seems to have been raised by the hands of the giants. Perhaps, this is the only Gothic monument now existing in the world; though there is nothing in its massiveness to suggest the idea of that bold and light style of architecture which goes under the name of Gothic, and which, in fact, is the expression of the mystic soaring of Christianity in the middle ages. It may rather be compared to the massive building of the Pelasgi, in the tombs of Etruria and of Argolis||.

The venturesome inroads of the Germans into the empire, and their service as mercenaries in the Roman armies, often brought them into contact with each other. At Florence, the Vandal Stilicho defeated his countrymen, who served in the huge barbarian army of Rhodogast. The Scythian, Etius, defeated the Scythians in the plains of Châlons—where the Franks fought both for and against Attila. What is it that hurries the German tribes into these parricidal wars! It is that terrible fatality spoken of in the Edda and the Nibelungen: it is the gold of which Sigurd rifles the dragon Fafnir, and which is to be his own destruction; that fatal gold which passes into the hands of his murderers, in order to prove their death at the banquet of the grasping Attila.

The object of wars, the end of heroic expeditions, are gold and woman—heroic, with regard to the exertion, for love with this people exercises none

of its softening qualities. Woman's grace consists in her strength and colossal size. Reared by a man, by a warrior (wonderful coldness of the Germanic temperament*!), arms are familiar to the virgin's hand. To win Brunhild, Siegfried must launch his javelin against her; whilst she, in the amorous struggle, must with her strong hands make the blood spirt out of the fingers of the hero. In primitive Germany, woman was yet bowed down to the earth she cultivated†; she grew up in the midst of war, and became the sharer of the dangers of man, the partner of his fate in life and death (*sic vivendum, sic pereundum*. Tacit.). She shrinks not from the field of battle, but coolly faces and presides over it, becoming the spirit of battles, the charming and terrible Valkyria, who gathers the soul of the dying warrior, as you gather a flower. She seeks him on the deathful plain, as the swan-necked Edith sought for Harold after the battle of Hastings, or like that courageous English-woman who turned over the corpses of Waterloo to discover the body of her youthful husband.

FIRST INVASION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE BARBARIANS. (A.D. 375.)

The occasion of the first migration of barbarians into the empire‡, is well-known. Till the year 375, only partial inroads and invasions had occurred. At that period, the Goths, worn out with the incursions of the Hunnic cavalry, which rendered all cultivation impossible, obtained permission to cross the Danube as soldiers of the empire, which they sought to defend and cultivate. Converts to Christianity, they had been already softened by intercourse with the Romans. Steeped in famine and despair§ by the oppression of the imperial agents, they ravaged the provinces between the Black Sea and the Adriatic; incursions which served to humanize them the more, both by the luxuries they enjoyed and their intercourse with the families of the conquered. Bought over at any price by Theodosius, they twice gained him the empire of the West. The Franks had at first gained the upper hand in this empire, as the Goths had in the others; and their chiefs, Mellobaud, under Gratian, Arbogastes, under Valentinian II., and then under the rhetorician Eugenius whom he had invested with the purple, were, in point of fact, emperors||.

* See the opening of the Nialsaga.—Salvian. de Provident. l. vii. "The Goths are a treacherous, but chaste race. The Saxons, monsters of cruelty, but marvels of chastity."

† Tacit. Germania, c. 15. "The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a listless sluggard. The management of his house and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and to the infirm part of his family."

‡ The great work of Augustin Thierry on the invasions of the barbarians is anxiously looked for. The subject is handled in my History of the Roman Empire.

§ Hieron. Chron. Ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt.

|| Zoëim. l. iv. ap. Script. R. Fr. i. 584. "Arbogastes was of consequence enough to be able to speak boldly to the king, and even to prevent the execution of any orders that struck him as being improper or unbecoming."—Paul. Oros. l. vii. c. 35. "He dared to raise Eugenius to the purple, and give him the name of emperor, reserving the power to himself."—Prosper. Aquitan. ann. 394. Marcellin. Chron. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 640.

Hunc sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul.
(Him the German exile chose for servant.)

* See the forms of entrance into the German companionship, translated by me in the notes to my *Introduc. à l'Hist. Univers.*

† Priscus, in Corp. Histor. Byzantinæ, p. 40.

‡ "Durch seines Libes Sterche er zelt in menegin Lant."
Der Nibelungen Not, 87.

Cornelius, and it is to be regretted, appears in his admirable frescoes to have remembered the German Nibelungen rather than the Scandinavian Edda and Sagas.

§ See the admirable article by M. Ampère in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 1st, 1833.

|| See the voyage, or, rather the epopee, of Edgar Quinet, 1830.

In this prostration of the empire of the West, which yielded itself up to the barbarians, the old Celtic populations, the indigenes of Gaul and of Britain, rose up and chose their own rulers. Maximus, who as well as Theodosius* was a Spaniard, was raised to the empire by the legions of Britain (A. D. 383). He landed at St. Malo with a swarm of islanders, and defeated the troops of Gratian, who, with his Frankish chief, Mellobaud, was put to death. These British auxiliaries settled in our Armorica under their conan or chief, Meriadec, or rather, Murdoch, who is said to have been first count of Brittany†. Spain willingly submitted to the Spaniard Maximus, and this able prince soon wrested Italy from the young Valentinian II., the brother-in-law of Theodosius. Thus the whole west was united by an army, partly composed of Britons, and commanded by a Spaniard.

It was by the aid of the Germans‡ that Theodosius triumphed over Maximus. His army, consisting principally of Goths, invaded Italy§, whilst the Frank, Arbogastes, effected a diversion through the valley of the Danube. The latter chief remained all-powerful under Valentinian II., got rid of him, and reigned three years in the name of the rhetorician Eugenius; and it was likewise to the Goths that Theodosius was chiefly indebted for his victory over this usurper||.

Under Honorius, the rivalry of the Goth Alaric and of the Vandal Stilicho deluged Italy for ten years with blood. The Vandal, appointed guardian of Honorius by Theodosius, had the emperor of the West in his power. The Goth, nominated to the command of the province of Illyria by Arca-

dus, emperor of the East, vainly solicited from Honorius permission to repair thither. Meanwhile, Britain, Gaul, and Spain recovered their independence under the Briton, Constantine. The revolt of one of this emperor's generals*, and, perhaps, the rivalry between Spain and Gaul, prepared the way for that ruin of the new Gallic empire, which was consummated by the reconciliation of Honorius and the Goths. Ataulph, Alaric's brother, married Placidia, the sister of Honorius; and his successor, Wallia, made Toulouse the headquarters of his bands, employed as a federal militia in the service of the empire (A. D. 411). However, that empire soon no longer needed a militia in Gaul, but, voluntarily abandoning the province, as it had already given up Britain, concentrated itself in Italy—there to expire. In proportion as it contracted its limits, the Goths enlarged theirs, occupying in the space of half a century Aquitaine and the whole of Spain.

The dispositions of these Goths towards Gaul were anything but hostile. In their long passage through the empire they had learnt to view with wonder and respect the prodigious fabric of Roman civilization, frail and ready to crumble away, undoubtedly, but still standing and in its splendour; and, after the first brutal excesses of invasion, simple and docile, they had submitted themselves to the discipline of the conquered; and the ambition of their chiefs sought as its highest object the title of restorers of the empire—a fact proved by the following memorable words of Ataulph which have been handed down to us.

"I remember," says a writer of the fifth century, "having heard the blessed Jerome relate at Bethlehem his having heard from a citizen of Narbonne who had risen to high offices under the emperor Theodosius, and was, moreover, a religious, wise, and grave man, and who had enjoyed in his native city the friendship of Ataulph, that the king of the Goths, who was a high-hearted and large-minded man, was in the habit of saying that his warmest ambition at first had been to annihilate the name of Rome, and to erect out of its ruins a new empire, to be called the Gothic, so that, to employ the terms commonly used, all that had been ROMANIA should become GOTHIA, and he himself play the same part that Cæsar Augustus formerly did. But, that becoming convinced by experience that the Goths were incapable, from their stubborn barbarism, of obedience to the laws, without which a republic ceases to be a republic, he had resolved to seek glory by devoting the might of the Goths to the integral re-establishment and even increase of the power of the Roman name, so that he might be regarded by posterity as the restorer of that empire which he found himself unable to transplant. In this view he abstained from war, and devoted his best care to the cultivation of peace."

The quartering of the Goths on the Roman provinces was no new or strange fact. The emperors had long had barbarians in their pay, who, under the name of guests, lodged and lived with the Roman; and the presence of these new comers

* Gerontius, who had commanded in Spain during the absence of Constantine's son. Zosim. l. vi. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 586. Sozomen. l. ix. lb. 605.

† P. Oros. l. vii. c. 43. The passage has been quoted and translated by Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, vi.

is the contemptuous language of Claudian, iv. Cons. Honor. 74.

* Zosimus, iv. 47.—Socrat. iv.—Sulpicius Severus (Dialog. ii. c. 7.) says of him, that "he would have been a perfect man, could he have rejected the crown, or abstained from civil war."—Some authors state that he was elected emperor against his will. Paul. Oros. l. vii. c. 34, &c.

(Sulpicius, Gibbon observes, had been his subject.) TRANS-LATOR.

† Triads of the island of Britain. "The leaders of the third conjoint expedition from the island were Ellen, powerful in battle, and Cynan, his brother, lord of Meriadog in Armorica, where they obtained lands, power, and sovereignty, from the emperor Maximus, as the purchase of their support against the Romans. . . . None of them returned; but they remained there, and in Ystre Gyvaelwg, where they established themselves."—In 462, a bishop of the Bretons attended the council of Tours.—In 468, Anthemius summoned to his aid twelve thousand British auxiliaries. They were commanded by Ritharnus, one of the independent kings, or chieftains, of Britain, who sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 45.—Turner (Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 282.) thinks that the Britons did not settle in Armorica till the year 532, the date assigned to that event by the chronicle of Mont St. Michel.—There can be no doubt that from the remotest antiquity a constant flow and ebb of emigration, induced by motives of commerce, and especially of religion, took place between Great Britain and Armorica. (See Cæsar.) The only question about which there can be any dispute, is the date of emigration for the purpose of conquest.

‡ Maximus also had Germans in his pay. Gibbon, vol. v. p. 47.

§ I. ibid. p. 54.

|| The post of honour was assigned them in the battle. I. ibid. p. 82.

was, in the first instance, of signal benefit, by completing the overthrow of the imperial tyranny, for the agents of the treasury gradually withdrawing, the greatest evil of the empire ceased of itself; and the curiales, restricted henceforward to the local administration of the municipalities, found themselves relieved from the loads with which the central government had weighed them down. It is true that the barbarians took possession of two-thirds* of the land in the cantons where they settled; but, considering the quantity of land which had been thrown out of cultivation, this must have been, comparatively speaking, but an inconsiderable grievance. Sometimes, too, the barbarians appear to have entertained scruples with respect to such forcible assumption of property, and to have indemnified the Roman proprietors. Paulinus, the poet, who had been reduced to poverty through the final success of Ataulph, and had retired to Marseilles, mentions his surprise at receiving one day the value of one of his estates, which had been sent him by its new owner†.

The Burgundians, who established themselves westward of the Jura, about the period of the Settlement of the Goths in Aquitaine, were, perhaps, a still milder race. "The good-nature, which is one of the present characteristics of the Germanic race, was early displayed by the Burgundians. Before their entrance into the empire, they very generally pursued some trade, and were carpenters or cabinet-makers: they supported themselves by their labour in the intervals of peace, and were thus free from that twofold pride of the warrior and of the idle proprietor, which nourished the insolence of the other barbarian conquerors‡. . . . Established as masters in the domains of the Gallic landowners, and having received, or taken, under colour of hospitality, two-thirds of the land, and a third of the slaves, or, probably, what amounted to a half of the entire property, they scrupled usurping anything more, and did not treat the Roman as their farmer, or, to use the German phrase, as their *lode*, but as their equal; and even experienced§, when in company with the rich senators, their co-proprietors, something of the conscious embarrassment of men of inferior birth who have suddenly risen up in the world. When quartered as soldiers in a handsome mansion, and, in point of fact, masters of it, they did what they saw done by the Roman clients of their noble host, and assembled in the morning at his levee§." The poet Sidonius has left us a curious picture of a Roman house in the occupation of barbarians, whom he represents as troublesome and coarse, but in no wise ill-inclined:—"From whom do you ask a hymn to the joyous Venus! From one, beset with the long-haired bands, who has to endure the dissonant German tongue, and to force a melancholy smile at the songs of the gorged Burgundian, who sneers his locks with rancid butter the while. . . . Happy man! thou art not condemned to see this

army of giants, who come to salute you before day-break, as if you were their grandfather or their foster-father. The kitchen of Alcinoüs would not suffice to feed the swarm—but enough said, silence; what if my verses should be deemed a satire*!"

The Germans who had settled in the empire with the permission of the emperor were not allowed to remain peaceful possessors of the lands allotted to them. Those same Huns, who had formerly forced the Goths to pass the Danube, drew with them the other Germans who had remained in Germany, and both crossed the Rhine. Here is the barbarian world, rent into its two forms—the band, already established on the soil of Gaul, and which, more and more won over to Roman civilization†, adopts, imitates, and defends it; and the tribe, the primitive and antique form, more affined to the genius of Asia, which flocks after the Asiatic cavalry, and comes to demand a share in the empire from her sons, who have forgotten her.

It is a remarkable singularity in our history that the two great invasions of Europe by Asia—that of the Huns in the fifth century, and that of the Saracens in the eighth—should both have met with their repulse in France. The Goths were the principal actors in the first victory; the Franks in the second.

Unfortunately, great obscurity hangs over both these events. The leader of the invasion of the Huns, the famous Attila, appears in tradition less like an historical personage than a vague and terrible myth, the symbol and memorial of wholesale slaughter. His true eastern name—Etzel‡, signifies something vast and powerful, a mountain, a river, and, in particular, the Volga, that immense river which separates Asia from Europe. This is also the aspect of Attila in the Nibelungen—powerful, formidable, but indefinite and vague, destitute of all human qualities, as indifferent and void of

* Sidon. Apollin. carmen xii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 811:—

Laudantem tetrico subinde vultu,
Quod Burgundio canat esculentus,
Infundens acido comam butyro.

Quem non ut vetulum patris parentem,
Nutricisque virum, die nec orto,
Tot tantique petunt simul gigantes.

† Procopius contrasts the Goths with the Germans, De Bello Gothico, l. iii. c. 33, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 41.—Paul Oros. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. "By the mercy of God, all became Christians and Catholics, and, submitting themselves to our priests, lead a calm and innocent life, treating the Gauls not as subjects, but as Christian brethren."

(In the foregoing passage, Orosius refers to the Burgundians, who obtained a permanent seat in Gaul at the commencement of the fifth century. The learned editor of the Ser. R. Fr. observes on this passage, that "The Burgundians, some years afterwards, turning Arians, grievously oppressed the Gauls.") TRANSLATOR.

‡ "Etzel, Atzel, Athila, Athela, Ethela.—Atta, Atti, Aetti, Vater, signify in almost all languages, and especially in those of Asia, father, judge, chief, king. It is the root of the names of the king of the Marcomanni, Attalus; of the Moor, Attala; of the Scythian, Athesa; of Attalus of Pergamus; of Atalrich, Eticho, Edico. But it has a deeper and wider meaning. ATTILA is the name of the Volga, of the Don, of a mountain in the province of Einsiedeln, and a general name for mountain and river. Thus it may be intimately connected with the ATLAS of the Greek myths." Jac. Grimm. Altdutsche Wälder, l. 6.

* The Heruli and Lombards contented themselves with a third.

† Paulinus, in Eucharist. v. 564—581, ed. 1681, in 8vo.—See also l'Hist. Lit. de Fr. 363—369.

‡ Socrates, l. vii. c. 30. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 604. Quippe omnes fere sunt fabri lignarii, et ex hac arte mercedem capientes semetipsos alunt.

§ Aug. Thierry, Lettres sur l'Hist. de France, &c.

moral sympathies as nature, hungry as the elements, and as devouring as fire and water*.

The existence of Attila would be doubtful were not all the writers of the fifth century agreed on the point, and if Priscus had not told us with terror that he had seen him, and described to us the table of Attila—terrible even in history, although we do not find it decked out there, as in the Nibelungen, with the obsequies of a whole race. But it is a great spectacle to see seated there, in the lowest place, and beneath the chiefs of the lowest barbarian hordes, the sad ambassadors of the emperors of the East and West†. Whilst mimes and buffoons excite the mirth and laughter of the barbarian warriors, Attila, serious and grave, and gathered up in his short and thick frame, with flattened nose, and his broad forehead pierced with two burning holes‡, revolves gloomy thoughts, as he passes his hands through the hair of his young son. There they sit, those Greeks who come even into the lion's den, to lay snares for him! He knows all; but is satisfied with returning the emperor the purse with which he had thought to purchase his death, and with addressing him this overwhelming message:—"Attila and Theodosius are sons of very noble fathers. But Theodosius, by paying tribute, is fallen from his nobility, and has become Attila's slave. It is not fit that he should conspire against his master, like a vile serf."

He disdained all other vengeance; but exacted some thousand ounces of gold the more. When payment of the tribute was not made to the day, the following notice, delivered by a slave, sufficed to secure its immediate transmission: "Attila, my lord and thy lord, is coming to see thee. He orders thee to get a palace ready for him in Rome§."

And what would have been the gain to this Tartar to have conquered the empire? He could not have breathed in its walled cities or marble palaces. Better did he love his wooden village, with its huts adorned with paint and hangings, and its thousand kiosks, flaunting in a hundred differ-

ent colours, scattered in the green meadows of the Danube. Thence he yearly took his departure with his innumerable cavalry, and the German bands which followed him whether they would or not. At enmity with Germany, he yet made use of Germany. His ally, the Vend Genseric, who had settled in Africa*, was the enemy of Germany. The Vends having turned aside from Germany through Spain, and changed the Baltic for the Mediterranean, infested the south of the empire whilst Attila laid waste the north. The Vend Stilicho's hatred of the Goth, Alaric, reappears in Genseric's hate of the Goths of Toulouse. He sought in marriage, and then cruelly mutilated the daughter of their king. He called Attila against them into Gaul. A contemporary historian (of slight authority, it is true) states that his countryman Ætius†, general of the Western empire, had also invited his presence, in the hope that the Goths and Huns might exterminate each other. Attila's path was marked by the ruin of Metz and of numerous other cities. An idea may be formed of the impression left‡ by this terrible event, from the numerous legends that grew out of it. Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus. God took St. Servatius to himself to spare him the grief of seeing the ruin of Tongres. Paris was saved by the prayers of St. Genevieve§; and Orleans stoutly defended by Bishop Anianus. This holy man, whilst the battering-ram was shaking the walls, asked, in the midst of his prayers, whether anything was seen coming. Twice he was answered, no; but on asking the third time, he was told that a small cloud was visible in the horizon—it was the Goths and Romans who were coming to the aid of the citizens||.

Idatius gravely asserts that two hundred thousand Goths, with their king, Theodoric, fell in a battle with Attila, near this town. His son Thorismund burns to avenge him; but the prudent Ætius, who equally feared the triumph of either party, seeks Attila under cover of night, and tells him—"You have destroyed but the smallest part of the Goths, who will bear down upon you tomorrow in such multitudes, that you will find it difficult to escape;" and, in his gratitude, Attila presents him with a thousand pieces of gold. Then, repairing to Thorismund, Ætius tells a similar tale to him; and, besides, awakens his fears that he

* We frequently read in Priscus and Jornandes, of both the Greeks and Romans pacifying him by presents. (Priscus, in Corp. Hist. Byzantine, i. 72. Ὑπάρχον τῷ πλῑθῑ τῶν δῶρων.) By force of presents, Genseric determined him to invade Gaul.—As reparation for an attempt on his life, he demanded an increase of tribute, &c.—In the Wilkna-Saga, c. 87, he is called the most avaricious of men; and it was by holding out to him hopes of a treasure, that Chriemhild persuaded him to admit his brothers into his palace.

† Priscus (in Corp. Hist. Byzantine, i. 66), describing their reception, states "that they were seated on the left hand, and Beric, a Scythian chieftain, had precedence of them."—The right hand was esteemed the most honourable.

‡ Jornandes, De Rebus Getic. ap. Duchesne, i. 226: "A large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body; in fine, he displayed all the signs of his origin."—Amm. Marcell. xxxi. i. "The Huns you would compare to beasts on two legs, or to those misshapen figures, the *Termini*, which are placed on our bridges."—Jornandes, c. 24. "They are fearfully swarthy; their face a shapeless lump (if I may so speak), rather than a human countenance, and having two dots for eyes."

(Gibbon, quoting the same passage, observes, "Jornandes draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face.") TRANSLATOR.

§ Chronic. Alexandrin p. 734.

• Jornandes, ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 22. "By lavish presents, Genseric induces Attila to fall on the Visigoths," &c.

† Greg. Tur. i. ii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 163. "Gaudentius, Ætius's father, was a man of the first rank in the province of Scythia."—Jornandes (ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 22) says that "he was descended from the valiant Mœsil, and born in Dorostorum."—Ætius had been a hostage to the Huns. (Greg. Tur. loc. cit.)—Orestes, the father of Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, and the Hun, Edeon, the father of Odoacer, the conqueror of Italy; figure among the ambassadors of Attila. See the account given by Priscus.

‡ Italy retained as sensible an impression of the invasion of the same barbarian. In a battle, fought at the very gates of Rome, both parties were said to have perished to a man—"but their spirits rose, and fought with unwearied fury for three days and three nights."—Damascius, ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1039.

§ According to the legend, it was on his retreat from Orleans that Attila massacred the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne.

|| Greg. Tur. i. ii. c. 7. *Aspicite de muro civitatis, si Dei miseratio jam succurrat. . . . Aspicite iterum, &c.*

does not hasten his return to Toulouse, his brother will usurp his throne. For this good advice, Thorismund, in his turn, gives him ten thousand solidi; and both armies quickly take opposite routes*.

The Goth, Jornandes, who wrote a century afterwards, does not fail to add to the fables of Idatius; but he gives all the glory to the Goths, and attributes the employment of treachery, not to Ætius, but Attila—all whose enmity is directed against the king of the Goths, Theodoric†. Attila is represented as leading into Gaul the collective barbarians of the North and the East‡; and a frightful battle is delivered between the whole Asiatic, Roman, and German world, three hundred thousand of whose bodies strew the field. Attila, in danger of being forced in his camp, rears an immense funeral pile of the saddles of his cavalry, and takes his station by it, torch in hand, ready to fire it§.

In this recital, however, there is one fearful circumstance, which admits of no doubt. On both sides, the combatants were, for the most part, brethren,—Franks against Franks, Ostrogoths against Visigoths||. After so long a separation, these tribes meet only to fight and slaughter each other. This circumstance is touchingly alluded to in the Nibelungen, when, in obedience to the wife of Attila, the Margrave Rüdiger, shedding big tears, attacks the Burgundians whom he loves, and, in his duel with Hagen, lends him his buckler¶. Still more pathetic is the song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand. The father and son, who have been many years separated, meet at the other end of the world; but the son does not recognize the

father, and the bitter alternative left to the latter is to slay his son or perish*.

Attila withdrew; but the empire could take no advantage of his retreat. Who then remained masters of Gaul? apparently the Goths and Burgundians. These people could not fail to have invaded the central countries, which, like Auvergne, persisted in remaining Roman. But were not the Goths themselves Roman? Their kings chose their ministers from the conquered. Theodoric II. employed the pen of the ablest man of Gaul, and was proud to have the elegance of the letters written in his name admired. The declaimer, Cassiodorus, was minister to the great Theodoric, the adopted son of the emperor Zeno, and king of the Ostrogoths who had settled in Italy. The learned Amalasontha, Theodoric's daughter, spoke Greek and Latin fluently; and her cousin, husband, and

* Idatius, ap. Fredeg. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 462. The extracts given by Fredegarus are regarded with suspicion.

† Jornandes, c. 38. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 33.

‡ See Jornandes, *ibid.*, and the notes of the editors.—“The greater part of the army collected by Ætius in Gaul must have been composed of Franks, supposed by the moderns to have been Salians, and subjects of Meroveus; of Ripuarii, also of Frankish race; of Saxons, settled at Bayeux; of Burgundians, who had established their monarchy, forty years before, near the lake of Geneva; of Barmatians, who had passed into Gaul at the time of the great barbaric invasion in 406; of Alani of Orleans, or of Valence, of Tayfales of Poitou, of Brehons, cantoned in Rhætia, of Armoricans, soldiers, perhaps, from the provinces which had shaken off the yoke; and of Leti, or veteran barbarians, whose services had been rewarded with a gift of lands, granted on condition of their defending them.” Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, i. 156, who cites Jornandes, c. 36.

§ Jornandes, c. 40: Equinis sellis construxisse pyram, æseques, et adversarii irrumperunt, flammis injicere voluisse.—In the Nibelungen, Chriemhild fires the four corners of the hall in which her brothers are.

¶ The Visigoths, with their king Theodoric, fought on the side of the Romans; the Ostrogoths and the Gepidae were with the Huns. It was an Ostrogoth who slew Theodoric.

¶ “Wie gerne ich dir wäre gut mit meinem Schilde,
Torst' ich dir'n bieten vor Chriemhilde!
Doch nim du in hin, Hagen unt trag' en an den hant:
Hef, soldestu in Ruren heim in der Burgunden lant!”
Der Nibelungen. Not. 888—892.

I would willingly give you my buckler,

If I durst offer it you before Chriemhild—

It matters not—take it, Hagen—bear it on thy arm:

Ah! may'st thou bear it to thy home, to the land of the Burgundians!

* The song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand was discovered and published in 1812 by the brothers Grimm, who refer it to the eighth century. I cannot refrain from giving here this venerable monument of primitive German literature. It has been translated by M. Gley (*Langue des Français*, 1814), and by M. Ampère (*Études Hist. de Chateaubriand*). I venture to offer a new version:—“I have heard tell that one day, whilst the battle was raging, Hildebrant and Hathubraht, father and son, defied each other. . . . They arrayed themselves in their armour and surcoats, put on their girdles, buckled their swords, and marched against each other. ‘Who is thy father among the people?’ asks the wise and noble Hildebrant, ‘and of what race art thou? If you will tell me, I will give you a coat of mail of triple links. I know every race of man.’ Hathubraht, son of Hildebrant, replied, ‘The old and wise of former days told me that Hildebrant was my father; I am Hathubraht. One day he fled to the East to avoid the wrath of Othacer? (Odoacer?) He went with Theothric (Theodoric) and a train of followers. Leaving a young wife sitting in his house, an infant son, and an armour without a master, he went to the East. The misfortunes of my cousin Dietrich increasing, and all deserting him, he was ever at the head of his people, and his sole joy was battle. I do not believe that he still lives.’ ‘God of heaven, lord of man,’ exclaims Hildebrant, ‘suffer not those who are thus connected to do battle!’ He then takes from his arm a bracelet which had been the gift of the king, lord of the Huns. ‘Allow me,’ he said, ‘to offer this to thee.’ Hathenbraht replied, ‘With the javelin only can I receive it, and point to point! Old Hun, vile spy, thou wouldst deceive me by thy words. If a moment I launch my javelin at thee. Old man, didst thou hope to take me in? They have told me, they who sailed to the West, on the sea of the Vends, that Hildebrant, son of Heerbrant, fell in a great battle there.’ Then replies Hildebrant, son of Heerbrant, ‘I see by thy armour that thou art not a noble chief, that thou hast not yet conquered. . . . Alas! what a fate is mine! Sixty summers and sixty winters have I been wandering a banished and expatriated man. Ever have I been seen in the thick of the battle: never has an enemy taken me or held me chained in his fort. And now, either my beloved son must pierce me with his sword, hew me down with his axe, or I become his murderer. Undoubtedly, it may be, if thy arm is strong, that thou mayst take his armour from a man of heart, and despoil his corpse: do it, if thou hast the right; and may he be the most infamous of the men of the East who shall dissuade thee from the combat thou dost set. Brave companions, judge of your valour, who to-day will best hurl the javelin, who dispose of the two armours.’ Thereupon the sharp javelins flew, and buried themselves in the bucklers; then they came hand to hand, their stone axes sound, ringing heavily on the white shields. Their bodies were somewhat shaken, not, however, their limbs.” &c. &c.

murderer, Theodatus, affected the language of a philosopher.

The Goths had succeeded but too well in reconstructing the empire. With the reappearance of the imperial administration, all its abuses had followed. Severe regulations in favour of the Roman landed proprietors had kept up slavery. Imbued, from their long sojourn in the East, with the tenets current at Constantinople, the Goths had brought thence the Arianism of the Greeks, by which Christianity was reduced to mere philosophy, and the Church made a pendant of the State. They were detested by the Gallic clergy, whom they suspected, not without cause*, of calling in the Franks, the barbarians of the north. The same suspicions were entertained by the milder Burgundians; and this common distrust rendered the government daily more severe and tyrannical. It is known that the Gothic law derived the first hint of the inquisition from the proceedings of the imperial courts†.

CONFEDERATION OF THE FRANKS.

The Franks were the more longed for, that no one, perhaps, knew what they were‡. They were not a people, but a confederation, which varied in its

* "When fear of the Franks filled these parts, and there was a general and vehement longing for them to seize the kingdom, the Burgundians began to suspect the holy Aprunculus, bishop of Langres; and growing daily worse affected towards him, gave orders that he should be privately dealt with. This being reported to him, he left Dijon at night, and repairing to Auvergne, was made bishop there. — At this time many of the Gauls greatly desired the Franks to be rulers over them; whence it came to pass, that Quintianus, bishop of Rhodéz, in Aquitaine, was expelled that city; for they said to him, 'Because thy desire is to the Franks, that they may rule over this land.' . . . Scandal having arisen betwixt him and the citizens, the latter insinuated to the Goths who tarried there that he wished to subject them to the sway of the Franks; whereupon they took counsel to kill him. When this was told to the man of God, rising by night, and fleeing from Rhodéz, he came to Auvergne. There he was kindly entreated by the good bishop Euphrasius; and when Apollinaris departed this life, and news was brought to king Theodorie, he ordered the holy Quintianus to be elected in his stead, saying, 'He was ejected from his city out of his zeal for us.' At this time Clovis reigned in some cities of Gaul; and hence the Goths, entertaining a suspicion that this pontiff desired to submit himself to the Franks, banished him to Toulouse, where he died. . . . Volusianus, the seventh bishop of Tours, and Verus, the eighth, being suspected by the Goths of favouring the aforesaid cause, ended their lives in exile.' Greg. Tur. i. ii. c. 23. 36; i. x. c. 31. See also c. 26, and Vit. Pat. ap. Scr. R. Fr. t. iii. p. 408.

† Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 1.

‡ The Franks had invaded Gaul in 254, during the reign of Gallienus, and had made their way through Spain as far as Mauritania. (Zosimus, l. i. p. 646; Aurel. Victor, c. 33.) In 277, Probus twice defeated them on the Rhine, and settled numbers of them on the shores of the Black Sea. The daring voyage of these pirates is well known. Tired of exile, they set sail in order to revisit their beloved Rhine, and, plundering on their way the coasts of Asia, Greece, and Sicily, landed peaceably in Frisia or Batavia. (Zosimus, i. 366.) — In 293, Constantius transported a colony of Franks into Gaul. — In 358, Julian drove the Chamavians beyond the Rhine, and subjected the Salians, &c. — Clovis (Hlodwig) defeated Syagrius in 486. — Greg. Tur. i. ii. c. 9: "It is generally held that these same Franks came from Pannonia, and first settled on the shores of the Rhine; and that then, crossing the river, they passed over into Thuringia."

members as it fluctuated in its influence, but which must have been powerful at the close of the fourth century, under Mellobaud and Arbogastes. At this period the Franks had indisputably large possessions in the empire. Under the name of Franks, Germans of every race composed the best troops of the imperial armies* and the body guard of the emperor†. Floating between Germany and the empire, they generally declared against the other barbarians, whose irruptions into Gaul succeeded theirs. They opposed, though unsuccessfully, the great invasion of the Burgundians, Suovi, and Vandals, in 406‡, and many of them fought against Attila. At a later period we shall see them, under Clovis, defeating the Germans near Cologne, and preventing their crossing the Rhine. Still pagans, and from their roving life on the frontier no doubt but loosely attached to any religious system, they must have proved easy converts to the clergy of Gaul. At this epoch the rest of the barbarians were Arians; and they all were of distinct race and had a distinct nationality. The Franks alone, a mixed people, seemed hovering indecisively on the frontier, ready to take the impression of any idea, influence, or religion. They alone received Christianity through the Latin Church; that is, in

* For instance, of the armies of Constantine. Zosimus, l. ii.; Gibbon, iii. 66.

† Amm. Marcellin. l. xv. A. D. 355: "The Franks who at this time swarmed in the palace," &c. When, at a later period, the emperor Anastasius sent Clovis the insignia of the consulship, the Frankish chieftains were already familiar with the Roman titles of honour. A little later than this, Agathias terms the Franks the most civilized of barbarians, and says that dress and language are all that distinguish them from the Romans. Not that their dress was devoid of elegance. "The young chief, Sigismar," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "walked, preceded or followed by horses whose housings sparkled with jewels. On foot, and clad in milk-white silk, resplendent with gold, and blazing with purple; these three colours harmonised with his hair, his complexion, and his skin. . . . The chiefs around him wore boots of fur; their legs and knees were bare; their high narrow gowns, striped with various colours, hardly reached their calves, and their sleeves did not fall below the elbow; their green mantles were edged with a scarlet border; their swords, suspended from the shoulder by a long belt, girded their sides, around which they wore skins; their arms were an additional ornament." . . . Sidon. Apollin. l. iv. epist. 20, ap. Scr. R. Fr. t. 795. "In the tomb of Childeric I., discovered in 1653 at Tournai, there were found a crystal globe, a style with tablets, and medals of several emperors. His name was traced round his body in Roman letters. . . . In all this there is nothing very barbarous." Chateaubriand, *Etudes Historiques*, iii. 212. — St. Jerome (as quoted in Fredegarus) thinks the Franks, like the Romans, descended from the Trojans, and refers their origin to one Francio, a son of Priam: "The blessed Jerome made use of the ancient Franks that Priam was their king, and that, when Troy was taken, half of them, with Francio for king, invaded Europe, and settled on the bank of the Rhine with their wives and children. . . . A long time afterwards they were called Franks, they and their chiefs always spurning foreign rule." Fredeg. c. 2. — The fondness with which this tradition was welcomed by the middle ages is well known.

‡ (Gibbon (v. 224.) remarks of this invasion: "This memorable passage of the Suvi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.")

TRANSLATOR.

its complete form, and with its lofty poetry. Rationalism may follow civilization; but it would only wither barbarism, dry up its life-blood, and strike it with palsy. Seated in the north of France, in the north-west corner of Europe, the Franks held their ground against the pagan Saxons, the latest swarm from Germany, against the Arian Visigoths, and finally against the Saracens, all three equally hostile to the divinity of Jesus Christ. Therefore, it is not without reason that our monarchs have been styled the eldest sons of the Church.

The Church made the fortune of the Franks. It would have seemed that the establishment of the Burgundian monarchy, the greatness of the Goths—masters of Spain and Aquitaine, the formation of the Armorican confederations, and that of a Roman kingdom at Soissons by Ægidius*, must have confined the Franks within the Carbonarian forest between Tournai and the Rhine†. But they induced the Armoricans to join their bands, at least those settled at the mouths of the Somme and Seine‡, and the soldiers of the empire, as well, who had remained without a leader after the death of Ægidius§; but never could their feeble forces have destroyed the Goths, humbled the Burgundians, and repulsed the Germans, had they not every where found the clergy ardent auxiliaries, who guided and lighted their progress, and gained the country over to them beforehand. •

See in what modest terms Gregory of Tours speaks of the first advances of the Franks in Gaul. "It is said that at this time Chlogion (Clodion), a powerful and distinguished man in his country, was king of the Franks. He held his residence at Dispargium ||, on the borders of the Thuringians of Tongres. The Romans likewise occupied these countries; that is, southwards, as far as the Loire. Beyond the Loire the country belonged to the Goths. The Burgundians, like them attached to the sect of the Arians, dwelt beyond the river Rhône, which runs by Lyons. Chlogion, having sent spies into the

town of Cambrai, and examined the land, defied the Romans, and took possession of that town; having remained in which some time, he conquered the land as far as the Somme. Some assert that king Meroveus, who had Childeric to his son, was his descendant*."

It is probable that many of the Frankish chiefs, for instance this Childeric, who, we are told, was son of Meroveus and father of Clovis, had Roman titles; as was the case in the preceding century with Mellobaud and Arbogastes. We see Ægidius, a Roman general, and partisan of the emperor Majorian, and who was the enemy of the Goths and of their creature the emperor Avitus, the Arvernian, succeeding the Frankish chief, Childeric, who was for a time expelled by his subjects; but, undoubtedly, it was not as hereditary and national chief†, but as general of the imperial militia. Childeric, accused of having violated some freeborn virgins, took refuge with the Thuringians, and carried off their queen. On the death of Ægidius‡ he returned to the Franks; and was succeeded by his son, Clovis, who in his turn triumphed over the patrician Syagrius, son of Ægidius. Defeated at Soissons, Syagrius flies to the Goths, who deliver him up to Clovis (A.D. 486). Subsequently, the latter is invested with the insignia of the consulship by Anastasius, emperor of Constantinople. •

CLOVIS EMBRACES CHRISTIANITY. (A.D. 496.)

Clovis was still only chief of the petty tribe of the Franks of Tournai, when numerous bands of Suevi, under the designation of All-men (Alemanni) threatened to pass the Rhine. The Franks, as usual, flew to arms, to oppose their passage. In similar emergencies the different tribes were accustomed to unite under the bravest chief§, and

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 166.

† Many English and German critics have come over to the opinion of the Abbé Dubos, that royalty among the Franks had no affinity with the German monarchies, but was a mere imitation of the imperial governors, *præsides*, &c. See Palgrave, Upon the Commonwealth of England, vol. i. 1832.—The Franks attempted, though ineffectually, to defend the frontiers against the great invasion of the barbarians, in 406, and at various intervals they obtained grants of land as Roman soldiers. Sismondi, i. 174.—Finally, the Benedictines say in their preface (Scr. R. Fr. i. 53): "There is nothing, either in the history or laws of the Franks, which can warrant the inference that the Gauls were despoiled of a portion of their lands to form Salic lands for the Franks."

‡ (Gibbon relates the circumstance somewhat differently: "The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince." Decline and Fall, vi. 186.) TRANSLATOR.

§ The following passages, collected by M. Guizot (Essais sur l'Hist. de France, p. 103), show how thoroughly independent they were of their kings: "If thou wilt not go into Burgundy with thy brothers," say the Franks to Theodoric, "we will leave thee there, and march with them." Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 11.—At another time, the Franks choose to march against the Saxons, who sue for peace. "Do not obstinately seek this war, which will be your ruin," says Clovis to them; "if you will go, I will not follow you." At these words his warriors flew upon him, demolded his tent, forced him out of it, overwhelmed him with reproaches,

* "His dominions (Ricimer's) were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting with disdain the phantom which he styled an emperor. . . . Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome, proclaimed his immortal resentment against the assassins of his beloved master, Majorian. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war." Gibbon, vi. 184—6.) TRANSLATOR.

† During their long stay in Belgium, they must necessarily have mingled with the indigenes, and by the time of their arrival in Gaul, were no doubt partly Belgians. (The Carbonarian wood was that part of the great forest of Ardennes which lay between the Scheldt and the Meuse.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Procop. Bell. Goth. c. 12, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 30: "The Germans sought to fraternise with them, and the Armoricans were not at all unwilling, both happening to be Christians."

§ Id. ibid. "And the Roman soldiers, not being able to return to Rome, and not wishing the Arian enemy to succeed, joined with the Armoricans and Franks." Thus the Franks combined all the Catholics of Gaul against the Arians.

|| (A village or fortress between Louvain and Brussels.) TRANSLATOR.

Clovis reaped the honour of the common victory. This was the occasion of his embracing the worship of Roman Gaul, which was that of his wife Clotilda, niece of the king of the Burgundians. He had vowed, he said, during the battle, to worship the god of Clotilda if he gained the day. Three thousand of his warriors followed his example*. There was great joy among the clergy of Gaul, who thenceforward placed their hopes of deliverance in the Franks. St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and a subject of the Arian Burgundians, did not hesitate to write to him—"When thou fightest, it is to us that the victory is due†." These words were the subject of eloquent comment by St. Remigius, on the occasion of the baptism of Clovis—"Sicamber, bow meekly thy head; adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored‡." In this manner the Church took solemn possession of the barbarians.

This union of Clovis with the clergy of Gaul threatened to be fatal to the Burgundians. He had already endeavoured to turn to account a war between the Burgundian monarchs Godegisil and Gondobaut, alleging against the latter his Arianism and the murder of Clotilda's father; and without doubt he had been called in by the bishops. Gondobaut humbled himself; amused the bishops by promising to turn Catholic; gave them his children to educate§; and, granted the Romans a milder law than had been hitherto accorded the conquered by any barbarian people. He wound up these concessions by becoming tributary to Clovis.

Alaric II., king of the Visigoths, entertaining a similar dread and distrust of Clovis, endeavoured to propitiate him, and sought an interview with him in an island of the Loire. Clovis spoke him fairly, but the instant after convened his Gauls. "It offends me," he said, "that these Arians possess the fairest portion of the land. Let us on them, and with God to aid expel them. Let us seize their land. We shall do well, for it is very good||" (A.D. 507.)

Far from encountering any obstacle, he seemed to be conducted by a mysterious hand. He was led to a ford in Vienne by a hart¶. A pillar of fire appeared on the cathedral of Poitiers, for his guidance by night††. He sent to St. Martin de

Tours* to consult the lots‡; and they were favourable to him. On his side, he did not overlook the quarter whence this assistance came. He forbade all plundering round Poitiers. Near Tours, he struck with his sword a soldier who was foraging on the territory of this town, made sacred by the tomb of St. Martin. "How," said he, "can we hope for victory, if we offend St. Martin‡?" After his victory over Syagrius, one of his warriors refused the king a sacred vase, which he sought to include in his share of the spoil in order to dedicate it to St. Remigius, the patron saint of his own church. A short time afterwards, Clovis, seizing the opportunity of a review of his troops, snatches his *francisque* (Frankish battle-axe) from the soldier, and as he stoops to pick it up, splits his skull with a stroke of his own axe, exclaiming—"Remember the vase at Soissons§." So zealous a defender of the goods of the church could not fail to find her a powerful help towards victory; and, in fact, he overcame Alaric at Vouglé, near Poitiers, advanced as far as Languedoc, and would have marched further had not the great Theodoric, king of the Italian Ostrogoths, and father-in-law of Alaric II., covered Provence and Spain with an army, and saved the remainder of his kingdom for the infant son of the latter, who, on the mother's side, was his own grandson.

The invasion of the Franks, so evidently desired by the heads of the Gallo-Roman population, in other words, by the bishops, added momentarily to this confused state of things. The historic notices which remain to us of the immediate results of so varied and complicated a revolution are scanty; but no where have they been more happily divined and analyzed than in the following passages of M. Guizot's *Cours d'Histoire* (t. i. p. 297):—

"Invasion, or, more properly speaking, invasions, were essentially partial, local, and momentary events. A band arrived, generally small in number—the most powerful, those which founded kingdoms, for instance, that of Clovis, did not number more than from five to six thousand men, whilst the entire Burgundian nation did not exceed sixty thousand—it rapidly traversed a narrow line of ground, ravaged a district, attacked a city, and then either withdrew with its booty, or settled within a limited range so as to avoid too great a dispersion. We know the ease and rapidity with which such events take place and pass away.

* Id. *ibid.*

† ("His messengers," says Gibbon, "were instructed to remark the words of the psalm which should happen to be chanted at the precise moment when they entered the church. These words most fortunately expressed the valour and victory of the champions of Heaven, and the application was easily transferred to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord.") In a note on this passage, Gibbon adds—"This mode of divination, by accepting as an omen the first sacred words, which in particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or ear, was derived from the Pagans; and the Psalter or Bible was substituted to the poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the fourteenth century these *sortes sanctorum*, as they are styled, were repeatedly condemned by the decrees of councils, and repeatedly practised by kings, bishops, and saints." Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 383.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Greg. Tur. i. li. c. 37. "Et ubi erit spes victoriæ, si beatus Martinus offenderit?"

§ Greg. Tur. i. li. c. 28

and threatened to slay him if he persisted in his refusal. *Ibid.* l. iv. c. 14.—At first, the title of king was an empty name. Ennodius, bishop of Paris, says of an army collected by the great Theodoric: "In this army there were so many kings, that their number was at least equal to that of those soldiers who could be maintained out of the contributions levied on the district in which it was encamped."

* Greg. Tur. i. li. c. 31.—Sigebert and Chilperic do not marry Brunehaut and Galswinth till they have abjured Arianism.—Chlotsinda, daughter of Clotaire I.; Ingundis, wife of Ermengild; and Bertha, wife of the king of Kent, converted their husbands.

† Cum pugnat, vincimus. S. Aviti epist. in append. ad Greg. Tur.

‡ Mitis depono colla, Sicamber: adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti. Greg. Tur. i. li. c. 34.*

§ Id. *ibid.* c. 31.

|| Gesta regum Francorum, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 553. Thierri, Conquête de l'Angl. l. 43.

** Greg. Tur. i. li. c. 37.

¶ (The hart was, of course, white; and the place is still called the Hart's ford.) TRANSLATOR.

†† Greg. Tur. i. li. c. 37.

Houses are burnt, lands laid waste, harvests carried off, men slain or led into captivity, and but a brief time after all this mischief has been done, the waves cease, their furrows are effaced, individual sufferings are forgotten, and society returns, apparently at least, into its ancient channel. Such was the course of affairs in Gaul in the fifth century.

"But we also know that human society—that form of it which deserves the name of a people—does not consist of a number of isolated and passing existences thrown into simple juxta-position. Were it nothing more, the invasions of the barbarians would not have produced the impression traced on the records of the time. For a considerable period, the number both of places and of individuals who suffered from them, was far inferior to that of those untouched by their ravages. But man's social life is not confined to the material space, or to the mere moment of time in which it passes. It ramifies into the many relations it has contracted in many localities, and not only into them, but into those which it may contract, or may form an idea of. It embraces not alone the present, but the future. Man lives on a thousand points which he does not inhabit, and in a thousand moments yet in the womb of time; and if this expansion of his existence suffer compression, if he is compelled to contract himself within the narrow limits of his material and actual existence, and isolate himself both as regards space and time, social life is a truncated and lifeless corpse.

"This was the result of the invasions—of those apparitions of barbarous bands, brief, it is true, and limited, but ever renewed, every where possible, and always threatening. They destroyed, 1st, all regular, customary, easy correspondence between different parts of a territory; 2ndly, all security and prospect for the future. They broke the bonds which unite the inhabitants of the same country, interrupted the regular pulsations of a whole social existence. They isolated men, and the days of each man. In many places, and for many years, the aspect of the country might remain the same; but the organization of society felt the blow, its limbs fell from each other, its muscles were nerveless, the blood no longer circulated freely or surely in its veins, the evil burst out sometimes in one point, sometimes in another—a town was plundered, a road rendered impracticable, a bridge broken down, this or that communication ceased, cultivation was put a stop to in this or that district—in a word, the organic harmony and general activity of the social body were daily interfered with and disturbed, and every day impelled the general paralysis and dissolution.

"The term had come of all those ties by which Rome, after unnumbered efforts, had accomplished the union of the different parts of the globe—of that great system of administration, taxes, recruitment, public works, and roads. Of all these, there only remained those portions which could subsist isolated and locally—that is to say, the ruins of municipal government. The people betook themselves to the towns, in which they continued to govern themselves nearly on the same system as before, with the same privileges, and through the medium of the same institutions. A thousand circumstances prove this concentration of society in the towns. One, which has been but little noticed

during the Roman government, is the constant recurrence, both in the laws enacted and in history, of 'governors of provinces, officers with consular power, *correctores*, presidents,' who are ever on the scene. In the sixth century their name occurs less frequently; but we still find dukes and counts named as governing provinces. The barbarian kings strove to succeed to the Roman form of government, to keep up the same officers, and direct power into the same channel; but their success is incomplete and disorderly. Their dukes are rather military than political chiefs; the governors of provinces are evidently no longer of the same importance, and play a different part. It is the governors of the towns who figure in history. Most of those counts, whose exactions under Chilperic, Gontran, and Theodebert, are related by Gregory of Tours, are counts of towns, established, side by side with their bishop, within the precinct of their walls. It would be too much to say that the province has disappeared; but it is disorganized, unsubstantial, and all but a phantom. The city, the primitive element of the Roman world, is almost the sole survivor of its ruin."

The fact is, a new organization is on the eve of gradual formation, of which the city will not be the sole element, and in which the country, which went for nothing in ancient times, will, in its turn, take a place. Centuries will be required to establish this new order of things. Still, from the time of Clovis, it was prepared from afar by the consummation of two important events.

On one hand, the unity of the barbarian army was secured. By a series of treacheries, Clovis effected the death of all the petty kings of the Franks*. The Church, preoccupied by the idea

* "He secretly sent word to the son of Sigebert the Lame, king of Cologne, 'Thy father grows old, and halts on his bad foot. Were he to die, his kingdom and my friendship would be thine.' . . . Chloderic, buoyed up by these hopes, had his father assassinated. . . . And Clovis sent him word, 'I thank thee for thy good will, and pray thee to show thy treasures to my messengers, and then take all thyself.' Chloderic said, 'Here is the chest in which my father heaped up his gold.' They replied, 'Plunge thy arm down to the bottom, to see how much it is;' and when he did so, and was stooping down, one of them raised his axe and split his skull.—Clovis, apprized of the death of Sigebert and his son, repairs to Cologne, assembles the inhabitants, and says, 'I am no wise concerned in these things. I cannot shed the blood of my relatives, for it is forbidden. But since these things have happened, I will give you counsel, which you can take if you like. Come to me: let me protect you.' The people applaud, shouting and clashing their bucklers, and raising him on the shield, elect him king.—He then marched against Chararic . . . made him and his son prisoners, and caused the hair of both to be cut off. Chararic weeping, his son said to him, 'This foliage has been cut from a green stem, it will grow and flourish quickly. Would to God that he who has done this may perish as quickly.' These words being reported to Clovis . . . he ordered both to be beheaded. On their death he seized their kingdom, treasures, and people.—Ragnacair was at this time king at Cambral. . . . Clovis, having had bracelets and baldrics made of false gold (it is only brass, gilt) gave them to the great vassals of Ragnacair that they might conspire against him. . . . Ragnacair was defeated, and made prisoner with his son Richair. . . . Clovis said to him, 'Why hast thou disgraced thy family by suffering thyself to be fettered? better have died;' and lifting his axe, he buried it in his head. Then, turning to Richair, he said, 'Hadst thou helped thy brother, he would

of unity applauded their death. "He succeeded in everything," says Gregory of Tours, "because he walked with his heart upright before God*." St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, had in like manner congratulated Gondebaut on the death of his brother—which put an end to the civil war in Burgundy. The deaths of the Frankish, Visigoth, and Roman chiefs, united under one and the same head, the whole of western Gaul from Batavia to the Narbonnese.

On the other hand, Clovis allowed the Church the most unbounded right of asylum and protection. At a period that the law had ceased to protect, this recognition of the power of an order which took upon itself the guardianship and security of the conquered, was a great step. Slaves themselves could not be forced from the churches where they had taken refuge. The very houses of the priests were accounted asylums, like the temples, to those who should appear to live with them†. A bishop had only to make oath that a prisoner was his, to have him immediately given up.

Undoubtedly it was easier for the chief of the barbarians to grant these privileges to the Church, than to cause them to be respected. The case of Attalus, carried into slavery so far from his country, and then rescued as by a miracle‡, testifies the insufficiency of ecclesiastical protection. But it was some advance to have the abstract right recognised. The immense property secured by Clovis to the churches, particularly to that of Reims, whose bishop is said to have been his principal counsellor, must have given vast extension to this salutary influence of the Church. To place property in ecclesiastical keeping was to subtract it from violence, brutality, and barbarism.

FATE OF THE FAMILY OF CLOVIS.

On the death of Clovis (A. D. 511), his four sons, according to the custom of the barbarians, all became kings. Each remained at the head of one of those military lines, which had been

not have been in chains; and he slew him in the same manner.—Rignomer was put to death by his orders, in the town of Mans. . . . Having slain on this wise many other kings and his nearest kindred, he extended his authority over the whole of Gaul. Finally, one day, assembling his people, he spoke as follows of the relatives whom he had butchered, 'Unhappy that I am, left like a traveller in the midst of strangers, I have no relative to befriend me in the day of adversity!' But this was not for sorrow at their death. He only held this language through cunning, in order to discover whether he had still any relative left, in order that he might destroy him." Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 42.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 40: *Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub manu ipsius et augebat regnum ejus, eo quod ambularet recto corde coram eo, et faceret quæ placita erant in oculis ejus.*—These sanguinary praises are surprising in an historian, who in every other part of his work exhibits great gentleness and humanity of disposition.

† *Qui cum quis in domo ipsorum consistere videbatur. . . . De ceteris quidem captivis laicis, &c.* Epist. Clodovei ad episc. Gall. ap. Ser. R. Fr. iv. 54.—This letter was written by Clovis on the occasion of his war with the Goths.

‡ Greg. Tur. iii. 15.—The story is translated by Augustin Thierry, in his *Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*.—On the condition of the subject in Gaul under the kings of the first race, consult the learned memoir of M. Naudet.

(The English reader will find the story of Attalus in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. pp. 366. 369.) TRANSLATOR.

traced in Gaul by the successive encampments of the Franks. Theoderic held his residence at Metz—his warriors being settled in *Austrasia, or eastern France*, and Auvergne. Clotaire kept court at Soissons, Childebert at Paris, and Clodomir at Orleans: the three latter also shared Aquitaine amongst them.

In point of fact, it was not the land but the army which was divided; and, from its nature, this division could not fail to be an unequal one. The barbarian warriors must often have deserted one chief for the other, and have flocked to him whose courage and military skill promised the greatest share of booty; and, therefore, when Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, invaded Italy at the head of a hundred thousand men, it is probable that he was followed by almost all the Franks, and that many other barbarians as well, attracted by them, swelled his ranks.

The Franks acquired so much renown from the rapid conquest of Clovis—with the causes of which we are so imperfectly acquainted—that most of the barbarian tribes chose to ally themselves with them; as it formerly happened to the followers of Attila. The most hostile races of Germany, the Germans of the south and of the north, the Suevi and the Saxons, became federate with the Franks. So did the Bavarians. Alone, in the midst of these nations, the Thuringians rejected this amalgamation, and were overwhelmed*. At this period, the Gallic Burgundians appeared more capable of resistance than in the time of Clovis. Their new king, St. Sigismund, the pupil of St. Avitus, was orthodox and beloved by his clergy: thus the pretext of Arianism could no longer be advanced. But the sons of Clovis opportunely remembered that forty years previously, their maternal grandfather had been put to death by Sigismund. Clodomir and Clotaire defied him to battle, and threw him into a well, which was then filled up with stones. But Clodomir's victory drew down ruin on his family, for he perished in the engagement, and so left his children without a protector.

"Whilst queen Clotilda held her residence at Paris, Childebert, perceiving that all his mother's affections went to the sons of Clodomir, became jealous of them, and fearing that her favour might secure them a share of the kingdom, he privily sent the following message to his brother Clotaire:—'Our mother is taking care of the sons of our brother, and seeks to give them the kingdom. You must come directly to Paris, and we will consult what to do with them—whether to cut off their hair so as to reduce them to the rank of subjects, or to kill them, and make an equal division of our brother's kingdom.' Rejoiced hereat, Clotaire came to Paris. Childebert had already spread a rumour that the two kings had agreed to raise the children to the throne. They sent then, in their joint name, to the queen, who abode in the same city, and said to her, 'Send us the children, that we may seat them on the throne.' Filled with joy, and unsuspecting of their artifice, after she had given the children to eat and drink, she

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 7.—In Hess and Franconia, they broke on the wheel, or crushed under the wheels of their waggons, more than two hundred young girls, and then gave their limbs to their dogs and hawks.—See the speech of Theoderic to his soldiers, *ibid*.

sent them, saying, 'I shall think that I have not lost my son, if I see you succeed to his kingdom.' The children went, but were immediately seized, and separated from their servants and nurses, and shut up apart—the servants in one place, the children in another. Then Childebert and Clotaire sent Arcadius, whom we have already mentioned, to the queen, carrying scissors and a bare sword. When he had come to the queen, he showed them to her, saying, 'O most glorious queen, thy sons, our lords, are waiting to know thy will as to the treatment of those children: order whether they shall have their hair cut off, or be slain.' Affrighted at this message, and, at the same time, transported with violent wrath at the sight of that bare sword and scissors, she gave way to her indignation, and, not knowing in her grief what she said, imprudently replied—'If they are not to be raised to the throne, I had rather see them dead, than shorn of their locks.' But Arcadius, caring little for her grief, and not troubling himself to divine her real wishes, hastily returned to those who had sent him, and said, 'You have the queen's leave to go on with what you have begun; she desires you to fulfil your wishes.' On this, Clotaire, seizing the eldest child by the arm, threw him down, and plunging his dagger into his arm-pit, slew him cruelly. At his cries, his brother cast himself at Childebert's feet, and clasping his knees, exclaims with tears, 'Help me, kindest father, that I die not as my brother.' Then Childebert, his face bathed with tears, says to Clotaire, 'I entreat thee, dearest brother, to have the goodness to grant me his life. If thou wilt not kill him, I will give thee for his ransom whatsoever thou shalt ask.' But Clotaire, overwhelming him with reproaches, says, 'Cast him far from thee, or thou shalt certainly die in his stead. 'Tis thou who hast stirred me to this thing, and art thou so ready to break thy pledge!' At these words, Childebert repulsed the child, and flung him towards Clotaire, who caught him, and plunging his dagger in his side, slew him as he had done his brother. They then slew the servants and nurses, and, when they were dead, Clotaire, mounting on horseback, rode off without the slightest remorse at having murdered his nephews, and repaired with Childebert to the faubourgs. The queen, ordering their little bodies to be laid on a litter, conveyed them, with many hymns and an immense train of mourners, to St. Peter's church, where both were interred with like ceremony. One* was ten, the other seven years of age.*

Theoderic, who had not engaged in the expedition to Burgundy, led his followers into Auvergne. "I will lead you," he had told his soldiers, "into a land where you will find as much money as you can covet, and where you may seize in abundance flocks, slaves, and apparel†." Indeed, this was the only province which had escaped the general plunder of the West. Tributary, first to the Goths, then to the Franks, it preserved the right of governing itself. The Apollinari, the ancient leaders of the Arvernian tribes, who had valiantly

defended their country against the Goths, felt on the approach of the Franks that they would lose by the exchange, and fought on the side of the Goths at Vouglé*. But here, as elsewhere, the majority of the clergy favoured the Franks. St. Quintin, bishop of Clermont, and the personal enemy of the Apollinari, seems to have delivered the citadel of that town into their hands; and the Franks slew at the very foot of the altar a priest, of whom he thought fit to complain.

The bravest of these Frank kings was Theodebert, son of Theoderic, chief of those eastern Franks whose ranks were constantly recruited from all the *Wargi* of the German tribes. He flourished at the time the Greeks and Goths were contending for Italy. The whole policy of the Byzantines consisted in opposing to the Romanized barbarians, the Goths, barbarians who had remained utterly barbarous. The victories of Belisarius and of Narses were gained by means of Moors, Slaves, and Huns; and both Greeks and Goths equally hoped to turn the Franks to account as auxiliaries. They knew not the men they had called in. (A.D. 539.) The Goths hasten to meet Theodebert on the threshold of Italy. He falls upon them, and cuts them to pieces. The Greeks on this make sure of him; and are massacred in like manner†. The finest towns of Lombardy are reduced to ashes, and such ruthless waste committed that the Franks are reduced to starvation in the midst of a desert of their own making, and faint under the sun of the south, in the marshy plains of the Po. Numbers perished there; but those who managed to return were so laden with booty as to induce a new expedition, which shortly after set out under the leading of a Frank and a Sueve, overran Italy as far as Sicily, and destroyed more than it gained. The climate did justice on the barbarous invader‡; and, at the same time, Theodebert died in Gaul§, at the moment he was preparing to swoop down on the valley of the Danube, and invade the empire of the East—yet Justinian was his ally, and had ceded him all the rights of the empire over southern Gaul||.

Theodebert's death, and the disastrous fate of the expedition which followed close upon it, stopped the further progress of the Franks; and Italy, shortly afterwards invaded by the Lombards, was thenceforward closed against their invasions. In Spain, they always failed¶. The Saxons soon dis-

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. Gesta Reg. Franc. c. 17.

† Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 25.

‡ Theodebert's expedition was not the last attempt made by the Franks on Italy. In 584, "King Childebert invaded Italy, which the Lombards learning, and fearing defeat at his hands, they recognised him as their lord, made him many presents, and vowed submission and fidelity. Having attained his object, he returned into Gaul, and put an army in movement against Spain. However, he forbore. The year before, the emperor Maurice had given him fifty thousand golden sous (sols) to drive the Lombards out of Italy, and when he learnt that Childebert had concluded peace with them, he demanded back his money. The king, however, trusting in his own strength, did not even deign him an answer." Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 42.

§ Gored by a wild bull, according to Agathias, ap. Scr. R. Fr. t. i. p. 50.

|| Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 33.

¶ The first time they invaded it, Childebert and Clotaire gave out that it was to avenge the ill-treatment of his husband, Amalaric, king of the Visigoths, who sought to con-

* Greg. Tur. l. iii.—A third son of Clodomir's escaping, and taking refuge in a monastery, became St. Clodoald, or St. Cloud.

† Ubi aurum et argentum accipitis, quantum vestra potest desiderare cupiditas, de qua pecora, &c. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 11.

carded a profitless alliance, and refused payment of the tribute of five hundred cows which they had voluntarily offered*. Clotaire, who attempted to exact it, sustained a defeat at their hands. Thus the most powerful of the German tribes escaped alliance with the Franks; and here began that hostility between them and the Saxons, which grew in rancour, and constituted for so many centuries the grand struggle of the barbarians. The Saxons, whose further progress on the continent to the westward is henceforward barred by the Franks, whilst they are pushed on the east by the Slaves, will turn towards the ocean, towards the north, and, becoming daily more friendly with the Northmen, they will infest the coasts of France †, and strengthen their English colonies.

The hostility of the Germans proper, to a people subjected to Roman and ecclesiastical influence, was natural. It was to the Church that Clovis was chiefly indebted for his rapid conquests. His successors early chose their counsellors from the Romans, from the conquered ‡; and it could hardly

vert her to Arianism. Sigebert had sent her brothers a handkerchief dyed in her blood. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 10.

* Quingentas vacas inferendas annis singulis a Chlotario seniore censiti reddebant. Gesta Dagoberti, c. 39.

† Sidon. Apollin. l. viii. epist. 9: "There (Bordeaux) we see the blue-eyed Saxon, erst accustomed to the sea, dread the land." And Carmen viii.:

Quin et Aremoricos piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

(Even Armorica looked for the Saxon pirate, whose sport it is to plough the British sea in his coracle, and to cleave the green sea in his skin-covered pinnace.)

‡ Clovis himself selected his ambassadors from among the Romans, as Aurelian in 481, and Paternus in 507. (Greg. Tur. epist. c. 13. 25.) Roman names abound in the courts of the German kings. Atridius is the constant counsellor of Gondebald. (Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 32.)—Arcadius, an Arvernian senator, invites Childbert I. into Auvergne, and is an intermediate in the murder of Clodomir's children. (Id. l. iii. c. 9. 18.) Asteriolus and Secundinus, "each wise and skilled in letters and rhetoric," had great influence with Theodebert. (A. D. 547.—*Ibid.* c. 33.)—An ambassador of Gontran's is named Felix (Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 13), his *referendary* Flavius (l. v. c. 46); and he sends a Claudius to slay Eberulf in St. Martin de Tours (l. vii. c. 29).—Another Claudius is *chancellor* to Childbert II. (Greg. de Mirac. S. Martini, l. iv.)—A domestic of Brunehaut's is named Flavius. (Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 19.) To his favourite Protadius (see the last note of this page,) succeeds "the Roman Claudius, a well-informed man and agreeable conversationalist." (Fredegar, c. 28.) Dagobert has a Servatus and a Paternus for ambassadors, and an Abundantius and a Venerandus for generals, &c. (Gesta Dagoberti, passim, &c.)—Undoubtedly more than one Merovingian monarch lost by intercourse with the conquered his barbarian rudeness, and desired to learn with his favourites Latin elegance. Fortunatus writes to Charibert—

Floret in eloquio lingua Latina tuo,
Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela
Qui nos Romano vincis in eloquio!—

(The Latin tongue flourishes in thy eloquence, O Thou, who even as thou elegantly speakest thy own language, excellest us in Latinity.) Thus, "Sigebert was elegant and quick-witted."—Chilperic is spoken of further on.—The Franks seem to have been early obnoxious to the charge of Byzantine perfidy—"Franci mendaces, sed hospitalet" (sociable) Salvia, l. vii. p. 169. The same Salvia writes (l. iv. c. 14), "If a Frank forswear himself, where's the wonder,—when he thinks perjury but a form of speech, not

have been otherwise. As well as being of more pliant disposition, and more skilful flatterers, there were none else qualified to impart to their masters notions of order and government, of gradually substituting a regular administration for the capriciousness of mere power, and of modelling barbarian royalty by the imperial monarchy. As early as Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, we find the Roman minister Parthenius devising to tax the Franks; for which he is put to death by them immediately on that monarch's demise*.

Another grandson of Clovis, a son of Clotaire's, Chramnes, had for confidant the Poitevin Leot†; for enemy, Cantinus, bishop of Clermont, a creature of the Franks; and for friend, the Bretons, with whom he sought refuge when, after an abortive revolt, he was pursued by his father—who ordered him and his whole family to be burnt in a hut, to which he had fled for concealment.

Clotaire, left sole king of Gaul, (A. D. 558—561.) by the death of his three brothers, was succeeded by his four sons. Sigebert had the eastern encampment, or, to use the term of the chroniclers, the kingdom of Austrasia. He held his residence at Metz; and being thus a neighbour of the German tribes, several of whom had remained in alliance with the Franks, it became probable that he would sooner or later overpower his brothers. Chilperic had Neustria, and was called king of Soissons. Gontran had Burgundy: his capital was Châlons-sur-Saône. The death of Charibert contributed his odd kingdom, which was formed by the junction of Paris and Aquitaine, to swell the portion of the three others. Under these princes, Roman influence was in the ascendant. Their ministers were usually Gauls, Goths, or Romans; names which at that time were almost synonymous. Intercourse with the barbarians had infused into them sparks of their energetic spirit. "King Gontran," says Gregory of Tours, "honoured with the patriciate Celsus, a man tall of stature, stout-shouldered, strong-armed, emphatic in speech, happy in reply, and well-read in the law; he became so avaricious as frequently to despoil churches, &c.†" Sigebert sent an Arvernian as his envoy to Constantinople; and we find among his domestics one Andarchius, who was "familiar with Virgil, the Theodosian code, and figures §."

Most of the good or evil of the rule of the Frank kings must henceforward be ascribed to the Romans. They are the revivers of the system of taxation‖; and they not unfrequently appear with distinction in war. Thus, whilst the king of Austrasia is defeated by the Avars and made their

of crime!" Again, Flavius Vopiscus says (in Proculo), "The Franks, who are used to break their word with a laugh."

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 36.

† Id. l. iv. c. 41.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 24. Rex Gunthramnus Celsus patriciatus honore donavit, virum procerum statu, in scapulis validum, lacerato robustum, in verbis tumidum, in responsis opportunitum, juris lectione peritum; cui tanta delinceps habendi cupiditas extitit, ut sæpius ecclesiasticas res auferens, &c.

§ Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 39. 47.

‖ Fredegarus speaks of the fiscal tyranny of one Protadius, mayor of the palace to Theodorik in 605, and a favourite of Brunehaut's, and as "swelling the treasury by ingenious devices out of men's properties." C. 27.

prisoner, the Roman Mummolus, general of the king of Burgundy, routs the Saxons and Lombards, and compels them both to purchase leave to retreat from Italy back to Germany, and to pay for their provisions on the way*.

These Gallic ministers of the Frankish monarchs were often of very low birth. The history of the serf Leudastes, who became count of Tours, will serve to illustrate the career of many of them. "Leudastes was born in the island of Rhé, in Poitou, of one Leocadius, who had the care of the vineyards of the treasury. He was placed in the royal service, and in the queen's kitchen; but being bear-eyed in his younger days, and the smoke disagreeing with his eyes, he was transferred from the spit to the kneading trough. Although he seemed to like confectioner's work, he ran off and quitted the service. He was brought back two or three times, but still running away, was condemned to lose an ear. No credit being able to cover such a mark of infamy, he fled to queen Marcovef, whom king Charibert, smitten with love of her, had taken to his bed in the room of her sister. He met with a gracious reception, and was entrusted with the care of the queen's choicest horses. A prey to vanity and pride, he obtained by intrigue the post of count of the stables, in which he conducted himself with utter contempt for everybody. Swollen with vanity, plunging into dissipation, grossly grasping, and the favourite of his mistress, he wormed himself into all her concerns. After her death, fattened with plunder, he contrived by dint of presents to be continued in the same offices by king Charibert; and afterwards, as a punishment of the accumulated sins of the people, he was made count of Tours. There, waxing with his dignity into more intolerable pride, he showed himself greedy of gain, haughty in quarrel, and stained with adultery; and by his activity in fomenting disputes and instituting calumnious charges, he amassed considerable treasure." This intriguing individual, with whom we are only acquainted through the pages of his personal enemy, Gregory of Tours, endeavoured, says the historian, to ruin him by charging him with having spoken ill of queen Fredegonda. But the people

* When the Saxons returned, they found their seats occupied:—"When Alboin passed into Italy, Clotaire and Sigebert settled Suevi and other people in the territory he had quitted. On the return of his followers, in Sigebert's reign, they were for driving these intruders out of the country; but the latter offered them a third of the land, saying, 'We may live together without fighting.' Enraged, because they had formerly possessed the country, they would not listen to talk of peace. The Suevi offered them half, and then two-thirds of the land; and, on their refusal, offered them the whole of the land, and all the flocks and herds, provided they would forego the idea of fighting. They, nevertheless, insisted on battle; and divided among themselves beforehand the wives of the Suevi, choosing whom each liked, as if the latter were already dead. But the mercy of God, which is ever consonant with justice, obliged them to think of other matters; for in the battle, out of twenty-six thousand Saxons, twenty thousand were slain, and of the Suevi, out of six thousand four hundred, only eighty, and the rest won the day. The surviving Saxons, with curses on their heads, swore never to cut either beard or hair, until they had taken vengeance. But, engaging a second time, they were still more completely defeated. So the war ceased." Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 15. See also Paul Diac. De Gestis Langobardorum, ap. Muratori, l.

collected in large numbers; and the king was contented with the bishop's clearing himself by oath, which he did, celebrating the mass on three altars. The assembled bishops even threatened to withhold the sacrament from the king*. Leudastes was slain some time after by Fredegonda's own retainers.

FREDEGONDA AND BRUNEHULT. (A. D. 561—612.)

The great and popular names of this period, and which have found a place in men's memories, are those of the queens and not of the kings—those of Fredegonda and of Brunehault. The latter, the daughter of the king of the Spanish Goths, her mind imbued with Roman cultivation, and her person fraught with grace and winning charms, was carried, by her marriage with Sigebert, into savage Austrasia—that Gallic Germany, which was the scene of one constant invasion. Fredegonda, on the contrary, thoroughly barbaric in her genius, ruled her husband, the poor king of Neustria, a grammarian and theologian, who owed to her crimes† his appellation of the Nero of France. She first made him strangle his lawful wife, Galswintha, Brunehault's sister; and then despatch his sons in law, and his brother in law, Sigebert. This fearful woman was surrounded by men devoted to her service whom she fascinated by her murderous genius, and whose faculties she disturbed by intoxicating beverages‡. It was through them that she reached her enemies. The ancient devotees of Aquitania and Germany, the followers of the Assassins, who, on a signal from their chief, blindly rushed to kill or perish, were revived in the retainers of Fredegonda; who, beautiful, and homicidal, and possessed by pagan superstitions§, appears to

* O rex, quid nunc ad te, nisi ut . . . communione priveris? At ille: Non, inquit, ego nisi audita narravi. Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 50.

† So think Valois and D. Ruinart, the editor of Gregory of Tours.—Uxorius magis quam crudelis. Scr. R. Fr. præfatio, p. 115.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 29. Fredegonda gives a potion to two priests to instigate them to the murder of Sigebert (medificatos potione direxit, &c.).

§ A rich freedwoman, magnificently attired, who was possessed by the spirit of Python, seeks Fredegonda's protection. Id. l. vii. c. 44.—Claudius promises Fredegonda and Gontran to slay Eberulf, Chilperic's murderer, in the basilica of Tours; and "on his road, as is the use of the barbarians, he began to take auspices, and also questioned many whether the virtue of the blessed Martin was made presently manifest against traitors." c. 29.

Paganism is still very prevalent at this period. In a council at which Sonatus, bishop of Rheims, and forty other bishops were present, it was decreed: "That all who practise augury and other pagan customs, or who assist at the superstitious feasts of the pagans, be at first gently admonished and warned to forsake their ancient errors, but if they neglect so to do, and still hold intercourse with idolaters and sacrificers to idols, they be subjected to a penance proportioned to their fault." Frodoard l. ii. c. 5.—In Gregory of Tours (l. viii. c. 15), St. Wulfila, a hermit of Trèves, relates how he had overthrown (in 585) the Diana of the place, and other idols.—The councils of Lateran, in 402, and of Arles, in 452, prohibit the worshipping of stones, trees, and fountains. In the canons of the council of Nantes, held in the year 658, we find the following: "Bishops and their clergy ought to exert themselves to the utmost, to extirpate and burn the trees consecrated to demons, and which are worshipped by the common people, and held in such veneration."

us like a Scandinavian Valkyria. She compensated the weakness of Neustria by audacity and crime; made a war of stratagems and assassinations on her powerful rivals; and, perhaps, saved the west of Gaul from a fresh invasion of barbarians*.

The Germans, indeed, had been called in by Brunehaut's husband †, Sigebert. Chilperic could not make head against their bands; which pushed on as far as Paris, burning every village, and carrying off the men prisoners. Sigebert himself could scarcely restrain these terrible allies, who would have left him nothing to reign over ‡. But just as he had pent up Chilperic in Tournai, and, in imagination king of Neustria, had caused himself to be elevated on the shield, two of Fredegonda's retainers springing from out the crowd, stab him with poisoned knives §. (A. D. 575.) The people rise on the instant and massacre his ministers—Goths ||. At the height of power, and at the very moment of victory, Brunehaut becomes the captive of Chilperic and Fredegonda, who, however, spare her life ¶; and Meroveus, Chilperic's son, falling desperately in love with her, through his agency she effected her escape. His passion blinded him so far as to marry her. ¶ He married his death; for his father had him despatched. Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, a volatile and imprudent man, who had

ration that they dare not lop branch or sucker from them. Let the stones likewise which, lured by the deceptions of the demons, they worship in ruined and woody places, to which they vow vows and bring offerings, be thoroughly dug up and carried to spots where they can never be found by their worshippers. And be it forbidden all to offer candles or any other offering, except to the Church, to the Lord their God." Sirmund. t. iii. Conc. Gallie. See also the twenty-second canon of the council of Tours, in 567, and the Capitularies of Charlemagne, ann. 769.

* "Remember Fredegonda," says St. Ouen to his friend Ebroin, the defender of Neustria against Austrasia.—At first Neustria was the more important of the two. After Clovis, and before the complete annihilation of the royal authority by the Mayors of the Palace, four kings, all kings of Neustria, concentrated the entire Frankish monarchy in their own persons; namely, Clotaire I. (A. D. 558—561), Clotaire II. (613—628), Dagobert I. (631—638), and Clovis II. (655, 656).—It was in Neustria that Clovis had settled with the then predominant tribe.—Neustria was the more central, Roman, and ecclesiastical: Austrasia was constantly exposed to the varied tide of Germanic emigration. Guizot, *Essais sur l'Hist. de France*, p. 73.

† Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 50. Sigebertus rex gentes illas quæ ultra Rhenum habentur, commovet . . . et contra fratrem suum Chilpericum ire destinat.

‡ "The villages round Paris," says Gregory of Tours, "were burnt to the ground. The enemy destroyed the houses with all they contained, and led off the inhabitants into captivity. Sigebert entreated them to desist, but was unable to restrain the fury of the tribes who had come from the other bank of the Rhine. He, therefore, bore all patiently until he could return to his own country. Some of these pagans rose up against him, reproaching him with having shunned exposing his person in battle. However he mounted his horse, and presenting himself with the utmost intrepidity, appeased them with mild words; but, afterwards, had a number of them stoned." L. iv. c. 50.

§ Id. ibid. c. 52. Duo pueri cum cultria validis, quos vulgo scramasaxos vocant, infectis veneno, malefcati à Fredegunde reginâ, utraque ei latera feriunt.

¶ Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 52: Ibi et Sigila, qui quondam ex Gothiâ venerat, multum læceratus est.

¶ Id. l. v. c. i. Chilperic went to Paris to seize Brunehaut's treasures, and banished her to Rouen, and her daughters to Meaux.

had the audacity to marry them, was at first protected by Chilperic's scruples; but subsequently Fredegonda contrived to have him desposed of.

Brunehaut withdrew into Austrasia, of which her infant son, Childbert II., was nominal ruler. But the nobles of that kingdom had determined to overbear the Gothic and Roman influence, and were even on the point of slaying the Roman Lupus, duke of Champagne, the only one of them still devoted to Brunehaut. She threw herself into the midst of the armed battalions, and gave him time to escape*. Feeling their superiority over Romo-Burgundian Gaul, of which Gontran was king, the Austrasian nobles longed to sweep down on the south with their barbarian followers, and promised a share of their conquest to Chilperic. Several of the Burgundian chiefs united, and Chilperic joined them. But his troops were defeated by the valiant patrician Mummolus; whose successes over the Saxons and Lombards had already saved Gontran his kingdom. On the other hand, the freemen of Austrasia rose against the nobles, perhaps incited by Brunehaut, and accused them of betraying their young king. It would appear, indeed, that at this period the Austrasian and Burgundian chiefs had come to a mutual understanding to rid themselves of their Merovingian rulers.

In Neustria, on the contrary, the royal power seems to gain strength. Less warlike than Austrasia, and poorer than Burgundy, Neustria could only subsist by the conquered being allowed a place by the side of the conquerors. Thus Chilperic employs Gallic militia against the Bretons †: which is the first instance, since the fall of the empire, of the conquered being entrusted with arms. In spite of his natural ferocity, Chilperic would appear to have attempted the reconciliation of the two by directer methods still. In a war with Gontran, he slew one of his own followers for not staying his men from plunder ‡. He also built circuses at Soissons and Paris §, and exhibited shows after the fashion of the Romans. He was himself a composer of verse in Latin ||,

* Id. l. iv. c. i.

† Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 27.

‡ Id. l. vi. c. 31.

§ Id. l. v. c. 18: Apud Suessionas atque Parisios circos ædificare præcepit, in eis populo spectaculum præbaturus.

|| "But his verses," says Gregory of Tours, "violate all the laws of metre." L. v. c. 45.—However, tradition ascribes to him the following epitaph upon St. Germain des Prés:—

"Ecclesie speculum, patriæ vigor, ara reorum,

Et pater, et medicus, pastor amorque gregis,

Germanus virtute, fide, corde, ore beatus,

Came tenet tumulum, mentis honore polum,

Vir cui dura nihil nocuerunt fata sepulcri:

Vivit enim, nam mors quem tulit ipsa tenet.

Crevit adhuc potius justus post funera; nam qui

Pictile was fuerat, gemma superna micat.

Hujus opem et meritum mutis data verba loquuntur,

Ræditus et cæcis prædicat ore dies.

Nunc vir apostolicus, raptiens de carne trophæum,

Jure triumphali consider ære throni."

Apud Aimoin. l. iii. c. 10.

(Mirror of the Church, strength of his country, refuge of the guilty, father and physician, shepherd and delight of his flock.—German, blessed in virtue, faith, feelings, and sentiments, fills the tomb with his mortal remains, the world with the enduring honour of his mind. The grave has gained no victory over him. He must live, whom death, who has borne him hence, fears. The just man has flou-

especially of hymns and prayers. He endeavoured, like the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, to impose on the bishops a Credo of his own drawing up, in which God was named without any reference to the distinction of the three persons. The first bishop to whom he showed it was so horrified, that he would have torn it in pieces had he been closer to the king *—a very convincing proof of his patient policy in regard to the Church †.

These rude attempts at reviving the imperial government brought in their train a renewal of the fiscal tyranny which had destroyed the empire. Chilperic ordered a survey ‡ of the kingdom; and exacted, says Gregory of Tours, an amphora of wine for each half acre. His exactions, which, perhaps, the terrible struggle Neustria had to maintain against Austrasia and the barbarians allied with her, rendered imperative, were, nevertheless, felt to be intolerably oppressive after so long a remission from taxation; and, undoubtedly, the exaction with which the names of Chilperic and Fredegonda have come to be regarded, arises as much from this cause as from the murders whose horrible details have been handed down to us by Gregory of Tours. It was their own impression, indeed, when their children were carried off by an epidemic disorder, that the curses of the poor had drawn down upon them the wrath of Heaven.

"In those days, king Chilperic fell grievously sick. When recovering, his youngest son, who had not as yet been regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, fell sick in his turn. Being in extremity, he was baptized. Soon after he grew better; but his eldest brother, named Chlodobert, was seized with the same disorder. His mother Fredegonda, seeing him in danger of death, was touched with remorse, and said to the king—"The Divine mercy has long suffered our crimes, has often visited us with fevers and other ills, and we have not repented. We have already lost sons.

rished the more for death; for what was an earthen vase, now glitters a gem on high. The dumb, restored to speech, speak his aid and merits; and the blind, given to behold the day, proclaim them. The apostolic man, triumphing over mortality, now sits by right of conquest on a heavenly throne.)

Chilperic added letters to the alphabet, and "sent mandates to every part of his kingdom ordering them to be taught the young, and commanding that all books writtē in the ancient mode should be levigated with pumice, and written over again." Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 45.

* Ut al chartam potiusset adtingere, in frusta discerneret. Et sic rex ab hac intentione quievit. Id. *Ibid.*

† See in Gregory of Tours (l. vi. c. 22), his forbearance towards a bishop, who, amongst other insulting observations, had remarked, that in passing from Gontran's kingdom into Chilperic's, he passed from heaven into hell.—At other times, however, we find him complaining bitterly of the bishops. The same writer says (l. vi. c. 46), "He held the Church in thorough hatred, and was often accustomed to say, 'Lo! our treasury is impoverished, our money transferred to the Church; bishops are the only kings; our kingly dignity is gone, and bishops rule the state.'"

‡ Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 29: Descriptiones novae et graves in omni regno fieri iussit . . . statutum enim fuerat, ut possessor de propria terra unam amphoram vini per aripennem, id est semi-jugerum continentem 120 pedes, redderet. "Many other duties were levied," adds the chronicler, "both on other kinds of land, and on slaves."

The tears of the poor *, the groans of widows, the sighs of orphans will call down death on these, too, and we shall have none for whom we may enjoy the hope of amassing treasure. We shall heap up treasures, and know not for whom. Our treasures will remain without possessors—fraught with violence and curses. Are not our cellars choked with wine? Are not our granaries full of corn? Is not our treasury crowded with gold, silver, precious stones, collars, and other kingly ornaments? And we are now about to lose what is dearest to us. Now, come, if it be your will, let us burn these unjust registers. Let that content us for our revenue, which contented thy father, king Clotaire.

"Saying thus, and beating her bosom with clenched fists, the queen demanded the registers which Marcus had brought of the cities which belonged to her, and throwing them into the fire, turned to the king, and said—"What stops thee? Do, as thou seest me do; that if we lose our dear children, we may at least escape eternal punishment." Touched with repentance, the king threw into the fire all the registers of the taxes, and, when they were burnt, sent orders in all directions prohibiting the drawing up of any more for the future. After this, the youngest of their little ones fell exceeding weak and died. They bore him with great grief from their house of Braine to Paris, and buried him in St. Denis' church. Chlodobert was laid upon a litter, and carried to Soissons, to St. Medard's church. They took him to the tomb of the saint, and vowed an offering for him; but already exhausted and lacking breath, he gave up the ghost in the middle of the night. They buried him in the basilica of the martyrs, St. Crispin and St. Crispinian. There was great lamentation among all the people; the men followed his funeral in mourning, and the women, clad in the same weeds which they wear at the burial of their husbands. King Chilperic then gave large gifts to the churches and to the poor †. . .

"After the synod of which I have spoken I had taken leave of the king, but, being unwilling to depart without bidding adieu to Salvius, and embracing him, I went in search of him, and found him in the court of the house of Braine. I told him that I was about returning home, and, on our stepping aside to converse, he said to me—"Seest thou not what I see, above that roof?"—"I see," was my reply, "a small building which the king has had raised above it." "And nothing else?" "Nothing," I said. Then, supposing that he was speaking jestingly, I added—"If thou seest anything more, tell me." Heaving a deep sigh, he said, "I see the sword of Divine wrath drawn and suspended over that house." And truly the bishop's words were those of truth, for, twenty days afterwards, as we have shown, the king lost his two sons ‡.

Shortly afterwards Chilperic himself perished (A. D. 564); assassinated, according to some, by a lover of Fredegonda's; according to others, by

* The violence exercised in this reign may be inferred from the manner in which Chilperic raised a dowry for his daughter Riguntha. He caused a multitude of prædial servants of the crown to be borne off with her to Spain as slaves. Numbers killed themselves to avoid this fate; and the unhappy troop set out, loading the king with maledictions. The tragedy deserves perusal.—See Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 45.

† Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 35.

‡ *Ibid.* cap. ult.

emissaries of Brunehaut's, who so avenged both her husbands, Sigebert and Meroveus. Chilperic's widow, his infant son, the Church, and all the enemies of Austrasia and the barbarians, then turned for succour to the king of Burgundy, the good Gontran, who was, indeed, the best of the Merovingian monarchs, for not more than two or three murders could be objected to him. Addicted to women and pleasure, he seemed softened by intercourse with the Romans of the south, and churchmen. To the latter, he showed extreme respect. "He was," says Fredegarius, "like a priest among priests."

Gontran declared himself the protector of Fredegonda, and of her son Clotaire II.; whom Fredegonda deposed on oath, and made twelve Frank warriors swear the same, to be truly Chilperic's son. The good man seems to be cast the comic part in the terrible drama of Merovingian history. Fredegonda played with his simplicity. The death of his three brothers seems to have taken strong hold of his imagination. He swore to pursue Chilperic's murderer to the ninth generation, "in order to put a stop to the wicked custom of killing kings." He believed his own life to be in danger. "It happened that one day, after the deacon had proclaimed silence for the hearing of the mass, the king, turning to the people, said—'I pray you, all ye men and women here present, to be ever faithful to me, and not to slay me, as you have latterly slain my brothers. So that I may at least live for three years to rear my nephews whom I have adopted as my sons, for fear it should happen—which, may the everlasting God deign to avert, that after my death ye perish with these little ones, for there would no strong man of our family be left to defend you.'"

All the people addressed prayers to the Lord, that he would be pleased to preserve Gontran. In fact, he alone could protect Burgundy and Neustria against Austrasia, Gaul against Germany, the Church and civilization against the barbarians. The bishop of Tours declared loudly for Gontran. "We sent word," (it is Gregory himself who is speaking,) "to the bishop and citizens of Poitiers, that Gontran was now father of Sigebert's and Chilperic's two sons, and that he was master of the whole kingdom, as was his father Clotaire before him."

Poitiers, the rival of Tours, did not follow its lead, but preferred recognising the king of Austrasia, as too far distant to be troublesome. The men of the south, the men of Aquitaine and Provence, thought that in the decay of the Merovingian

family, represented by an old man and two children, they might elect a king who would be dependent upon them. They, therefore, summoned from Constantinople one Gondovald, who boasted to be descended from the Frank monarchs. The history of this attempt, which is given at length by Gregory of Tours, makes us acquainted to the life with the nobles of the south of Gaul, the Mummoluses and Gontran-Bosons—individuals of equivocal and double origin and policy, half Roman, half barbarian—and their relations with the enemies of Burgundy and Neustria, with the Greeks of Byzantium, and the Germans of Austrasia.

EPISODE OF GONDOVALD. (A.D. 584-5.)

"Gondovald, who gave out that he was a son of king Clotaire's, had arrived at Marseilles from Constantinople. His origin was, briefly, as follows. Born in Gaul, he had been carefully brought up and educated; and, according to the custom of the kings of the country, wore his curled locks hanging down his shoulders. He was presented to king Childeberr by his mother, who said—'This is thy nephew, king Clotaire's son; as his father hates him, take him with thee, for he is thy flesh.' Having no son, king Childeberr took him, and kept him near him. The news being told king Clotaire, he sent to his brother, saying—'Send the young man, that he may be with me.' His brother sent him at once; and, when Clotaire saw him, he ordered his long hair to be cut off, saying, 'He is no son of mine.' On Clotaire's death, king Charibert received him. But Sigebert sent for him, and having had his hair cut off again, dismissed him to the city of Agrippina, now called Cologne. On his hair growing, he escaped thence, and repaired to Narses, who then governed Italy. There he took a wife, begot sons, and left that country for Constantinople. Long after this, he was invited, so runs the tale, to Gaul; and, landing at Marseilles, was received by bishop Theodore, who gave him horses, and he repaired to duke Mummolus. Mummolus, as we have said, at that time had his residence at Avignon. But displeased hereat, duke Gontran-Boson seized bishop Theodore, and had him carefully watched, accusing him of having introduced a stranger into Gaul, for the purpose of subjecting the kingdom of the Franks to the emperor. Theodore is said to have produced a letter, signed by the great of king Childeberr's court, saying—'I have done nothing of myself, but only what was commanded by our masters and lords.'"

... Gondovald sought refuge in an island, and awaited the result. Duke Gontran-Boson divided Gondovald's treasures with one of king Gontran's dukes, and carried off, they say, into Auvergne an immense quantity of gold, silver, and other things."

Before deciding for or against the pretender, the king of Austrasia required his uncle Gontran to restore these towns which had belonged to Sigebert. "King Childeberr sent to king Gontran the bishop Ægidius, Gontran-Boson, Sigewald, and many others. When they had come, the bishop said, 'We thank Almighty God, most pious king, that after many troubles he has restored thee the countries which belong to thy kingdom.' The king replied, 'All thanks be, indeed, to the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who, in his mercy, has deigned to bring these things to pass, for we owe

* Guntchramnus rex . . . cum sacerdotibus utique sacerdotis ad instar se ostendebat. Fredeg. ap. Ser. R. Fr. t. ii. p. 414.—A woman turns her son of quarter fever by making him drink water in which a fringe of Gontran's cloak had been soaked. Greg. Tur. i. ix.

† Patrocinio suo fovebat. Greg. Tur. i. vii. c. 7.

‡ Greg. Tur. i. vii. c. 7.—"Gontran protected Fredegonda, and often asked her to his table, promising that he would be her fast friend. On one of these occasions, the queen rising up and taking her leave, the king stayed her, pressing her to take more, when she said to him, 'Pray, give me leave, my lord, for, after the fashion of women, I must withdraw in order to lie in.' He was stupefied at this speech; for only four months before she had brought a son into the world: however, he suffered her to withdraw."

§ Greg. Tur. i. vii. c. 8.

|| Id. ibid. c. 13.

none to thee who, by thy treacherous counsels and perjuries, didst raise disturbances throughout my whole kingdom this past year, who hast never kept faith with any one, whose craft is everywhere notorious, and who everywhere conductest thyself not as a bishop, but as the enemy of our kingdom!' At these words, the bishop, choking with rage, was silent. One of the deputies said, 'Thy nephew Childebert begs thee to restore the cities which belonged to his father:' to whom Gontran replied, 'I have already told you that those towns are mine by treaty, and that therefore I will not give them up.' Another deputy said, 'Thy nephew prays thee to deliver into his hands the sorceress Fredegonda, who has caused the death of many kings, in order that he may have vengeance upon her for the death of his father, his uncle, and his cousins!' The king answered, 'I cannot put her in his power, for her son is a king: nor do I believe all you say against her.' Then Gontran-Boson drew near the king as if to remind him of something; and, as there was a rumour that Gondovald had just been proclaimed king, Gontran, cutting him short, said, 'Enemy of our country and our throne, who hast before this gone to the East expressly to place on our throne a *Skip-sea**, (so the king called Gondovald,) O thou, who art always perfidious, and who never keepest faith!' Boson answered, 'Thou, lord and king, art seated on the royal throne, and no one dares return thee a reply. I aver my innocence in this business. If there be any equal of mine, who in secret thinks me guilty of this crime, let him charge me with it in public. Then, most pious king, refer the whole to the judgment of God. Let him decide, when he shall see us in the lists.' As every one kept silence after he had spoken, the king said, 'This business calls on all warriors to chase from our frontiers a stranger whose father turned the mill, nay, to say truth, who was a wool-comber.' Now, though it may very well be that a man may follow both these trades at once, one of the deputies replied to this taunt of the king—'Thou assestest, then, that this man had two fathers, a wool-comber and a miller. Cease, O king, such silly talk. Never has one man been known to have two fathers, save in spiritual matters.' Many laughing at these words, another deputy said, 'We take our leave, O king; since thou wilt not restore thy nephew's cities, we know that the axe is whole which took off thy brothers' heads, and it will soon send thy brains skipping.' Thus they withdrew with scandal. The king, fired with wrath at this insult, ordered dung, decayed vegetables, straw, rotten hay, and stinking mud out of the streets, to be flung upon them as they were going away; and the deputies went off, covered with filth, and loaded with insults and reproaches.

Gontran's answer united the Austrasians, with the Aquitanians, in favour of Gondovald. The nobles of the south welcomed him †; and with their aid,

* *Un Ballomer.*

† "As Gondovald was seeking for help in every direction, some one told him that a certain Eastern monarch, having carried off the thumb of the holy martyr, Sergius, had it imbedded in his right arm; and that, when he wanted to repulse his enemies, he had only to raise his arm confidently, when, as if overborne by the power of the martyr, they instantly took to flight. Gondovald eagerly inquired whether there were any one in the place who had

he made rapid head. He soon saw himself master of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Perigueux, and of Angoulême; and received in the name of the king of Austrasia the allegiance of the towns which had been Sigobert's. The danger of the aged Burgundian monarch became imminent. He knew that Bruneault, Childebert, and the nobles of Austrasia, favoured Gondovald; that Fredegonda herself had been tempted to treat with him; that the Bishop of Reims was secretly, and all the southern bishops openly for him. This defection of the Roman ecclesiastical party, of whom he had thought himself certain, compelled Gontran to court the Austrasians. He adopted his nephew Childebert, named him his heir, complied with his demands, and promised Bruneault that he would leave her five of the principal cities of Aquitaine, with which her sister had been dowried, as anciently belonging to the Goths.

Gondovald's party was discouraged by the reconciliation of the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia; and the Aquitanians were as quick to desert as they had been to welcome him. He was constrained to shut himself up in the town of Comminges, with those nobles who had most compromised themselves, but who waited their opportunity to give him up, and make their peace at his expense. One of them, indeed, did not delay so long; but fled, taking Gondovald's treasures along with him.

"Many ascended the hill and often accosted Gondovald, heaping reproaches upon him and saying, —'Art thou the painter who, in king Clotaire's time, daubed the walls and ceilings of the oratories? Art thou he whom the Gauls used to call, *Skip-sea*? Art thou he, who, for thy pretensions, hast so often

been judged worthy to receive any of the saint's relics. Bishop Bertrand named a merchant, called Euphron, whom he hated, because, coveting his wealth, he had formerly caused him to submit to the tonsure in order to compel him to enter the church, but Euphron passed into another city, and returned when his hair had grown again. So the bishop said, 'There is a certain Syrian, named Euphron, who has made his house into a church, and placed in it the relics of that saint through which many miracles have been worked; for when the city of Bordeaux was a prey to a violent conflagration, his house, though surrounded with flames, was untouched.' Hereupon Mummulus hastened to the Syrian's house with bishop Bertrand, forced his way into it, and ordered the holy relics to be produced. Euphron refused; but thinking that a snare was maliciously laid for him, he said, 'Leave an old man alone, and insult not a saint: take these hundred pieces of gold, and depart.' Mummulus persisting, Euphron offered him two hundred; but even this sum could not tempt him to retire without seeing the relics. Then Mummulus ordered a ladder to be placed against the wall, (the relics were concealed in a shrine at the top of the wall, over against the altar,) and ordered the deacon to mount it, who, going so, was seized with such a fit of trembling when he laid hands on the shrine, that it was thought he would not descend alive. However, he brought it down; and Mummulus, on opening it, finding the bone of the saint's finger, did not fear attempting to cut it. Placing one knife upon the relic, he struck this with another; and, after having broken it with much ado and many blows, the bone, which had been cut in three, disappeared. The thing was not agreeable to the martyr, as the event showed."—These Romans of the south held holy men and things in much less respect than their northern brothers. A little further on, we read that on a bishop's insulting the pretender at table, dukes Mummulus and Didier fell upon the priest and beat him. (Greg. Tur. l. vii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. t. ii. p. 302.)

had thy locks shorn and been banished by the kings of the Franks! Tell us at least, most miserable man, who brought thee hither, who inspired thee with such height of audacity as to approach the frontiers of our lords and kings? If any one summoned thee, name him aloud. See, death stares thee in the face, and the ditch thou hast craved, and into which thou wilt have cast thyself, yawns for thee. Count us thy satellites; name those who invited thee.' Gondovald, hearing these words, drew nigh and said from the top of the gate—'That my father Clotaire hated me, is what all know; that my head was shorn by him and by my brother is also known. It was on this account that I withdrew into Italy, and betook myself to the prefect Narses. There I married, and begot two sons. My wife dying, I took my children with me and went to Constantinople; where I lived, most kindly entreated by the emperors. Some years ago, on Gontran-Boson's coming to Constantinople, I anxiously inquired of him how my brothers prospered, and learnt that our family was much lessened, and that there only remained Chilbert, my brother's son, and Gontran, my brother; that king Chilperic's sons were dead as well as he, that he had left only an infant, that my brother Gontran had no child, and that my nephew Chilbert was not distinguished by courage. Then, after Gontran-Boson had clearly set forth all these things to me, he invited me, saying—"*Come, for all the nobles of Chilbert's kingdom invite thee, and none will dare to wag his tongue against thee, for we all know thee to be Clotaire's son, and there is none left in Gaul to govern the kingdom except thou come.*" I made large presents to Gontran-Boson; and received his oath in twelve holy spots, to the end that I might come safely hither. I came to Marseilles, was most kindly received by the bishop, who had had letters from the chief nobles of my nephew's kingdom, and proceeded to Avignon, to the patrician Mummolus. But Gontran-Boson, forswearing himself, deprived me of my treasures, and kept me in his power. Acknowledge me, then, to be king, no less than my brother Gontran. Nevertheless, if you are possessed with such lively hatred, lead me, at least, to your king, and, if he recognise me for his brother, let him do by me as he may think fit. Should you deny me this, suffer me to return whence I came. I will go without injury to any one. That you may know what I say is true, question Radegonda at Poitiers, and Ingiltrude at Tours, who will confirm to you the truth of my words.' As he spoke thus, his speech was received of many with insults and reproaches. . . .

"Mummolus, bishop Sagittarius, and Waddo went unto Gondovald, and said to him—'Thou knowest the oaths by which we are bound to thee. Listen, now, to wholesome counsel. Betake thee from this city, and present thyself before thy brother as thou hast often asked to do. We have already spoken with these men, and they say that the king wishes not to lose thy support, for there are but few remaining of your race.' But Gondovald, perceiving their deceit, says to them, all bathed with tears—'Your invitation brought me to Gaul. Of my treasures, which comprised immense sums of gold and silver, and different objects, one-half is in Avignon; Gontran-Boson has robbed me of the other. As for myself, reposing, next to God, all my hopes in you, I have confided in your counsels,

and have always wished to govern through you. Now, if you are deceiving me, answer it to God, in whose hands I leave my cause.' To this Mummolus gave answer, 'We only tell you the truth, and here are brave warriors waiting at the gate. Take off, now, my golden baldric which thou hast on, that thou mayest not seem to proceed in too great state, and take thy sword, and give me back mine.' Gondovald said, 'All I gather from thy words, is that thou art stripping me of what I received and wore in token of friendship for thee.' But Mummolus solemnly swore that no harm should befall him. When he had passed through the gate, Gondovald was received by Olo, count of Bourges, and by Boson. Mummolus withdrew with his followers into the town, and barred the gate with every precaution. Seeing himself abandoned to his enemies, Gondovald raised his hands and eyes to heaven, and said—'Eternal Judge, and true avenger of the innocent, God, from whom proceedeth all justice, whom falsehood offends, in whom is neither craft nor any guile, to thee I resign myself, beseeching thee quickly to avenge me on those who have betrayed an innocent man into the hands of his enemies.' Thus saying, he made the sign of the cross, and rode off with those whose names are mentioned above. When they were at a distance from the gate, as the valley under the town slopes rapidly, a push from Olo unseated him, when the latter cried out, 'There's your *Skip-ace*, who calls himself the brother and the son of a king!' Hurling his javelin, he sought to transfix him, but his cuirass warder the blow. Gondovald getting up and endeavouring to make for the hill side, Boson dashed in his head with a stone, and he instantly fell, and died. The whole of them then hastened up, and, piercing him with their lances, bound his feet with a cord, and dragged him all round the camp: when, plucking off his hair and beard, they left him unburied on the spot where he had been slain."

Gontran, reassured by Gondovald's death, would have made the bishops dearly pay for the countenance they had afforded him, had he not been himself prevented by death.

This event, laying Burgundy open to the king of Austrasia, seemed as a necessary consequence to give him possession of Neustria. Nevertheless, it refused submission; and the Austrasians invading it were astonished at the sight of a moving forest advancing against them (it was the Neustrian army under the cover of boughs*) and fled. This was the last success of Fredegonda and of her lover, Landeric, who is said to have been Chilperic's substitute. She died shortly after. Chilbert had died before her. The whole of Gaul thus devolved upon three children;—Chilbert's two sons, named Theodebert II. and Theoderic II. and Chilperic's son, Clotaire II. The latter was overborne by the other two. He found himself constrained to cede to the Burgundians his possessions between the Seine and Loire, and to the Austrasians the countries between the Seine, Oise, and Austrasia. But it was not long before he derived

* So in Shakspeare—"I looked toward Birnam, and anon, methought, the wood began to move." Macbeth, act v.—The Kent men used the same stratagem when marching against William the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings.

from the dissensions of the conquerors more than he had lost.

The aged Brunehaut conceived the plan of reigning herself, by plunging her grandson, Theodebert, into a vortex of dissipation; and her plan succeeded only too well. The weak prince was soon governed by a young female slave, who managed to have Brunehaut banished. Taking refuge with Theoderic in Burgundy, in a country where Roman influence was in the ascendant, she enjoyed still greater power. She made and unmade the mayors of the palace, compassed the death of Bertold, who had received her with kindness, installed her lover Protadius* in his place, and when this favourite was torn in pieces by the people, had still credit enough to raise one, Claudius, to power. Her rule was at first inglorious. The Austrasians, and their allies, the Germans, wrested from the kingdom of Burgundy the Sundgau, the Turgau, Alsace, and Champagne, and laid waste the whole country between Geneva and Neufchatel. The people of the south seem to have been drawn together and united by the terror of these invasions.

THEODERIC'S INVASION OF AUSTRASIA. (A.D. 612.)

"In the seventeenth year of his reign, in the month of March," says Fredegaricus, "king Theoderic collected an army at Langres, from all the provinces of his kingdom, and marching through Andelot on the city of Toul, he took the castle of Nez. Theodebert, with his Austrasians, encountered him in the plain of Toul, and was defeated. The Franks lost many brave men in the battle. Theodebert fled through the territory of Metz, crossed the Vosges, and did not stop till he reached Cologne, closely pursued by Theoderic and his army. Leonisius, bishop of Mentz, a holy and apostolic man, loving Theoderic's valour, and hating Theodebert's folly, came out to meet Theoderic, and said—'Finish what thou hast begun, for your advantage requires you to find out and pursue the cause of evil. There is a country fable that the wolf having one day stationed himself on a hill, as his sons were about to begin their prowl, called out to them—Far as you can see, and in every direction, you have no friends, save your own kind. Finish, then, what you have begun.'

"Theoderic, having traversed the forest of Ardennes, encamped at Tolbiac; whither Theodebert hastened with such Saxons, Thuringians, and other dwellers beyond the Rhine as he had been able to collect, to give him battle. They say, that so bloody a battle was never before fought either by the Franks, or any other people. . . . Here Theoderic was again conqueror, for God was with him; and Theodebert's army was mowed down with the sword from Tolbiac to Cologne; the ground being, in some spots, literally covered with the slain. Theoderic reached Cologne the same day, where he found Theodebert's treasures. He sent on his chamberlain, Berthaire, in pursuit of Theodebert, who fled beyond the Rhine, accompanied by a few retainers; but was overtaken, and brought before Theoderic, stripped of his royal robes. Theoderic gave him spoils, his horse and all his royal equipage, to Berthaire; and sent Theodebert, loaded with chains, to Châlons." It is related in

the Chronicle of St. Benignus, that his grandmother Brunehaut at first had him ordained priest, but shortly afterwards caused him to be made away with. "By Theoderic's orders, one of his soldiers, lifting up Theodebert's infant son by his foot, beat his brains out against a stone*."

The union of Austrasia and Burgundy under Theoderic, or rather under Brunehaut, seemed to threaten Neustria with certain ruin; nor would this posture of affairs have been altered even by the death of Theoderic and the accession of his three infant sons, had Clotaire's enemies been united. But Austrasia was ashamed and irritated by her recent defeat; and, even in Burgundy, Brunehaut was no longer supported by the Roman and ecclesiastical party—to be sure of which it was necessary to have the whole of the ecclesiastics at one's side, to gain them over at any price, and to divide all power with them. The assassination of St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, who had endeavoured to wean Theoderic from the mistresses with whom his grandmother surrounded him, and restore his wife to his arms, had alienated the entire church from Brunehaut. With equal freedom, the Irish saint, St. Columbanus, the restorer of monastic life—the bold missionary who reformed kings as well as people, refused his blessing to Theoderic's sons, "They are," he said, "the offspring of incontinence and crime." Driven from Luxeuil and Austrasia, he took refuge with Clotaire II.; and his sacred presence seemed to stamp the cause of Neustria as legitimate.

Brunehaut was utterly deserted. The Austrasian nobles hated her as one of the Goths, the Romans (the two words were almost synonymous); and the priests and people regarded her with horror, as the persecutor of the saints†. Though till this period hostile to German influence, she was obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Germans, of barbarians, in order to make head against Clotaire. Arnolph, bishop of Metz, and his brother Pepin (Pipin) went over to him before the engagement: the rest allowed themselves to be beaten, and Clotaire made a pretence of pursuing them. They had been gained over beforehand; and Warnachaire, mayor of the palace, had stipulated for the enjoyment of that office during his lifetime. The aged Brunehaut, the daughter, sister, mother; and grandmother of so many kings, was treated with atrocious barbarity. She was fastened by the hair, a foot, and an arm to the tail of a wild horse, which dragged her to pieces. In addition to her own crimes, she was reproached with those of Fredegonda, and was upbraided with being the murderess of ten kings; but her greatest crime in the eyes of barbarians undoubtedly was the having restored, under any shape, the administrative government of the empire. "Fiscal laws, the forms of justice, and the supremacy of craft over strength, were insurmountable objections in the minds of the people to the idea of the ancient empire, which the Gothic kings had endeavoured to restore. Brunehaut, their daughter, had followed in their

* Fredegaril Schol. c. 38, ap. Scr. R. Fr. pp. 428, 429.

† Monach. S. Gall. l. ii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. t. v. p. 122: Cum a regno Romanorum . . . Franci vel Galli defecissent . . . ipsique reges Gallorum vel Francorum propter infectionem S. Desiderii Viennensis episcopi, et expulsionem sanctissimorum advenarum, Columbanum videlicet, et Galli, retrorambi cepissent, etc.

* Fredegar. Schol. c. 34.

steps. She founded numerous churches and monasteries—the monasteries at that time were also schools. She favoured the missions sent by the pope for the conversion of the British Anglo-Saxons. This use of the money which she had wrung from her subjects by so many odious means, was not without glory and grandeur. So profound was the impression left by her long reign, that that left by the empire seems to have been weakened in the north of Gaul; and the people ascribed to the famous queen of Austrasia a multiplicity of Roman monuments. Remains of Roman ways, still met with in Belgium and the north of France, are called Brunehault's causeways; and near Bourges was shown Brunehault's castle, at Etampes her tower, near Tournay Brunehault's stone, and Brunehault's fort near Cahors.

Under Fredegonda, Neustria had resisted; under her son, she conquered—a nominal conquest I grant, since she only owed it to the hate of the Austrasians for Brunehault, and won by weakness, since it was the conquest of the older races, of the Gallo-Romans and of the priests. The very year after Clotaire's victory, (A.D. 614.) the bishops were summoned to the assembly of the Leuds, and they collected from the whole of Gaul to the number of seventy-nine. 'Twas the enthronising of the Church. The two aristocracies, the lay and ecclesiastical, drew up a *perpetual constitution*. Several articles of singular liberality indicate the ecclesiastical hand. The judges are forbid to condemn a free man, or even a slave, without a hearing. The disturber of the public is to be punished with death. The Leuds are to be repossessed of the estates, of which they had been deprived in the civil wars. The election of bishops is secured to the people. Priests are to be judged by the bishops alone. The taxes imposed by Chilperic and his brothers are abolished* (a regulation by which the bishops, who had become large proprietors, would profit more than any one). Thus begins with Clotaire II. that dominion of the Church, which will be consolidated under the Merovingians, and will suffer no interruption except from the tyranny of Charles-Martel.

We know little of Clotaire II., more of Dagobert. Wise, just, and a lover of justice, Dagobert begins his reign by making the tour of his dominions, according to the custom of the barbarian monarchs. Raised to the throne of Austrasia in the lifetime of his father, he did not long retain his Austrasian ministers. He soon laid on the shelf the two leading men of the country, Arnolph, archbishop of Metz, and his brother, Pepin, who succeeded him, and summoned the Neustrian, Ega. Surrounded by Roman ministers, by the goldsmith St. Eloi, and the referendary St. Ouen, he busies himself with founding convents, and designing ornaments for churches†. For the first time, his scribes commit the laws of the barbarians to writing—laws written, when they are beginning to be obsolete. The Solomon of the Franks, like his prototype of the Jews, peoples his palaces with lovely women‡, and is divided between his concubines and his priests.

* Capital. Baluz. t. i. p. 21, et ap. Scr. R. Fr. iv. 118.

† Gesta Dagob. c. 17, sqq.

‡ Fredegar. c. 60: *Luxurie supra modum deditus, tres habebat, ad instar Salomonis, reginas, maxime et plurimas concubinas*. . . . *Nomina concubinarum, eò quod plures fuissent, increvit huic chronice inseri.*

This pacific prince is the natural friend of the Greeks; and as the ally of the emperor Heraclius interposes in the affairs of the Lombards and Visigoths. Amidst the precocious old age of all the barbarian nations, the decay of the Franks is still surrounded with a shadow of glory.

Nevertheless, the weakness concealed under this outside show, is easily perceptible. Even whilst Clotaire lived, Austrasia had resumed the provinces of which she had been stripped, would have a king of her own, and Dagobert, who came to the throne at fifteen years of age, was in fact only an instrument in the hands of Pepin and Arnolph. On his becoming king of Neustria, Austrasia still demands a separate government, and has for king, his son, the young Siegbert. Clotaire II. allows the Lombards to redeem their tribute by paying down a sum of money*. The Saxons, defeated, it is said, by the Franks†, yet forget to pay Dagobert the five hundred cows which they had paid annually up to his time. The Vends, delivered from the Avars by the Frank Samo, a merchant warrior whom they adopted as their chief‡, throw off Dagobert's yoke, and defeat the Franks, Bavarians, and Lombards who had combined against them. The fugitive Avars themselves settle forcibly in Bavaria, and Dagobert frees himself from them only by base treachery§. The submission of the Bretons and Gascons, indeed, seems to have been voluntary, and so have been produced more through their respect for the priests than the dread of arms. Their duke, St. Judicaël, declines an invitation to the king's table in favour of one from St. Ouen||.

The priest, in fact, was now king. The Church had silently made her way in the midst of the tumult of barbaric invasions, which had threatened universal destruction; and strong, patient, and industrious, she had so grasped the whole of the new body politic as thoroughly to interfuse herself with it. Early abandoning speculation for action, she had rejected the bold theories of Pelagianism, and adjourned the great question of human liberty. The savage conquerors of the empire required to have not liberty but submission preached to them, to induce them to bow their necks to the yoke of civilization and the Church.

* Fredegar. c. 45.—*Chron. Moissiac. cernobil, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 651.*

† Gesta Dagob. c. i. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 580: "Clotaire then left that memorable proof of his power to posterity, that when the Saxons rebelled against him, he chastised them to that extent that he destroyed all the males who were taller than the sword which he then happened to wear."

‡ Fredegar. c. 48: "A certain man, named Samo, a Frank by birth, from Sens, who had associated many merchants with him, went to trade among the Slavi, by name Vends. The Slavi had entered upon a war with the Avars, Chuni by name. The Chuni came to winter yearly among the Slaves, and used to lie with the wives and daughters of the Slaves. . . . The Vends recognizing Samo's services, choose him for king; and he took twelve wives from among the Vends."

§ Fredegar. c. 72: "When they were scattered for the winter throughout the houses of the Bavarians, Dagobert, by the advice of the Franks, orders the latter to rise up each man in the night-time, on an appointed night, and to slay his guests with their wives and children; and this was forthwith done."

|| Fredegar. c. 78.

The Church, coming in the place of the municipal government, left the city at the approach of the barbarians, and issued forth as arbiter betwixt them and the conquered. Once beyond the walls, she took up her abode in the country. Daughter of the city, she yet perceived that the city was not all in all. She created rural bishops*, extended her saving protection to all, and shielded even those she did not command with the protecting sign of the tonsure. She became one immense asylum; an asylum for the conquered, for the Romans, for the serfs of the Romans. The latter rushed by crowds into the church, which more than once was obliged to close her doors upon them—there would have been none left to till the land. No less was she an asylum for the conquerors; who sought a retreat in her bosom from the disorders of barbarian life, and from their own passions and violences, from which they suffered equally with the conquered. Thus serfs rose to the priesthood, the sons of kings and dukes sank to be bishops, and great and little met in Jesus Christ. At the same time the land was diverted from profane uses by the vast endowments which were showered on the men of peace, on the poor, on the slave. What they had taken, that the barbarians gave. They found that they had conquered for the Church.

So was a right destiny fulfilled. Both as an asylum and a school, the Church needed wealth. In order to be listened to by the nobles, it was essential that the bishops should address them as their equals. In order to raise the barbarians to her own level, the Church had to become herself material and barbarous: to win over these men of flesh she had to become fleshly. As the prophet who stretched himself out upon the child in order to bring it to life again, the Church made herself little in order to incubate this new world.

The bishops of the south are too civilized, rhetorical, and ratiocinative†, to have much effect on the men of the first race. The ancient metropolitan sees of Arles, Vienne, and even of Lyons and Bourges, lose their influence. The real bishops and true patriarchs of France are those of Reims and Tours. St. Martin of Tours is the oracle of the barbarians, and what Delphi was to Greece—*umbilicus terrarum, ὀμφακὸς ἀρούρης*.

St. Martin is guarantee to all treaties. He is momentarily consulted by the kings on their business, and even their crimes. When Chilperic pursues his hapless son, Meroveus, he places a paper on the tomb of the saint, enquiring of him whether he would be allowed to drag him from the asylum of the basilica. The paper, says Gregory of Tours, remained blank. For the most part, these claimants of the shelter of the Church were as fierce

and violent as their pursuers, and often proved very embarrassing to the bishop, becoming the tyrants of the asylum which protected them. It is worth while to turn to the pages of the good bishop of Tours for the history of that Eberulf who seeks to kill Gregory himself, and who strikes the priests when they are slow in bringing him wine. The servants of this ruffian, who had sought refuge in the basilica along with him, scandalize the whole of the clergy by prying too curiously into the sacred paintings which adorned its walls*.

Tours, Reims, and all their dependencies, are tax-free†. Reims owns estates in the furthest parts of the land, in Austrasia and in Aquitaine. Every crime committed by a barbarian king brings a new donative to the Church—and who could blame such gifts? There is no one who does not desire to be given to the Church—it is to be as if enfranchised. The bishops have no scruple to invite, and to increase by pious frauds the grants of the kings. The testimony of all the inhabitants of the country is at their service if required. At need, all will swear that such or such an estate or village was formerly granted by Clovis or by the good Gontran, to the adjoining monastery or bishopric, which has only been despoiled of it by impious violence. Thus, the understanding between the priests and the people must daily strip the barbarian of some of his spoils, and turn his credulity, devotion, or remorse to account. Under Dagobert, grants of the kind are referred to Clovis; under Pepin the Short, to Dagobert. The latter gives at one swoop twenty-seven burghs to the abbey of St. Denis‡. His son, says the worthy Sigebert of Gemblours, founded twelve monasteries, and gave St. Remacius, bishop of Tongres, a square twelve leagues long and twelve broad, out of the forest of Ardennes§.

FAMOUS GRANT OF CLOVIS.

The most curious of these grants is that of Clovis to St. Remigius, reproduced, or, most probably, fabricated in Dagobert's reign:—

"Clovis had taken up his residence at Soissons. This prince had great pleasure in the company and converse of St. Remigius; but as the holy man had no other resting-place near the city,†an a small property formerly given to St. Nicasius, the king offered to grant him all the ground which he could encircle, whilst he himself was taking his nooning; complying in this with the prayer of the queen and the petition of the inhabitants, who complained of being overburdened with exactions and contributions, and who therefore preferred paying the church of Reims to holding of the king. The blessed St. Remigius, then, set out; and to this day there may be seen the traces that he left, and the boundaries which he marked. On his way, the holy man was turned back by a miller who did not wish his mill to fall within the enclosure. 'My friend,' said the man of God mildly to

* Τοῦ χωρίου ἐπισκοποι.—In the Capitularies of Charlemagne they are called "Episcopi villani."—Hincmar, opusc. 33, c. 16, calls them "Vicani."—The canons of the Arabian Nicene Synod say, "The Chorepiscopus holds the place of bishop over villages, monasteries, and the priests of villages."—See Ducange, t. ii.

† Clotaire was about to reward St. Dumnois for his frequent services in concealing his spies during Childbert's lifetime, by raising him to the see of Avignon, when the saint prays him—"Not to send a simple man like himself to be baited by sophisticated senators and philosophic judges." On which Clotaire made him bishop of Mans. Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 9.

* Greg. Tur. vii. 21. seq.

† Scr. R. Fr. ii. 81.

‡ Gesta Dagoberti, c. 35: in archivo ipso ecclesie . . . viginti et septem villarum nomina, &c.

§ Vita S. Sigeberti Austras. c. 5. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 607: Tradidi ei ex ipsa foresta duodecim leucas in latitudine, totidem in longitudine.

him, 'think it not ill that we should possess this mill in common.' The miller again refusing, the wheel of the mill instantly turned backwards, when he forthwith ran after the saint, crying, 'Come, servant of God, and let us have the mill together.' 'No,' replied the saint, 'it shall be neither thine nor mine.' Straightway, the ground disappeared, and opened into such an abyss, that a mill could never be built there again.

"Again, as the saint was near a small wood, and its owners sought to hinder him from including it in his domain, 'Well,' he exclaimed, 'may leaf never fly, nor branch fall, out of this wood into my precincts!' And, indeed, by the will of God, such was the case, as long as there was a wood there, although it was close to the sacred territory.

"Thence, proceeding on his way, he arrived at Chavignon, and wanted to enclose it, but was hindered by the inhabitants. Driven off one while, returning another, but always equanimous and peaceable, he went on his way, tracing the boundaries as they now exist. Finding himself at last completely foiled, he is rumoured to have said to them, '*Work on for ever, and remain poor and wretched*'—as they are to this day by the virtue and power of his word. When king Clovis had risen from his nooning, he gave to St. Remigius, under his royal seal, all the land which he had walked round. Of the estates so enclosed, the best are Luilly and Coccy, which are enjoyed in peace by the church of Reims to this day.

"A very powerful man, named Eulogus, convicted of the crime of high treason against king Clovis, one day implored the intercession of St. Remigius; and the holy man obtained him his pardon, and saved his property from confiscation. Eulogus, in return for this service, offered his generous patron his village of Epernay in perpetuity; but the blessed bishop would not accept a temporal reward for his good deed. However, seeing that Eulogus was sinking with shame, and was bent on withdrawing from the world, feeling he could no longer mingle with it, as he owed his life, to the dishonour of his house, to the royal clemency alone, he gave him a wise counsel, saying, that if he desired to be perfect, he should sell all he had and give it to the poor, and follow Jesus Christ. Then, valuing it, and taking out of the treasure of the church five thousand pounds of silver, he gave them to Eulogus, and so purchased his property for the church—thus leaving to all priests and bishops this good example, that when they intercede for those who throw themselves into the bosom of the Church, or into the arms of the servants of God, and render them any service, they should never do it with a view to temporal benefit, nor take as their wage perishable goods, but on the contrary, as the Lord hath taught, give for nothing as they have received for nothing*.

"St. Rigobert obtained from king Dagobert a patent of exemption for his Church, reminding him that under all the Frank kings, his predecessors, from the days of St. Remigius and of king Clovis, baptized by that saint, it had ever been free and exempt from all public service and charge. The king, then, desiring to ratify or renew this privilege, with the advice of his nobles, and in

the same form as the kings, his predecessors, ordained that all goods, villages, and men, belonging to the holy church of Reims, or to the basilica of St. Remigius, situate or lying as well in Champagne, in the town or faubourgs of Reims, as in Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, the country of Marseilles, Rouergue, Gévaudan, Auvergne, Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, or elsewhere in his countries and kingdoms, should be for ever exempt from all charge; that no public judge should dare to enter the lands of these two holy churches of God to sojourn there, give judgment, or levy any tax; in short, that they should ever preserve the immunities and privileges granted them by his predecessors. . . .

"This venerable bishop was on terms of great friendship with Pepin, mayor of the palace, and was in the habit of sending meats that he had blessed to him, by way of benediction. Now, at this time, Pepin was sojourning in the village of Gernicourt, and learning from the bishop that the place was to his liking, he offered it to him, adding besides, that he would give him all the ground that he could make the tour of, whilst he was resting at mid-day. Rigobert, following the example of St. Remigius, set forth and ordered the boundaries, which are seen to this day, to be laid down, and so marked out the enclosure, as to obviate all dispute. Pepin, on awakening, finding him returned, confirmed to him the grant of the land which he had just encompassed; and, in memorable proof of the road which he traced, the grass where he trod is greener and richer than any where round about. Another miracle not less worthy of notice, which the Lord deigns to work here, undoubtedly in token of the merits of his servant, is that from the time of the grant to the holy bishop, neither tempest nor hail has wrought damage on his domain; and when all the adjoining country is beat down and spoiled, the storm stops at the boundaries of the church, not daring to cross them*."

Thus, everything favoured the absorption of society by the Church. Romans and barbarians, slaves and freemen, man and land, all flocked to her and took refuge in her maternal bosom. Whatsoever she received from without the Church ameliorated; but she could not effect this, without, at the same time, proportionally deteriorating her self. With riches, a spirit of worldliness took possession of the clergy; and power brought with it, the barbarism which was then its inseparable adjunct. The slaves who became priests, retained the dissimulation and cowardice, which are the vices of slaves. The sons of barbarians who became bishops, often remained barbarians. A violent and gross spirit pervaded the Church. The monastic schools of Lerins, St. Maixent, Reomé, and the island of Barbe had declined in renown; the episcopal schools of Autun, Vienne, Poitiers, Bourges, and Auxerre remained—but unnoted. * Councils were held more and more seldom; from fifty-four in the sixth century, and twenty in the seventh, they dwindled down to seven only in the first half of the eighth century.

THE CELTIC CHURCH.

The spiritual genius of the Church found shelter with the monks; and the monastic state was an

* ("Freely ye have received, freely give." Matt. x. 8.)
TRANSLATOR.

* Prodoard. i. i. c. 14; i. ii. c. 11.

asylum for her, as she had been for society. The monasteries of Ireland and Scotland, better preserved from intermixture with the Germans, attempted to reform the Gallic clergy. Thus, in the first age of the Church, the spark which enlightened the whole west, had proceeded from Pelagius; and the Breton Faustus, who held the same doctrines with more moderation, opened the glorious school of Lerins. In the second age, it was still a Celt, but this time an Irishman, St. Columbanus, who undertook the reformation of Gaul. A word as to the Celtic church.

The Cymry of Britain and Wales—rationalists, and the Gaël of Ireland—poets and mystics, nevertheless exhibit throughout their entire ecclesiastical history one common character—the spirit of independence and opposition to Rome. They enjoyed a better understanding with the Greeks; and notwithstanding distance, revolutions, and manifold misfortunes, they long preserved relations with the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria. Pelagius is already a true son of Origen; and four centuries after him, the Irish Séotus translates the Greek fathers, and adopts the pantheism of Alexandria. In the seventh century, too, St. Columbanus defends the Greek time of holding Easter against the pope of Rome: "The Irish," these are his words, "are better astronomers than you Romans.*" It was a disciple of his, also an Irishman, Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, who first affirmed the rotundity of the earth and the existence of the Antipodes. All the sciences were at this period cultivated with much renown in the Scotch and Irish monasteries. Their monks, called *Culdees*†, recognized hardly more of the hierarchical state, than the modern Scotch presbyterians. They lived in societies of twelve, under an abbot of their own election‡; and their bishop, according to the strict etymological sense of the word, was only their overseer. Celibacy does not seem to have been strictly observed in this church§; which was, moreover, distinguished by a particular form of tonsure, and other singularities. Baptism was in Ireland performed with milk||.

* There are two spots in the Isle of Anglesey still called the Astronomer's ring (*carrig-brugdn*), and the Astronomer's town (*carr-dris*). Rowland, *Mona Antiqua*, p. 84. Low, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 277.

† God's solitaries. *Deus*, and *celare*, and *cella* have analogous roots in Latin and Celtic.

‡ Ducange, ii.—Low, p. 315.

§ The wives and children of the Culdees claimed a share of the gifts offered on the altar. Low, p. 318.

|| Carpenter, Suppl. au Gloss. de Ducange. In Hybernâ lac adhibuit fuisse ad baptizandos divitum filios, qui domi baptizabantur, testis est Bened. abbas Petroburg. t. i. p. 30. (Infants were thrice plunged in water, or in milk if the parents were wealthy. The children of the rich were also baptized at home. The Council of Cashel, A. D. 1171, orders baptism to be performed in the church.) We learn that the child might be baptized in the mother's womb, from the words (Ex Concil. Neocomariensi in vet. Pontificali.) "Prægnans mulier baptizetur, et postea infans." Married *Culdees* were common in Ireland. O'Halloran, vol. iii.—In the ninth century, the Bretons approximated to the Anglo-Breton Church in their liturgy and discipline. Louis the Debonnaire, observing that the monks of the abbey of Landevenec wore their tonsure after the form of the insular Bretons, ordered them to conform in this, as in all other things, to the decisions of the Romish Church. D. Lobineau, *Preuves*, ii. 26. D. Morice, *Preuves*, i. 228.

The most celebrated establishment of the Culdees was that of Iona; founded as almost all their establishments were, on the ruins of the Druidical schools—Iona, the burial-place of seventy Scottish kings, the mother of monks, and the oracle of the West in the seventh and eighth centuries. She was the city of the dead, as Arles in Gaul, and Thebes in Egypt.

The war which the emperors had to wage against the numerous usurpers, who issued out of Britain in the latter ages of the empire*, was continued by the popes against the Celtic heresy, against Pelagius, against the Scottish and Irish church. To this church, Greek in language and in spirit, Rome often opposed Greeks. As early as the commencement of the fifth century, she despatches as her champion, Palladius, a Platonist of Alexandria†; but his doctrines were soon discovered to be as heterodox as those he denounced. Safer men were then sent—St. Lupus, St. Germain of Auxerre‡, and his three disciples—Dubricius, Ilutus, and St. Patricius (Patrick), the great Irish apostle. Of all the fables with which the life of the latter has been plentifully bedecked, the most incredible is the assertion that he found no knowledge of the Scriptures in a country which we have seen in so short a time covered with monasteries, and supplying the whole western world with missionaries. A truce was put to these religious quarrels by the invasion of the Saxons; but as soon as they were firmly established, the pope despatched St. Augustin, a monk of the Benedictine order, for the conversion of Britain. The Romish missionaries succeeded with the Anglo-Saxons, and began that spiritual conquest which was to have such great results; whilst from the monastery of Iona, founded exactly at this same period by St. Columba, there issued his celebrated disciple, St. Columbanus§, the boldness of whose zeal against Brunehaut has been already related. For a moment Gaul was reattached to the principles of the Irish church, by this ardent and impetuous missionary.

The fall of the children of Sigebert and Brunehaut, and the reunion of Austrasia with Neustria, presented a favourable opportunity. In Neustria, and throughout the whole south of Gaul, as the traces of invasion disappeared, the Germans melted into the Gallic and Roman population. The vigour of the ancient races revived. Neustria had repulsed Austrasia under Fredegonda, and

* St. Jerome styles Britain—"a province fertile in tyrants."

† Low, under the year 451, following Æneas Gæzæus, in *Theophrasto*.

‡ St. Lupus was born at Toul, married the sister of St. Hilary, the bishop of Arles; was a monk at Lerins, and then bishop of Troyes. St. Germain, born at Auxerre, was at first duke of the troops of the Armorican and Nervian marches. On his return to Auxerre, he addicted himself wholly to hunting; and raised trophies to commemorate his success in the chase. St. Amator, bishop of that town, banished him, then converted him, and ordained him priest in his own despite. St. Genevieve and St. Patrick were his disciples. St. Germain and St. Martin—the hunter and the soldier—were the two most popular saints of France. St. Hubert, however, subsequently became the patron saint of hunters.

§ St. Columbanus explains the mystical affinity of his name with the *jona* and *barjona* of the Scriptures, signifying—dove. Bibl. Max. PP. iii. 28. 31.

had annexed that province to herself under Clotaire—which prince, as well as his son, Dagobert, less Franks than Romans, must have favoured the progress of the Celtic church, whose discipline and learning put to shame the barbarism into which her Gallic sister had sunk.

When St. Columbanus first visited Gaul, he had twelve companions only; but he seems to have been followed by a swarm of monks, who peopled the monasteries founded by these first apostles. We see the saint at first settling in the deepest solitudes of the Vosges, on the ruins of a pagan temple*; a circumstance which his biographer notices to have occurred with regard to all the religious houses which he founded. The nobles of this part of Gaul soon sent their children thither†; but he was disturbed by the jealousy of the bishops, to whom the strangeness of the Irish rites lent a colourable cause of attack‡. His bold remonstrances to Theoderic and Brunehaut brought on his expulsion from Luxeuil: but, led out of Gaul by the Loire, he re-entered it by the dominions of Clotaire II., who gave him an honourable reception. It was, indeed, of immense advantage to this prince to appear in the eyes of the people as the protector of the saints, persecuted by his enemies. From France, Columbanus passed into Switzerland, where his disciple, St. Gall, founded the famous monastery of this name. He finally settled in Italy with the Bavarian Agilulf, king of the Lombards, and built himself a retreat at Bobbio, where he remained till his death, notwithstanding the entreaties of the victorious Clotaire that he would return to him§. It was from this spot that he addressed to the pope his eloquent but fantastical letters on the union of the Romish and Irish churches, in the name of the king and queen of the Lombards, at whose request he states that he writes. Perhaps, the opinions which he expresses on the superiority of the latter church were entertained by Clotaire and his son Dagobert likewise; since these princes raised in every direction monasteries after his rule. The Austrasian race of the Carolingians, on the contrary, sided devotedly with the pope, and makes all the monasteries conform to the rule of St. Benedict.

From the great schools of Luxeuil and Bobbio sprang the founders of multitudinous abbeys—St. Gall, mentioned above; Saints Magnus and Theodore, the first abbots of Kempten and Fuessen, near

Augsburg; St. Attalus of Bobbio; St. Romaric of Remiremont; St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Amand, the three apostles of Flanders; and St. Wandril, related to the Carolingians, and founder of the great school of Fontenelle in Normandy, which in its turn was to be the metropolis of numerous others. It was Clotaire II., who raised St. Amand to the episcopal bench; and Dagobert had his son baptized by this saint. Dagobert's minister, St. Eloi, founded Solignac in Limousin, whence proceeded St. Remacius, the great bishop of Liege. He had said one day to Dagobert—"My lord, grant me this gift that I may make it into a ladder, by which you and I may ascend to heaven*."

Simultaneously with these schools, learned virgins opened others for those of their own sex. Not to mention the schools of Poitiers, of Arles, and of Maubeuge—where St. Aldegonda wrote her revelations†, the abbess of Nivelles, St. Gertrude, had repaired to Ireland‡ for the advantages of study; and St. Bertilla, abbess of Chelles, was so celebrated, that numerous disciples of both sexes flocked around her from all parts of Gaul and of Great Britain§.

What was the new rule to which this crowd of monasteries was subjected? The Benedictines|| ask no better than to persuade us that it was that of St. Benedict; and the very passages they quote clearly prove the contrary. For instance, we find nuns entreating St. Donatus, a disciple of St. Columbanus, who had been made bishop of Besançon, to draw up for them a code of rules, founded on those of St. Cæsarius of Arles, of St. Benedict, and of St. Columbanus. St. Projectus did the same for other nuns. The rules, therefore, were not identical.

The rule of St. Columbanus, which is opposed in this point to that of St. Benedict, does not make regular labour obligatory, but compels the monk to the repetition of an enormous number of prayers. Generally speaking, it does not bear that imprint of decision, so highly characteristic of the other. It similarly enjoins obedience, but does not leave punishment to the abbot's discretion; specifying with minute and curious precision the penalty for each offence. There is much in this strange penal code to scandalize the modern reader. It prescribes "a year's penance for the monk who has lost a consecrated wafer—for the monk who has fallen with a woman two days' bread and water, but only one day's if he knew it not to be a sin¶." Its

* Acta SS. Ordin. S. Bened. ii. 12. Vita S. Columb. ab auctore fere æquali: Invenitque castrum . . . Luxovium . . . Ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicina salubritate, quas cultu miserabili ritique profano vetusta paganorum tempora honorabant.

† Ibid: Ibi nobilium liberi undique concurrere nitebantur.

‡ His eloquent reply to a council, assembled in judgment on him, has been handed down to us. Biblioth. Max. Patrum, iii. epist. 2. "I only beseech of your goodness that as I am not the author of these differences (with regard to Easter), but have come hither for the sake of God, and of Christ the Saviour of us all, you would peaceably and charitably allow me to live silently in these forests, near the ashes of our seventeen deceased brothers, as it has been hitherto allowed me to live among you these twelve years. My prayer is, that this earth of Gaul may receive together in its bosom those who, if found deserving, the kingdom of heaven will together receive. I confess the secrets of my conscience—that I hold to the traditions of my own land," &c.

§ Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. 21.

* Gesta Dagoberti, c. 17, sqq. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 585. Sancti Eligii Vita, ibid. iii. 552. 555: Hanc mihi, domine mi rex, serenitas tua concedat, quo possim et nihil et tibi scalam construere, per quam mereamur ad celestia regna uterque conscendere.

† This work is lost.

‡ Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. 664, 665.

§ Id. iii. 24, 25.

|| Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. præfat.—It was the interest of the Church of Rome to suppress the writings of an enemy, who had left in the memory of the people so great a reputation for sanctity, and thus most of St. Columbanus's works have perished. Some were still to be found in the sixteenth century at Besançon and Bobbio; but are said to have been transferred to the libraries of Rome and Milan.

¶ Bibl. Max. PP. xii. p. 2. Si quis monachus dormierit in una domo cum muliere, duos dies in pane et aqua; si nescivit quod non debet, unum diem.

(Surely, the author's translation strains the point. The text says—"For the monk who shall sleep in one (or the same) house with a woman," &c.; which is certainly not

general tendency is mystical, the legislator paying more regard to the thoughts than the acts. "We must estimate," are his words, "a monk's chastity by his thought; what avails his being a virgin in body, if he be not one in mind?"

This reform, doubly remarkable, both by its brilliancy and its connexion with the awakening of the conquered races in Gaul, was, however, far from satisfying the real wants of the world. Pious practices and mystical impulses were not the only things needful, when barbarism pressed so heavily on man, and a new invasion threatened on the Rhine. St. Benedict understood better what the epoch required—an humbler and more laborious monachism, to clear the land, left to ruin waste and uncultivated, and to clear as well the mind of the barbarians. Far from opposing Rome, the natural centre of Roman and ecclesiastical civilization, it was required to rally around her. But the Irish church, animated by an untameable spirit of individuality and of opposition, agreed neither with Rome, nor with herself. St. Gall, the principal disciple of St. Columbanus, refused to follow him into Italy, remained in Switzerland, and laboured there independently of his master†. St. Columbanus occupied himself in Italy with combating the Arianism of the Easterns—which was turning to a bygone world and the past, instead of looking towards Germany and the future. Whilst on the Rhine, he at one time entertained the idea of converting the Suevi, and, afterwards, thought of undertaking that of the Slaves; but he was dissuaded in a dream by an angel, who, tracing a

map of the world, pointed out Italy to him*. This want of sympathy with the Germans and of relish for the obscure task of converting them, is the condemnation of St. Columbanus, and of the Celtic church. The Anglo-Saxon missionaries, submissive disciples of Rome, proceed, with the aid of the Austrasian dynasty, to gather in Germany that harvest, which Ireland could not, or would not gather†.

EQUAL WEAKNESS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH AND OF THE MONARCHY.

The powerlessness of the Celtic church, its want of unity, is paralleled by that of the monarchy which at this period nominally prevailed throughout Gaul, and whose death-struggle appears to begin with the demise of Dagobert; under whom, it is probable that the influence of the ecclesiastics was superior to that of the nobles. The priests by whom we see him surrounded, must have followed the traditions of the ancient Neustrian government in the struggle of that country with Austrasia; that is to say, with the country of the barbarians, and of the aristocracy. When the famous mayor of the palace, Ebroin, sent to consult St. Ouen, the bishop of Rouen, Dagobert's old minister instantly answered—"Remember Fredegondat."

The nobles at first missed their game in Austrasia, under the third Sigebert, the son of Dagobert. The mayor, Pepin, had been succeeded by his son Grimoald; and the latter, at Sigebert's death, had attempted to make one of his own children king. He was seconded by Dido, bishop of Poitiers, uncle to the famous St. Leger—both uncle and nephew being the heads of the party of the nobility of the south§. The rightful king was but three years old, and such a child was easily put out of the way—Dido took him over to Ireland. But the freemen of Austrasia plotted against Grimoald, arrested him, and sent him to Paris, to the king of Neustria, Clovis II., a son of Dagobert, who put both him and his son to death.

The three kingdoms were thus united under Clovis II., or rather, under Erchinoald, mayor of

identical with sinning with a woman. Besides, the context, "if he knew not that he was committing a sin," seems conclusive as to the meaning. No monk could be so ignorant as not to know that he had undertaken the vow of chastity.)

TRANSLATOR.

* Id. *ibid.* Castitas vera monachi in cogitationibus judicatur . . . et quid prodest virgo corpore, si non sit virgo mente?—The basis of the discipline is absolute obedience until death. "What limit shall we prescribe to obedience? Death, assuredly, since Christ obeyed his Father, for our sake, until death." What is the measure of prayers: Est vera orandi traditio, ut possibilitas ad hoc destinati sine fastidio voti praevalcat.—"A year's penance for him who loses a consecrated wafer; six months for him who suffers it to be eaten by mites; twenty days for him who lets it turn red; forty days for him who contemptuously flings it into water; twenty days for him who brings it up through weakness of stomach; but, if through illness, ten days. He who neglects his Amen to the Benedicte, who speaks when eating, who forgets to make the sign of the cross on his spoon (qui non signaverit cochlear quo lambit), or on a lantern lighted by a younger brother, is to receive six or twelve stripes, as the case may be, repeat twelve psalms, &c.—A hundred stripes for him who does a work apart; ten for him who strikes the table with his knife, or spills his beer; fifty for him who does not kneel to prayer, who has sung badly, has coughed whilst chanting the psalms, who has smiled during prayer-time, or who amuses himself by story-telling.—He who relates a sin for which he has already done penance, is to be put on bread and water for a day." (Is this to hinder one from recalling the feeling of past temptations?)

† To excuse himself from following, Columbanus into

Italy. St. Gall pretended that he was labouring under fever.—"St. Columbanus, judging that he was detained by the liking he had taken to the country, and a wish to labour there, and so shunned the fatigue of longer travel, said to him, 'I know, my brother, that it is a burden to thee to go through such great labours for me, and I take leave of thee, solemnly charging thee not to presume to say mass, so long

as I dwell in the flesh.'" A bear waited on St. Gall in his solitude, and brought him wood for his fire. St. Gall gives him a loaf—"By this covenant, have the mountains and hills around in common with me." A poetic symbol of the alliance between man and living nature, in the desert.

* Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. II. Cogitatio in mentem irruit, ut Venetiorum, qui et Slavi dicuntur, terminos adiret. Angelus Domini ei per visum apparuit, parvoque ambitu, velut in paginali solent stylo orbis describeret circulum, mundi compagem monstravit, etc.

† The Bollandists very justly observed, that there is the same difference between the rule of St. Columbanus and that of St. Benedict, as between those of the Franciscans and Dominicans. It is the opposition betwixt the law and grace. The order of St. Benedict was to prevail, 1st, over the RATIONALISM of the Pelagians; 2ndly, over the MYSTICISM of St. COLUMBANUS. It gave rise to FREE LABOUR, the want of which was the great sore of the expiring empire.

‡ Gesta Reg. Fr. c. 45. Ad beatum Audeneum direxit, quid ei consili daret, interrogaturus. At ille per interfunctios hoc solum scripto dirigens, ait—"De Fredegunda tibi subveniat in memoriam." At ille, ingeniosus ut erat, intellexit.

§ Vitae S. Leodegarii c. i. etc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. f. 611. sqq. —Fredegar. contin. *ibid.* 450.

the palace of Neustria. During the minority of that monarch's three sons, this very Erchinoald, and, after him, the famous Ebroin, filled the same office, supporting themselves with the name and sacred character of Bathilda, widow of Clovis—a Saxon slave, whom he had raised to the throne*. These mayors, the rivals of the nobility, set up against the latter—to the satisfaction of the people—a slave and a saint.

What was the exact nature of this office of *mayors of the palace*? M. Sismondi cannot believe the mayor to have been originally a royal officer; but sees in him a popular magistrate, instituted for the protection of freemen, like the justiza of Arragon. This compound of tribune and judge may have been called *mord-dom*, the judge of murder; and these German words may have been easily confounded with the name of major domus, and so the mayorship likened to the office of the ancient count of the imperial palace. No doubt the mayor was often elected, and even at an early period,—in time of a minority, or when the royal authority was enfeebled. But there can also be no doubt that he was chosen by the monarch; at least, up to Dagobert's time†. Those familiar with the spirit of the German family, will not be surprised at finding in the mayor an officer of the palace; since, according to its sentiments and feelings, domesticity gives nobility. All offices considered servile by the southern nations, are accounted honourable by the northern; and, in truth, they are elevated among the latter by personal devotion. In the *Nibelungen*, the master of the kitchen, Rumolt, is one of the leading warriors. At the coronation feasts of the emperors, the electors deemed it honourable to be the bearers of the oat-beer, and to lay the dishes on the table. Among the German nations, whoever is great in the palace

is great with the people. The greatest man (major) of the palace, as a thing of course, is the first among the leuds, their chief in war, their judge in peace. Now, at a period, when the freemen were interested in being under royal protection (*in truste regia*), and to become antrustions and leuds—the judge of the leuds must gradually have become judge of the people*.

The mayor Ebroin undertook impossibilities. At a time when the universal tendency was towards separation, he sought to establish unity; and when the nobles were in every direction asserting their independent power, he endeavoured to found royalty. His plans would have been useful, had they been practicable. He appointed dukes and other chief officers to different provinces from those in which lay their possessions, slaves, and clients†. Isolated by this means from their personal sources of power, they would have been mere dependants on the king, and could not have rendered their offices hereditary in their families. In addition to this stroke of policy, Ebroin seems to have striven to consolidate the different laws and customs of the nations composing the Frankish empire: an attempt which was regarded as tyrannical‡, and which at the time, in fact, was so.

Hence Austrasia slipped out of Ebroin's hands—demanding a king, mayor, and government of her own. The nobles, too, of Austrasia and Burgundy—among others, St. Leger, bishop of Autun, the nephew of Dido, bishop of Poitiers (both friends of the Pepins§), march against Ebroin in the name of the young Childeric II., king of Austrasia||.

* ("The usurpation of the mayors closely resembles that of the great officers in some of the Asiatic monarchies. In the twelfth century the sovereign power in Japan was engrossed by the general-in-chief, and only the ecclesiastical supremacy left to the king.—Towards the end of the seventeenth century the rajah of Sattarah, chief of the Mahratta empire, was set aside by the chief minister, the peshwah, who made his office hereditary in his own family, and reduced the power of the prince to a mere name. This happened to the second rajah in succession after Savagee the founder of that empire.—So too in Turquin, the chu vu appears to be the real governor, and the king a nominal functionary.—Again, at Bagdad in the ninth century, the calif was only the nominal sovereign, the Ameer ul Omrah, a Turkish general, ruling in his name.—The indolent and effeminate habits of the Eastern princes in all these cases have produced the same effects with the weakness of the Merovingian kings; and the usurpers have in both Asia and Europe been enabled to accomplish their designs by their influence with the soldiery, or the support of the chiefs, or both. The superstitious regard for the reigning family appears to have in each instance produced the same effect, of preventing for a length of time an open and avowed usurpation." Lord Brougham's Political Philosophy, c. xi. p. 373.) TRANSLATOR.

† Vita S. Leodegarii, c. l. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 613.

‡ Ibid. "The universal cry to king Childeric is, that he should shape his laws for his three kingdoms, so that the laws or customs of each should be preserved and respected, as they were by the judges in time past."

§ Vita S. Leodegarii, *passim*.

|| With the differences betwixt St. Leger and Ebroin was mixed up a national quarrel—a rivalry between two cities. St. Leger, bishop of Autun, had the bishop of Lyons on his side (Vita S. Leodeg. c. 8. ||.), and against him the bishops of Valence and Châlons (c. 9.), which two cities made war in this manner on their rivals, the two capitals of Burgundy.—When St. Leger had voluntarily surrendered to his enemies, Autun was nevertheless obliged to ransom herself. The bishop of Lyons would also have been forced

* Ser. R. Fr. ii. 449.

† "When Sigebert was a child, and all the Austrasians chose Chlodinus, major domus, on his disapproval, they elect Gogo to the office." Greg. Tur. epitom. c. 58.—A. D. 628. "On the death of Gundoad, king Dagobert appointed the illustrious Erconaldus, major domus."—A. D. 656. "When Erconald deceased, the Franks, after doubt, determine on making Ebroin, in the height of his honour, major domo in the royal palace." (Dagobert was dead, and they had elected Clotaire III. king.) Gesta Reg. Fr. c. 42. 45.—A. D. 626. "Clotaire II., met by the nobles and leuds of Burgundy at Troyes, having asked them whom they would wish to elect as successor in his high rank to Warnacharius, they all paying their court to the king, unanimously denied that they had any desire to choose the major domus." Fredegar. c. 54. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 435.—A. D. 641. "Flaocharus, a Frank by birth, is honourably raised to the high post of major domus, by queen Nantichild, having been elected to it by the bishops and all the dukes." Id. c. 89. *ibid.* 447.—M. Pertz, in his work entitled *Geschichte der Merowingischen Hausmeier* (1819), has collected the several styles by which the mayors of the palace were designated, viz.—Major domus regie, domus regalis, domus palatii, domus in palatio, palatii, in aula.—Senior domus.—Princeps domus.—Princeps palatii.—Præpositus palatii.—Præfectus domus regie.—Præfectus palatii.—Præfectus aule.—Rector palatii.—Nutritor et bajulus regis? (Fredegar. c. 86.)—Rector aule, imo totius regni.—Gubernator palatii.—Moderator palatii.—Dux palatii.—Custos palatii et tutor regni.—Subregulus.—Thus we see the mayor becoming almost the king; and to express governing the kingdom, the phrase used was—governing the palace:—Bathilda regina, quæ cum Clotario filio Francorum regebat palatium,—queen Bathilda governed the palace of the Franks together with her son, Clotaire.

Ebroin, deserted by the Neustrian nobles, is compelled to enter the monastery of Luxeuil. St. Leger was little advantaged by the revolution which he had aided in bringing about. He was accused, wrongfully or rightfully, of having aspired to the throne, in concert with the Roman Victor, the sovereign patrician of Marseilles, who was at Childeric's court on matters of business*. The northern nobles inspired the latter with a natural mistrust of the leader of the nobles of the south; and St. Leger was confined in the same monastery that he had imprisoned Ebroin in. This treatment evidences the improvement in manners; for, under the first Merovingian monarchs, such a suspicion would have infallibly drawn down capital punishment.

However, the Austrasian Childeric had hardly breathed the air of Neustria before he, too, became offensive to the nobles. In a fit of passion, he had one of them, named Bodilo, beaten with rods; and this treatment of one of their number as a slave exasperated the whole body. Childeric II. was assassinated in the forest of Chelles; and the murderers did not even spare his pregnant wife and infant son †.

Ebroin and St. Leger left Luxeuil, apparently reconciled; but they soon parted to take advantage of the two revolutions which had just been brought about in Austrasia and Neustria. The parts were changed. Whilst St. Leger and the nobles triumphed in Neustria through Childeric's death, the freemen of Austrasia had sent to Ireland for that child (Dagobert II.) whom the Pepins had formerly removed to a distance in the hope of securing the throne for themselves; and, placing Ebroin at the head of an army, they brought him in triumph back to Neustria, where he had St. Leger degraded, blinded, and finally put to death, (A.D. 678) on the charge of having counselled Childeric's murder. At this very moment, another Merovingian was slain in Austrasia by the friends of St. Leger; where the two Pepins and Martin, grandsons of Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and nephews of Grimoald, had Dagobert II., the freemen's king, that is, the king chosen by the party allied with Ebroin, condemned by a council and poignarded. Ebroin avenged Dagobert, as he had avenged Childeric. He allured Martin to a conference, at which he had him assassinated; and was himself slain soon afterwards by a noble Frank, whom he had threatened with death ‡.

This remarkable man had, like Fredegonda, successfully defended western France, and retarded

for twenty years the triumph of the Austrasian nobles. His death delivered Neustria into their hands, his successors being defeated by Pepin at Testry, between St. Quentin and Peronne*.

At first, no change of dynasty followed this victory of the nobles over the popular party, of German over Roman Gaul. Pepin adopted the very king, in whose name Ebroin and his successors had fought. However, the battle of Testry may be considered the fall of the family of Clovis; for it matters little that it still retains the title of king in some obscure monastic retreat. Henceforward, the name of the Merovingian princes will only be cited as the symbol of a party; and they will soon cease to be employed even as instruments. The last stage of decay is come.

According to an old legend, Clovis's father had carried off Basina, the wife of the king of Thuringia:—"She said to him on the first night, when they were in bed together, 'Let us refrain; rise, and what thou shalt see in the court-yard of the palace, that thou shalt tell to thy servant.' Having risen, he saw as it were lions, unicorns, and leopards walking about. He returned, and told what he had seen. The woman then said to him—'Go again, and return to thy servant.' He went, and saw this time bears and wolves. The third time, he saw dogs and other sorry beasts. They passed the night chastely, and when they rose Basina said to him—'What thou hast seen with thy eyes is based on truth. A lion will be born to us—the leopard and the unicorn typify his brave sons. Of them, will be born bears and wolves for courage and greed. The dogs signify the last kings, and the crowd of petty beasts those who shall harass the people left unprotected by their kings†.'"

The Merovingians, indeed, rapidly degenerate. Of the four sons of Clovis, one alone, Clotaire, leaves issue. Of Clotaire's four sons, but one has children. They who come after, die almost all young. It would appear as if they were a peculiar race; for every Merovingian is a father at fifteen, and decrepit at thirty years of age. Most indeed do not live so long. Charibert II. died when twenty-five; Sigebert II. when twenty-six; Clovis II. when twenty-three; Childeric II. when twenty-four; Clotaire III. when eighteen; and Dagobert II. when twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, &c. The symbol of the race are the *nerveless* ones of Jumiege—those young princes whose joints have been divided, and who are borne in a boat by the river's current towards the ocean, but are saved and sheltered in a monastery.

Who has cut the nerves and bruised the bones of these children of barbaric kings?—nought else than the precocious entrance of their fathers into the riches and luxuries of that world of Rome which they invaded. Civilization jests on man knowledge and gratifications; and knowledge and the pursuits of intellectual life counterbalance in cultivated minds the enervating effects of these

to fly, had not the Lyonnese taken up arms in his defence (c. 11). It is clear that the cities bore an active part in the quarrel.

* Vita S. Leodeg. c. 5. Vir quidam nobilis, Hictor vocatus nomine, qui tunc regebat in fascibus Patriacum Massillie ad Hildericum regem per quidam causâ advenerat. . . . Mendacem fabulam de Leodegario et Hictore conflungunt, quasi ideo Mismul fulissent conjuncti ut regiam dominationem everterent, et potestatis jura sibi inuicem usurpant.

† Gesta Reg. Fr. c. 45.

‡ Vita S. Leodeg. c. 16. "He took opportunities of fleeing a certain nobleman, at the time at the head of the tax-department, so as to strip him of almost all his spoil; and he then threatened him with death as well."—M. de Sismondi does not seem to have given this passage its exact signification.

* Annal. Metenses, A. D. 690.—Contin. Fredeg. c. 100.—Chronic. Moissiac. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 653.

† Greg. Tur. epitom. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 397.—Basina has the gift of second sight, like Brunhild in the Edda; and, like her, throws herself into the arms of the bravest:—"I know your worth, how valiant you are, and therefore am come to dwell with thee. Knowest thou not, that if I had known any worthier than thou beyond the seas, him and his embraces would I have sought?" Id. ii. 168.

gratifications. But barbarians suddenly transported into a state of civilization for which they are unprepared, only clutch at its gratifications. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in their being absorbed by it, and melting away in it, so to speak, as snow before a blazing fire.

The poor old historian Fredegarius, in his rude language, sorrows over this decay of the Merovingian world. After stating that he will attempt to continue Gregory of Tours, he goes on to say—“Would that I were gifted with such a portion of eloquence, that I might be but a little equal to the ~~task~~. But where the fountain is not ever flowing, the jar will still fail to be filled. The world is growing old, and our faculties are on the decline, nor can any one of this day—nor would he presume to affect it—be like the orators of past times*.”

CHAPTER II.

THE CARLOVINGIANS.—EIGHTH, NINTH, AND TENTH CENTURIES.

“THE man of God (St. Columbanus) having gone unto Theodebert and advised him—putting aside arrogance and presumption—to turn priest, enter the bosom of the Church, and humble himself to holy religion, lest, in addition to the loss of his temporal kingdom, he should forfeit life eternal—the king, and those who were with him, were moved to laughter, saying, that such a thing as a Merovingian, raised to the throne, turning priest, had never been heard of. And all being highly offended at his words, the saint added, ‘He despises the honourable post of priest; well, he shall be one in spite of himself†.’”

ECCLESIASTICAL ORIGIN OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.

The foregoing illustrates one of the main distinctions between the first and second races. The Merovingians enter the Church in their own despite; the Carolingians voluntarily. The head of the latter family is Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and his son Chlodulf succeeds to that see. Arnulf's brother is abbot of Bobbio; his grandson, St. Wandril. The whole family is closely united with St. Leger. Carloman, brother of Pepin le Bref, enters Monte-Cassino as monk; his two other brothers are, one, archbishop of Rouen; the other, abbot of St. Denis. Charlemagne's cousins—Adalhard, Wala, and Bernard, are monks. Drogon, Louis the Debonnaire's brother, is bishop of Metz; and three other brothers of his are monks or priests. The great saint of the south, St. Guilicmus of Toulouse, is both cousin and preceptor of Charlemagne's eldest son. This

* Fredegarius, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 414. Optaveram et ego ut mihi succumbere talis dicendi facundia, ut vel paululum esset ad instar. Sed carius hauritur, ubi non est perennitas aquæ. Mundus jam senescit, ideoque prudentiæ acumen in nobis tepescit, nec quisquam potest hujus temporis, nec præsumit oratoribus præcedentibus esse constimilis.

† Aiebant enim nunquam se audissee Merovingum, in regno sublimatum, voluntarium clericum fuisse. Detestantibus ergo omnibus, etc. Vita S. Columb. in Actis Ord. S. Ben. sæc. ii. p. 27.

ecclesiastical turn of the Carolingians explains their strict union with the pope, and their predilection for the order of St. Benedict.

Arnulf is said to have been born of an Aquitanian father, and Suevian mother*; and his father is made out to be one of the Ferreoli, and son-in-law of Clotaire the First—a genealogy which appears to have been fabricated in order to connect the Carolingians, on the one hand, with the Merovingian dynasty, and, on the other, with the most illustrious family of Roman Gaul†. However this may be, I can easily suppose that from the frequent intermarriages of the Austrasians and Aquitanians‡, the Carolingians in reality sprang from both races.

This episcopal house of Metz§ combined two advantages, which were certain to secure it the monarchy. On the one hand, it was bound up with the Church; on the other, it was settled in the most Germanized country of Gaul. Besides, fortune in every way favoured it. Royalty had become a cypher; the freemen daily decreased in numbers; the great alone, the leuds and bishops, grew in power and strength. In such a state of things, the chief authority must naturally pass into the hands of him who was at once one of the large proprietors, and the chief of the leuds; and it furthermore became a natural consequence that these various requisites should centre in one of the great episcopal and Austrasian families, that is to say, in a family at once friendly to the Church and the barbarians. That Church which had summoned Clovis and his Franks against the Goths, necessarily favoured the Austrasians against Neustria, when the latter, under an Ebroin, sought to

* In a life of St. Arnold, by one Umno, who asserts that he undertakes it by command of Charlemagne, his genealogy is so given.—Carolus . . . cui fuerat tritavus Arnolfus regem Chlotarium; cujus filiam, Blithildem nomine, Ansbertus, vir Aquitanicus præpositus divitiis et genere, in matrimonium accepit, de qua Burgisium genuit, patrem B. hujus Arnulfi.—And further on, Natus est B. Arnulfus Aquitanico patre; Suevia matre in castro Lacensi (Lay, diocese of Tulle) in comitatu Calvimontensi.

† See Lefebvre, Disquisit. et Valois, R. Fr. i. viii. and xvii. We read in an old life of St. Perreol—“The holy Perreolus was born at Narbonne, and of noble parentage; his father, Ansperius, being of high senatorial descent, received in marriage Blitil, daughter of Clotaire, king of the Franks.—The monk Egidius, in his additions to the history of the bishops of Utrecht, compiled by abbot Hariger, says that Hodegisil or Boggis, Ansper's son, held five duchies in Aquitaine. According to this genealogy, the wars of Charles Martel with Eudes, and of Pepin with Hunald, were wars between relatives.

‡ See the important charter of 845. (Hist. du Lang. I. preuves, p. 85, and notes, p. 688.) Boggis and Bertrand, dukes of Aquitaine, married Oda and Bihigberta, Austrasians. Eudes, son of Boggis, married Waltrude, an Austrasian. These marriages afforded St. Hubert, Eudes's brother, the opportunity of settling in Austrasia, under Pepin's protection, and founding there the bishopric of Liege.

§ Within a century and a half the Carolingian house gave three bishops to Metz—Arnulf, Chrodulf, and Drogon. The bishops in these days being often married before they took orders, had no difficulty in transmitting their sees to their sons and grandsons. Thus the Apollinari laid hereditary claim to the bishopric of Clermont. Gregory of Tours (l. v. c. 50, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 264) says of one who endeavoured to supplant him in that see—“The wretch did not know that all the bishops of Tours have been chosen out of our family, with but few exceptions.”

organize a lay power in counterpoise to the clergy.

The battle of Testry, which was the victory of the nobles over the royal authority, or at least over the name of king, served to complete, proclaim, and legitimate the dissolution of the empire; so that all the nations must have seen in it the judgment of God upon its unity. The south—Aquitaine and Burgundy—ceased to be France; and, as early as Charles Martel's time, these countries were termed *Roman*: he penetrated, say the Chroniclers, even into Burgundy. Eastward and northward, there was no reason why the German dukes, why the Frisians, Saxons, Suevi, and Bavarians, should submit to the duke of the Austrasians, who, perhaps, could not have conquered without them. Pepin found himself isolated by his very victory; and he at once sought to support himself by means of the very party which he had overcome, that of Ebroin, whose object was the maintenance of the unity of Gaul. He married his son to a powerful matron, widow of the last mayor, and dear to the party of the freemen*: Abroad, he endeavoured to bring back under Frankish influence, the German tribes who had thrown it off—the Frisians in the north, the Suevi in the south. But his endeavours fell far short of restoring the unity of the empire. His death but rendered matters worse. He was succeeded in the mayoralty, nominally by his grandson Theobald†, in reality by his widow Plectrude; and the king, Dagobert III., still a child, was subjected to a mayor, who was also a child, and both to a woman. The Neustrians easily freed themselves. Austrasia was left a prey to the first spoiler. She was laid waste by the Frisians and Neustrians, and the Saxons overran her German possessions.

CHARLES MARTEL. (A. D. 715—741.)

Trampled on by every nation, the Austrasians put aside Plectrude and her son, and drew out of prison a *bastard son* of Pepin's, the valiant Carl, surnamed *Marteau* (the Hammer), to whom Pepin had left nothing—as an accursed scion, odious to the Church, being sullied with the blood of a martyr. St. Lambert, bishop of Liege, had one day, at the royal table, expressed his contempt for Alpaïde, Carl's mother, and Pepin's mistress. Alpaïde's brother broke into the episcopal mansion, and slew the bishop at his prayers. Grimoald, Pepin's son and heir, having gone on a pilgrimage to St. Lambert's tomb, was slain there; undoubtedly, by friends of Alpaïde's. Carl himself was notoriously hostile to the Church; and, from his Pagan name of *Marteau*, I should doubt his being a Christian. We know that the hammer is the attribute of Thor—the sign of Pagan compact, as well as that of property and of barbaric conquest†. This circumstance would explain how an empire, exhausted under preceding reigns, could suddenly furnish such armies: both against the Saxons and the Saracens. These very men, lured to take up arms under Carl, by the attraction of the wealth of the Church which he lavished upon them, might very well adopt by degrees the belief of their new country, and prepare a generation of soldiers for Pepin le Bref and Charlemagne. In this thoroughly

ecclesiastical family of the Carolingians, the bastard, the proscribed Carl, or Charles Martel, presents a distinct physiognomy of his own, and a very un-Christian one*.

At first, the Neustrians, defeated by him at Vinzy, near Cambrai, summoned to their aid the Aquitanians, who, since the dissolution of the Frankish empire, constituted a formidable power. Eudes, their duke, advanced as far as Soissons, and there formed a junction with the Neustrians, who, notwithstanding his aid, lost the day. Perhaps he might have prosecuted the war with advantage, had he not had an enemy behind him, the Saracens, who, after conquering Spain, had seized Languedoc. Confiding in the speed and indefatigable vigour of their African barbs, their innumerable cavalry boldly sallied forth from the Roman and Gothic town of Narbonne, of which they had possession, upon the north, as far as Poitou and Burgundy†. The astonishing celerity of these brigands, who pricked into every quarter, seemed to multiply them. They soon made their inroads in larger numbers; and it began to be feared that, according to their usual practice, after they had turned great part of the south into a desert, they would finally settle there. Eudes, having sustained a defeat by them, had recourse to his former antagonists, the Franks. A encounter took place near Poitiers, between the rapid African cavalry and the heavy battalions of the Franks (A. D. 732); when the first, finding their powerlessness against the massy strength of the latter, drew off during the night, with what loss it is impossible to say. But the imagination of the chroniclers of the period was excited by this solemn trial of prowess between the men of the north and those of the south; and they concluded that the two races could not meet in hostile shock without wholesale slaughter‡. Charles Martel pushed on to Languedoc, failed to take Narbonne, entered Nîmes, and endeavoured to burn the amphitheatre, which had been converted into a fortress. Marks of the fire are yet to be seen on its walls.

* According to some authorities, France, at this period, must have been on the verge of lapsing into Paganism. Boniface (epist. 32. ann. 742.) says, "The Franks, as our elders report, have not held a synod for more than eighty years, nor have had an archbishop, nor have any where founded or renewed the canons of the Church."—Hincmar, (epist. vi. c. 19.) "In Carl's days, Christianity was almost entirely extinct in the German, Belgic, and Gallic provinces; so much so, that in the eastern parts many worshipped idols, and remained unbaptized."

† In 725, they took Carcassonne, levied a contribution on Nîmes, and destroyed Autun. (Chron. Moissiac. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 656.) In 731, they burnt the church of St. Hilary of Poitiers. (Predegar. Contin. lib. 45†.—Gesta Reg. Fr. ibid. 574.)

‡ According to Paul Diaconus (l. vi.) the Saracens lost three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Isidore de Béja described the war in barbarous Latin two-and-twenty years after the battle. Part of his description is in rhyme, or rather in assonances (the assonance is also met with in the song of the Modenese, composed about the year 924).—

Abdiraman multitudine repletam
Sul exercitus prospiciens terram,
Montana Vaceorum dissecans,
Et fretosa et plana percalcans,
Trans Francorum intus expeditas, &c.

Isidor. Bacensis, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 721.

* Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 681.

† See the Second Part.

But danger did not threaten on the southern border alone. Invasions from the German side were much more formidable than this of the Saracens. The latter had settled in Spain; and intestine divisions soon kept them there. But the Frisians, Saxons, and Germans, were constantly attracted to the Rhine by the wealth of Gaul and the memory of their ancient invasions; and Charles Martel had to make repeated expeditions before he could repel and drive them within their own bounds. What soldiers did he use in these expeditions? The probability is that he must have recruited his armies in Germany. By distributing the spoils of the bishops and abbots of Neustria and Burgundy*, he had a ready means of drawing warriors to his standard. Now, to get Germans to act against Germans, it behoved to make them Christians; and this explains how Charles finally became the friend of the popes, and their support against the Lombards. The pontifical missions created in Germany a Christian population friendly to the Franks. Each horde must have been divided: the Pagan portion would obstinately cling to the paternal soil, and their primitive life of the tribe; whilst the Christians supplied the armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

The instrument of this great revolution was St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. The Anglo-Saxon church, to which he belonged, was not like

those of Ireland, of Gaul, or of Spain, the sister, and equal of that of Rome, but the child of the popes. By this church, Roman in spirit*, German in tongue, Rome laid her hand on Germany. St. Columbanus had disdained preaching to the Suevi. The Celts, in their hard spirit of opposition to the German race, could not be the instruments of its conversion. A more plastic and sympathetic element than the Celtic church, was required to win to Christianity the latest arrived barbarians. They had to be told of Christ in the name of Rome; that great name which had filled their ears for so many centuries. To convert Germany, the disinterested genius of Germany herself† was required to set the world the example of submission to the hierarchy, and to teach it to resign itself for a second time to Roman centralization.

* Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. iii. Pope Zachary writes to St. Boniface—"The province in which you were born and brought up, where, among the Angles and Saxons in the island of Britain, the first preachers were sent from the apostolic see—Augustin, Laurence, Justus, and Honorius; and lately, in your time, Theodore, a Greco-Roman, a man of science, and taught philosophy at Athens, who received his ordination at Rome, was elevated by the pallium, and sent to the aforesaid Britain to judge and govern," &c. &c. "Theodore," says Warton, (Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Dissertation ii. p. 93, 94,) "originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by Pope Vitellian, in the year 688. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church-music, and the Greek and Latin languages. The new prelate brought with him a large library, as it was called and esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors; among which were Homer, in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of St. Chrysostom on parchment, the psalter, and Josephus's Hypomnesticon, all in Greek. Theodore was accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same time appointed to the abbey of St. Austin's at Canterbury. Bede informs us, that Adrian requested Pope Vitellian to confer the archbishopric on Theodore, and that the pope consented, on condition that Adrian, who had been twice in France, and on this account was better acquainted with the nature and difficulties of so long a journey, would conduct Theodore into Britain. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Rome. Benedict seems, at this time, to have been one of the most distinguished of the Saxon ecclesiastics. Availing himself of the advice of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone after the manner of the Roman architecture, and adorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing, among other sacred subjects, the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France." A leader of the choir was brought from St. Peter's, Rome. (Beda, Hist. Abbat. Wirmuth.) Alcuin and Aldhelm were pupils of Theodore and Adrian. Aldhelm, a relative of king Ina's, was, according to Camden, the first Saxon who wrote in Latin. He sang himself his *Cantiones Saxonice* to the people, in the streets. William of Malmesbury styles him "a Greek in penetration, a Roman in elegance, and an Englishman in pomp."

† It may seem astonishing that the example should have been set by the Saxons who, on their native soil of Germany, so long rejected Christianity; and who, at the voice of Luther, were the first to shake off the yoke of Rome. But

* Chronic. Virdun ap. Scr. R. Fr. iii. 364. "He so profusely lavished the public treasure, and was so liberal to his soldiers—whom it was the custom to call *soldarii* (*soldarii*, *soldarii*? we have seen that the *devoti* of Aquitaine were so called), that not the treasure of the kingdom, not the plunder of cities, nor the spoiling of churches and monasteries, nor the tributes of the provinces, sufficed him. He even dared, when these sources failed, to seize the Church lands, and give them to his fellow soldiers," &c.—* Rodoard, l. ii. c. 12. "When Charles Martel had overcome his enemies, he expelled from his see the pious Rigobert, his godfather, who had held him on the holy baptismal font, and gave the bishopric of Reims to one Milo, who was no further a churchman than the tonsure made him, but who had served him in war. This Charles-Martel, the offspring of a slave, a concubine—as we read in the annals of the Frank kings—more audacious than all the kings his predecessors, gave not only the bishopric of Reims, but many others in the kingdom of France, to laymen and counts; so as to deprive the bishops of all power over the goods and affairs of the Church. But all the harm he had wrought on this holy man, and on the other churches of Christ, the Lord, by a just judgment, caused to revert on his own head. For we read in the writings of the Fathers, that St. Pulcherius, formerly bishop of Orleans, whose body rests in St. Trudo's monastery, being one day at prayer, absorbed in the meditation of heavenly things, was rapt into the other world; and there, through revelation of the Lord, saw Charles tormented in the lowest hell. When he inquired the cause of the angel who conducted him, the latter replied, that by the sentence of the saints who, on the last day, would hold the balance together with the Lord, he was condemned to everlasting punishment for having laid hands on their possessions. St. Pulcherius, on his return to this world, hastened to relate what he had seen to St. Boniface, who had been deputed by the holy see to re-establish canonical discipline in France, and to Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, and the head of king Pepin's chaplains; telling them, in proof of the truth of what he related of Charles Martel, that, on searching his tomb, they would not find his body; and, in fact, when they went to his place of burial, and opened his tomb, a serpent issued out of it, and the tomb was found empty and blackened as if scorched by fire."

Winfried (this is the German name of Boniface) resigned himself unreservedly to the popes, and, under their auspices, plunged through barbarous nations into the vast pagan world of Germany. He was the Columbus and the Cortes of this unknown world; into which he penetrated with no other arms than his intrepid faith and the name of Rome. This heroic man, who crossed so often the sea, the Rhine, and the Alps, was the bond of the nations. It was through him that the Franks came to an understanding with Rome, and with the tribes of Germany. It was he, who by religion and civilization attached these roving tribes to the soil, and unconsciously prepared the road for the armies of Charlemagne, as the missionaries of the sixteenth century opened America to those of Charles the Fifth. He reared on the Rhine the metropolis of German Christianity—the church of Mentz, the church of the empire; and, farther on, the church of Cologne—the church of relics and the Holy city of the Low Countries. The young school of Fulda, founded by him in the heart of German barbarism, became the light of the West; and taught its masters. First archbishop of Mentz—he chose to hold of the pope the government of this new Christian world which he had himself called into existence. By his oath, he devotes himself and his successors to the prince of the apostles, “who alone has the right of bestowing the pallium on bishops*.” There is nothing servile in this submission. In his simplicity the good Winfried inquires of the pope whether it be true that he breaks the canons, and incurs the guilt of simony†; and entreats him to put a stop to the pagan ceremonies still celebrated by the Roman people, to the great scandal of the Germans. But his chief hatred is to the Scots (the name equally given to the Scotch and Irish), and he especially condemns their allowing priests to marry. At one time he denounces to the pope the famous Virgil, bishop of Saltzburg‡; at another, a priest named Samson, who disused baptism. Clement, another Irishman, and the Gaul Adalbert likewise trouble the Church. Adalbert having erected oratories and crosses near fountains

these Saxons, transplanted into Britain, had forsaken the descendants of the Asi, to follow military leaders. The necessities of their distant expeditions, and the novelties of conquest had made them different men; and besides, the idea of converting their ancient country was a kind of victory that must have been tempting to these new Christians.

* Boniface. Epist. 105. “In our synod we have proclaimed and professed our desire to preserve the Catholic faith and unity, and submission to the Romish church, to the end of our life—to be subjected to St. Peter and his vicar. . . . And that metropolitans should seek their pallia from that see; and that in every way we should strive to follow the precepts of Peter, according to the canons, so that we may be among the sheep of whom he is shepherd.”

† The pope replied—“You say that you are told we corrupt the canons and reject the traditions of the Fathers; and, moreover, (which be far from us!) that we are guilty of simony with our pastors, seeking and receiving presents for the gift of the pallium. But, dearest brother, we pray thee never to write such things again.” . . . SS. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. iii. 75.

‡ Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sæc. iii. 308, 309:—

Protulit in lucem quem mater Hibernia primum,

Institut, docuit, nutrit . . . amavit.

(Ireland gave him birth, informed, taught, cherished, and loved him.)

It was he who first asserted the rotundity of the earth.

(perhaps by the ancient Druidical altars), the people flock thither and desert the churches*. This Adalbert is so revered, that his nails and hair become the subject of dispute as relics. Authorized by a letter which he has received from Jesus Christ, he invokes angels of unknown names. He knows the sins of men beforehand, and will not listen to their confession. Winfried, the implacable enemy of the Celtic church, prevails on Carloman and Pepin to imprison Adalbert. His fierce and rugged zeal, is at the least disinterested. After having founded nine bishoprics and as many monasteries, when at the height of his glory and in the seventy-third year of his age, he resigned the archbishopric of Mentz to his disciple Lullus, and returned a simple missionary to the woods and marshes of pagan Frisia, where, forty years before, he had been the first to preach the Gospel. He found martyrdom there†.

Four years before his death (A.D. 752) he had consecrated Pepin, king, in the name of the pope of Rome, and so transformed the crown to a new dynasty. This son of Charles Martel, left sole mayor by the retirement of one of his brothers to Montecassino, and by the flight of the other, was the darling of the Church. He indemnified her for the spoiliations of Charles Martel; and was the only support of the pope against the Lombards. Hence he was emboldened to bring to a conclusion the long farce played by the mayors of the palace since Dagobert's death, and to assume the title of king. It was near a hundred years since the Merovingians, confined in their villa of Maumagne, or in some monastery, had preserved a vain shadow of royalty‡. Hardly at any other period than spring, on the occasion of opening the Champ de Mars, was the idol drawn from his sanctuary, and the people shown their king. Silent and grave, this long haired and bearded monarch (whatever his age, these were the indispensable ensigns of royalty) appeared, slowly dragged on the German car by yoked oxen, like that of the goddess Hertha§. In all the numerous revolutions which took place in their name, whether conquered or conquering, their fate underwent little change. They passed from the palace to the cloister, without observing the difference. Often, indeed, the victorious mayor would quit his king for the conquered king, if the latter were the more personable of the two. Generally, these poor kings soon died off. Frail and feeble, the last descendants of an enervated race, they bore the penalty of their father's excesses. But this very youthfulness, this state of repose, and this innocence must have inspired the people with

* St. Boniface writes to pope Zacharias—“My greatest trouble was with two inveterate heretics, one called Adalbert, a Gaul by birth; the other, named Clement, a Scot.” Fecit quoque (Adalbert) cruciulas et oratoriola in campis, et ad fontes; . . . ungulas quoque et capillos dedit ad honorificandum et portandum cum reliquis S. Petri principis apostolorum. S. Bonif. Epist. 135.

† Acta SS. sæc. iii. Eginhard. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 197.

‡ Like the pontiff king at Rome, the caliph at Bagdad in the decay of the caliphate, or the daim at Japan.

(Is not this note the germ of Lord Brougham's remarks, quoted p. 69.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Crine profuso, barbâ submissâ, . . . quocumque eundem erat, carpento ibat, quod bubus junctis, bubulco rustico more agente, trahabatur. Eginhard, Vita Karoli Magni, c. i. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 89.

a profound idea of royal sanctity and kingly right. The king must have early appeared to them as an irreproachable being—perhaps, as the companion of their miseries, who, had he the power, would relieve them. The very silence of imbecility did not lessen their respect: the secret of the future seemed enveloped in it. It is still a common belief in many countries that idiots are divinely favoured; just as the pagans formerly recognised the divinity in brutes.

After the Merovingians, says Eginhard, the Franks chose for themselves two kings*; and, indeed, this duality is every where apparent at the commencement of the Carolingian dynasty. Commonly, two brothers reign together, as Pepin and Martin, Pepin and Carloman, Carloman and Charlemagne. When there happens to be a third brother (Grifon, to wit, brother of Pepin-le-Bref), he is excluded from the division.

This monarchy of Pepin's, founded by the priests, was devoted to the priests. The descendant of bishop Arnulf, and kinsman of so many bishops and saints, allowed great influence to the prelates.

In all directions the enemies of the Franks, were at the same time the enemies of the Church—the pagan Saxons, the Lombards, persecutors of the pope, the Aquitanians, the spoilers of the property of the Church. Pepin's chief war was against Aquitaine. He only made one campaign in Saxony, by which he secured the missionaries† the power of preaching there; and left the rest to the work of time. Two campaigns sufficed for the subjection of the Lombards; against whom Pope Stephen came himself to implore the assistance of the Franks. Pepin forced the Alps, took Pavia, and compelled the Lombard, Astolph, to surrender—not to the Greek empire—but to St. Peter and the pope‡, the towns of Ravenna, Emilia, of the Pentapolis, and of the duchy of Rome. The Lombards and the Greeks must have been little to be feared, when Pepin thought these provinces safe in the unarmed hands of a priest.

The war with Aquitaine was a very different matter; and its duration is easily explained. Backed by the western Pyrenees, which were and still are occupied by the ancient Iberians, Vasques, Guasques, or Basques (Eusken), the population of this country was constantly recruited from the mountains. Agricultural by taste and disposition, but robbers by their position, the Vasques had long been pent up in their rocks, first by the Romans, then by the Goths. The Franks expelled the latter, but did not fill their place, often failing against this mountain race. At length they appointed duke

Genialis—no doubt a Roman of Aquitaine—to observe them (about A.D. 600*). However, these mountain giants† descended by degrees among the smaller race of the Béarnois; and, in their large red capes, and shod with the hairy *abarca*, advanced—men, women, children, and flocks—towards the north: the *landes* are, in fact, a vast road. Eldest born of the old world, they came to claim their share of the beautiful plains, seized by so many successive usurpers—Gauls, Romans, and Germans. Thus, in the seventh century, when the Neustrian empire fell to pieces, Aquitania was renovated by the Vasques, as Austrasia was by successive immigrations from Germany. The name accompanied either people, and grew in extent with them—the north being called France, the south, Vasconia, Gascony; which last reached to the Adour, next to the Garonne, and, for a moment, to the Loire. Then came the shock.

According to doubtful traditions, the Aquitanian Amandus had grown powerful in these countries, about the year 628, overcoming the Franks by means of the Vasques, and the latter, again, by means of the Franks. He married his daughter to Charibert, Dagobert's brother‡; and after his son-in-law's death, protected Aquitaine, in the name of his orphan grandsons, against their uncle, Dagobert. Perhaps Charibert's marriage is only a fable invented at a later period in order to connect the great families of Aquitaine with the first race. However, shortly afterwards, we find three Aquitanian dukes marrying three Austrasian princesses.

Eudes and Hubert were great grandsons of Amandus. Hubert passed first into Neustria, where Ebroin ruled, and thence into Austrasia—the birth-place of his aunt and grandmother. Here, he attached himself to Pepin. Passionately fond of hunting, he used to range through the immense forest of Ardennes; when the apparition of a miraculous stag determined him to quit the world for the Church. He was the disciple and successor of St. Lambert at Maestricht, and founded the bishopric of Liege. He is the patron of hunters from Picardy to the Rhine.

The career of his brother Eudes was very different. Once, when master of Aquitaine as far as the Loire, and master of Neustria, through having Chilperic II. in his power, he, for a moment, thought himself king of the whole of Gaul. But it was the fate of the different dynasties of Toulouse, as we shall hereafter see, to be ever crushed between Spain and northern France. Eudes, having been defeated by Charles Martel, and fearing the Saracens, who threatened his rear, gave up Chilperic to him. Conquering the Saracens before Toulouse, but menaced, in turn, by the Franks, he treated with the infidels; and the emir Munuza, having rendered himself independent in the north of Spain, and being with regard to the caliph's lieutenants precisely in the same situation as Eudes was in relation to Charles Martel, Eudes allied himself with him, and gave him

* "The Franks, in a solemn general assembly, choose two kings, but with the express provision that they divide the kingdom between them equally." Eginhard, Vita Karoli M. c. 3. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 90.

† He exacted, besides, a tribute of three hundred horses Annal. Met. ap. Scr. Fr. R. v. 336. The horse was the animal chiefly sacrificed by the Persians and Germans. Pope Zachary (epist. 142.) advises Boniface to put a stop to the eating of horse flesh—no doubt, meaning as a sacrificial meat.

‡ To the emperor's protests he replied, that he had undertaken the war for the love of St. Peter, and the remission of his sins.—"He sent a deed of gift of the states given to the blessed Peter and the holy Roman see, and to be held for ever by all pontiffs of the apostolic see." Anastas. Biblioth. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 3.

* Seeing that the Franks were discomfited by them in the early stage of their empire, I much doubt their having submitted to a tribute, as Fredegarus asserts (Fredegar. Scholiast. c. 21.), under the feeble successors of Brunehault.

† The Vasques are exceedingly tall, particularly compared with the Bascons.

‡ See l'Hist. Gén. du Languedoc, l. 588.

his daughter in marriage *. This strange alliance, which was then unexampled, is an early proof of that religious indifference of which Gascony and Guienne offer so many instances. The versatile and witty people of these provinces, look too keenly to the affairs of this world to be over-busied with those of the other. The country of Henry IV., of Montesquieu, and of Montaigne, is not a land of saints.

This politic and impious alliance turned out ill. Munuza was blocked up in a fortress by Abder-Rahman, the caliph's lieutenant, and only avoided captivity by death. He threw himself from the top of a rock. The poor Frenchwoman was sent a present to the seraglio of the caliph of Damascus. The Arabs crossed the Pyrenees, and Eudes was defeated as his son-in-law had been. But the Franks themselves joined him, and Charles Martel aided him to overcome them at Poitiers (A. D. 732). Thus Aquitaine, proved incapable of defending itself, became a kind of dependency on the Franks.

Hunald, the son of Eudes, and the hero of his race, could not resign himself to this humiliation, and began a desperate struggle with Pepin-le-Bref and Carloman, in which he sought to interest all the enemies of the Franks, whether open or secret; and he sought allies† even as far as Saxony and Bavaria. The Franks laid waste Berry with fire and sword, turned Auvergne, and just as they had forced Hunald to recross the Loire, were recalled by the invasion of the Saxons and Germans. Hunald passed the Loire once more, and burnt Chartres. Perhaps, he would have carried his successes further; but he seems to have been betrayed by his brother Hatto, who governed Poitou under him. Here we see the origin of the future ills of Aquitaine—the rivalry of Poitiers and Toulouse.

Hunald yielded; but took vengeance on his brother. He had his eyes torn out, and then immured himself in a monastery in the isle of Rhé‡, by way of expiation. His son, Guaifer, (A. D. 745,) found an ally in Grifon, Pepin's younger brother, as Pepin had himself done in Hunald's brother. But the war of the south did not begin in earnest till 759, after Pepin had vanquished the Lombards. This was the epoch of the division of the caliphate. Alphonso, the Catholic, intrenched in the Asturias, revived there the monarchy of the Goths. The Goths of Septimania (all Languedoc, with the exception of Toulouse,) likewise rose to recover their independence; and the Saracens, in occupation of the country, were soon constrained to take refuge in Narbonne. A Gothic chief got himself acknowledged lord of Nîmes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Béziers§. But the Goths were unable to force Narbonne, and called in the Franks; who, unused to sieges, might have remained before the town for ever, had not the Christian inhabitants

massacred the Saracens, and opened its gates. Pepin swore to respect the laws and franchises of the country *.

He then renewed the war successfully against the Aquitanians, whom he was now enabled to turn on the eastern flank. "After the country had rested from war for two years, king Pepin sent deputies to Guaifer, prince of Aquitaine, to ask him to restore to the churches of his kingdom the lands belonging to them in Aquitaine. He sought the full and free enjoyment of their estates by the churches, together with that of all the immunities heretofore secured to them; and that Guaifer should pay, according to the law, the price of the lives of certain Goths, whom he had killed against all rule of right. Finally, he required that Guaifer should give up those of Pepin's followers who had fled into Aquitaine. All which demands, Guaifer disdainfully refused †."

The war was slow, bloody, and destructive. Several times, the Basques and Aquitanians‡, by bold inroads, pushed as far as Autun and even as Châlons. But the Franks, better disciplined and marching in imposing masses, inflicted much greater injury upon them. They ravaged the whole of Berry with fire, burning down trees and houses, and that more than once. Next, they forced their way into Auvergne, took its strongholds, and traversed and burnt the Limousin. Then, with the same regularity, they burnt the Quercy, and cut down the vines which formed the wealth of Aquitaine. "Prince Guaifer, seeing that the king of the Franks, by the help of his machines, had taken the fort of Clermont, as well as Bourges, the capital of Aquitaine and a strongly fortified city, despaired henceforward of resisting him, and ordered the walls of all the cities in Aquitaine belonging to him—of Poitiers, Limoges, Saintes, Périgueux, Angoulême, and many others—to be thrown down §."

The unfortunate Guaifer withdrew into the wild fastnesses of the mountains. But every year saw his followers drop off. His count of Auvergne fell in battle; his count of Poitiers was slain by retainers of the abbey of St. Martin of Tours||. His uncle, Remistan, who had first deserted and then returned to his banners, was taken and hanged by the Franks. And, finally, he was himself murdered by his own adherents; who, in their fickleness of disposition, had doubtless grown weary of a glorious, but hopeless war. Pepin, triumphant through treachery, saw himself at length sole master of the whole of Gaul, all-powerful in Italy by the humiliation of the Lombards, and all-powerful in the Church by the friendship of the popes

* Ibid. 69. Dato sacramento Gothis qui ibi erant, ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pipini regis Francorum, permitterent eos legem suam habere.

† Contin. Fredegar. ap. Scr. R. F. v. 4.—See, also, Eginhard, Annal. ibid. 199. Cum res que ad ecclesias... pertinebant, reddere nolisset. . . . Spondet se ecclesiis sua jura redditurum, etc.

‡ Contin. Fredegar. ap. Scr. R. F. v. 5, 6, 7. Waifaricus cum exercitu magno et plurimorum Wasconum, qui ultra Garonnam commorantur, qui antiquitus vocati sunt Vaceti, etc.

§ Ibid. 6. Pectavis, Lemodicas, Santonis, Petrecors, Equolisma, et reliquis quam plures civitates et castella, omnes muros eorum in terram prostravit, etc.

|| Ibid. 6. Comes Pictavenis, dum Turonicam infanteriam prædaret, ab hominibus Vulfardi abbatis monasterii B. Martini interfectus est.

* Isidorus Pacensis, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 721. "Eudes married his daughter to him in order to stave off the attacks of the Arabs, and win them over to his interests."

† Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 687. "The Bavarians brought Saxons, Alemanni, and Slaves along with them. . . Hunald, crossing the Loire, burnt Chartres. This he did at the suggestion of Ogdoil, with whom he had entered into a defensive alliance against the Franks."

‡ Ibid. In monasterium quod Radis insulâ situm est intravit.

§ Chron. Moissiac. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 68.

and bishops—to whom he transferred almost the whole legislative authority. His reform of the Church through the exertions of St. Boniface, and his innumerable translations of relics, of which he despoiled Italy to enrich France, won for him infinite honour. On solemn occasions of the kind he would himself appear bearing the relics on his shoulders—as he did those of St. Austremon and of St. Germain des Prés*.

ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE. (A.D. 768-9.)

Charles †, Pepin's son and successor, was soon left sole possessor of the empire by the death of his brother Carloman, as Pepin Heristhal had been by the death of Martin, and Pepin-le-Bref by the retirement of the first Carloman. The two brothers had easily stifled the war, which was rekindled in Aquitaine by the aged Hunald, who, emerging from the monastery in which he had immured himself for three-and-twenty years, vainly attempted to avenge his son and liberate his country. He was betrayed by a son of the very brother whom he had deprived of his eyes. 'This unconquerable man, however, even then did not yield, but managed to take refuge in Italy with the king of the Lombards, Didier, to whom his son-in-law, Charles, had contumeliously returned his daughter, and who, by way of reprisal, supported Charles's nephews, and threatened to see them in possession of their rights. The king of the Franks invaded Italy, and laid siege to Pavia and Verona, which offered a lengthened resistance. Hunald had thrown himself into the first-named town, and compelled the inhabitants to hold out until they stoned him ‡. Didier's son fled to Constantinople; and the Lombards could only retain the duchy of Beneventum, that is, the central part of what constitutes the present kingdom of Naples: the sea-ports were in the hands of the Greeks. Charles then took the title of king of the Lombards.

The empire of the Franks was already old and

worn out when it fell into Charlemagne's hands; but then all the surrounding nations were weakened. Neustria was reduced to nothingness, and the Lombards were little better off—divided for some time between Pavia, Milan, and Beneventum, they had never altogether recovered themselves. The Saxons, who, it is to be granted, were truly formidable, were attacked from behind by the Slaves. The unity of the empire of the Saracens was destroyed the very year Pepin came to the throne by the isolation of Spain from Africa; and Spain was herself weakened by the schism that divided the Caliphate, and which left Aquitaine undisturbed on the side of the Pyrenees. Thus two nations remained standing in this general decay of the West; weak indeed, but still less weak than the rest—the Aquitanians and the Austrasian Franks. The last could not fail to gain the upper hand. More united than the Saxons, less fiery and fickle than the Aquitanians, they were better disciplined than both. "The Franks," says M. de Sismondi (t. ii. p. 267), had preserved some of the habits of the Roman militia, in which their ancestors had so long served." They were, indeed, of all the barbarians, the most capable of discipline, and whose character was stamped with the least individuality, the least originality, and the least of the poetic element*. The sixty years of warfare which fill the annals of Pepin and of Charlemagne, exhibit few victories, but regular and periodic ravages. The Franks wore out their enemies rather than subdued them, and by persevering broke down their spirit and elasticity. A defeat—the battle of Roncesvalles, is the most popular reminiscence that remains of these wars. It matters not: conquerors or conquered, they made deserts, and in these deserts they reared some strong place†, and thence pushed on further, for they had already begun to build. The barbarians had journeyed long and far enough. They desired stability; and the world rested, at least, through weariness.

The length, too, of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, was favourable to the fixation of this floating world. To a series of monarchs who die at from fifteen to twenty years of age, there succeed two whose joint reigns fill up close upon a century. (From 741 to 814 A.D.) These had time to build and to found. They collected and brought together the scattered elements of preceding ages. They inherited all; and, at the same time, blotted out the memory of all that had preceded them. It happened to Charlemagne as to Louis XIV.—every thing was dated from the *great reign*; institutions, national glory, all was referred to it. The very tribes that opposed him refer their laws to him; laws coeval, indeed, with the German race itself ‡. In reality, the senility and decrepitude of the barbarian world were favourable to the

* Secunda S. Austremonii Translatio, ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 433. "The king, like king David, forgetful of the regal purple, in his joy bedewed his costly robes with tears, and danced (exultant) before the relics of the blessed martyr, himself even bearing the most sacred limbs on his shoulders. And it was the winter season."—Translat. S. Germani Prætextensis, ibid. 428. . . . mitentes, tam ipse quam optimates ab ipso electi, manus ad ferretum. . . .

† CHARLEMAGNE is commonly said to be the translation of CAROLUS MAGNUS—"Charlemaignes vaut autant comme grant Charles," (Chron. de St. Denys, l. i. c. 4.)—However, Charlemagne is only a corruption of CARLOMAN, KARLMANN, the strong man. In the Chronicles of St. Denys we find Challes and Challemaignes for Charles and Carloman (*maine* being the French corruption of *mann*, as *laine* makes *laine*, &c.). A still more decisive proof occurs in the Chronicle of Theophanes, who calls Carloman, Καρολλόμαγγορ. Ser. R. Fr. v. 187. Both brothers, then, bore the same name.—In the tenth century, Charles the Bald gained the surname of Great through the ignorance of the Latin monks, as his grandfather had done. Epitaph. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 322.

. . . . Nomen qui nomine duxit
De Magni Magnus, de Caroli Carolus.

In the same way the Greeks mistook the name of Elagabalus, of which they would make Heliogabalus, from the Greek Helios, the sun.

‡ Sigeberti Chronic. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 376. Ibi que non multo post lapidibus obrutus male perijt.

* This is very striking in their jurisprudence. They adopt, almost indifferently, most of the symbols—each of which is peculiar to each German tribe. See Grimm, *Alterthümer*, *passim*.

† Fronsac (Francicum or Frontiacum) in Aquitaine (Eginh. Annal. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 201.); and, in Saxony, the town designated in the Chronicles by the name of *Uris Karoli* (Annal. Franc. ibid. p. 14), a fort on the Lippe (p. 29), Ehresburg, etc.

‡ See Jac. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, l. v.

glory of his reign; since as that world expired, all of remaining life rushed in full tide to France as to the heart. Distinguished men from every country flocked to the court of the king of the Franks. Three heads of schools, three reformers in learning or in manners, created a passing movement in it—Clement from Ireland, Alcuin from the Anglo-Saxons, St. Benedict of Aniane from Gothia or Languedoc. Thus each nation paid its tribute; and we may cite, besides these, the Lombard Paul Warnefrid, the Gotho-Italian Theodulf, and the Spaniard Agobart. The fortunate Charlemagne profited by all. Surrounded by these foreign priests who were the light of the Church, and son, nephew, and grandson of bishops and of saints, as well as sure of the pope whom his family had protected against the Greeks and Lombards, he disposed of bishoprics and abbeys, and even gave them to laymen. But he confirmed the institution of tithes*, and freed the Church from secular jurisdiction†. This David and Solomon of the Franks found himself more priest than the priests, and was thus their king.

The wars of Italy, and the fall itself of the kingdom of the Lombards, were only episodes in the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne. The great war of the first was, as we have seen, against the Aquitanians, that of Charles against the Saxons. There is nothing to show that the latter arose, as has

been alleged, from the fear of an invasion. Undoubtedly the Germans were constantly immigrating across the Rhine, and seeking fortune in large numbers in the rich countries of the West. They were so many recruits, for ever strengthening and renewing the armies of the Franks. But as regards the invasion of whole tribes, such as took place in the latter times of the Roman empire, there is no reason to suppose that such a fact accompanied the elevation of the second race, nor that it was threatened with a repetition of the scourge on the accession of Charlemagne.

The real cause of the war was the violent antipathy of the Frank and Saxon races: an antipathy which each day added to in proportion as the Franks became more Roman, and especially since they had been newly organized by the ecclesiastical hand of the Carlovingians. The success of St. Boniface had inspired the latter with hopes, that the missionaries would gradually gain over and subdue Germany for them. But the difference between the two people was too great to allow of their amalgamating. The progress of the Franks in civilization had latterly been too rapid. The men of the *Red land**, as the Saxons proudly styled themselves, dispersed, according to the free bent of their character, over their *marches*, in the deep glades of those forests, where the squirrel could bound from tree to tree for seven leagues without descending, and neither knowing nor desiring any other barrier than the vague limits of their *gau*,—held in horror the boundaries and *mansi*† of Charlemagne. The Scandinavians and Lombards, like the Romans, divided their lands with due regard to the set of the east. But there is no trace of such a custom in Germany. Territorial divisions, censuses, and all the instruments of order, government, and tyranny were feared by the Saxons. Divided by the Asi themselves into three people and twelve tribes, they sought no other division. Their *marches* were not altogether wastes. *Town* and *prairie* are synonymous in the old languages of the north‡; the prairie was their city. The stranger passing through the *march* was not to ride upon his plough; he was to respect the land and turn up the share.

These fierce and free tribes were all the more attached to their old beliefs, by the hatred and jealousy with which the Franks inspired them. The missionaries that the latter would weary them with, had the imprudence to threaten them with the arms of the great empire§; and St. Libuin, who uttered the menace, would have been torn in pieces, but for the interference of the Saxon elders. This, however, did not hinder the young men from burning down the church, built by the Franks at Dauterle||. Perhaps glad of the excuse to expe-

* Capitular. ann. 779, c. 7. "Of tithes—each must give his tenth to be disposed of as the pontiff (other readings say, "as the bishop") wills."—Capitulatio de Saxon. ann. 791, c. 16. . . . "Whatever taxes be paid into the treasury . . . let the tenth be given to the churches and the priests." C. 17. "All are to give a tenth of their substance and labour, as well nobles as freemen, and the leuds as well."—See, also, Capitular. Francoford. ann. 794, c. 23.—As early as the year 567, we find mention of tithes in a pastoral letter of the bishops of Touraine. They are the subject of express enactment in a Constitution of Clotaire's, and in the Acts of the Council of Maçon, held in 588. Ducange, ii. 1384, v. DECIMÆ.

(Dean Waddington in his History of the Church (p. 231) says, with respect to the quotation from Charlemagne's Capitulary given above, namely—"That every one should give his tenth, and that it should be disposed of according to the orders of his bishop."—"This must be understood with some limitation, since the tripartite division of tithes seems to be properly ascribed to Charlemagne; that of one share for the bishop and clergy; a second for the poor; a third for the fabric of the Church. It seems uncertain what part of these was at first intended for the maintenance of a resident clergy. Parochial divisions, such as they now exist, were still not very common, though they may be traced to the endowment of churches by individuals as early as the time of Justinian. The rural churches were, in the first instance, chapels dependent on the neighbouring cathedral, and were served by itinerant ministers of the bishop's appointment. It was some time before any of them obtained the privileges of baptism and burial; but these were indeed accompanied by a fixed share of the tithes, and appear to have been in each case the independence of the Church and the residence of a minister.") TRANSLATOR.

† Capitular. add. ad leg. Langob. ann. 801, c. 1. "It is our pleasure that neither abbots, nor presbyters, nor deacons, nor subdeacons, nor any priest whatsoever, be brought before the public and secular tribunals, but be delivered for trial to their bishops." Cf. Capitular. Aquigr. ann. 789, c. 37.—Capitular. Francoford. ann. 794, c. 4. "Our lord the king and the holy synod decree, that the bishops are to execute justice in their parishes. . . . Our counts also must attend the tribunal of the bishops."

• See Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer.

† Id. p. 536.

‡ Id. p. 518.

§ S. Libuin Vita apud Pagi, Crit. 772, § 5.—Sismondi, ii. 284.

|| Ibid.—They attempted to burn down a church which St. Boniface had built at Fritzlar, in Hesse. But when he built it, the saint had prophesied that it would never be destroyed by fire. Two angels, clad in white, descended to protect it; and a Saxon, who had knelt down to blow the fire was found dead in the same attitude, and with his cheeks still puffed out. Annales de Fulde, ap. f. r. R. Fr. v. 328.

dite by force of arms the conversion of their barbarous neighbours, the Franks marched straight against the principal sanctuary of the Saxons, where was their chief idol, and with which were connected the dearest remembrances of Germany—the Herman-sail*, a mysterious symbol, in which might be seen the image of the world or of one's country, of a god or of a hero. This statue, armed *cap-à-pie*, bore in its left hand a balance, in its right a flag, on which figured the rose; on its buckler a lion, lording it over the other animals, and at its feet a field sown with flowers. All the spots in the vicinity were consecrated by the remembrance of the first and great victory of the Germans over the empire†.

If the Franks had borne in mind their German origin, they would have respected this sacred spot. They violated it, and dashed in pieces the national symbol. A miracle sanctified this easy victory. A spring of water gushed out on purpose to refresh the soldiers of Charlemagne‡. The Saxons, surprised in their forests, gave a dozen hostages—one, each tribe. But they soon thought better of the matter, and ravaged Hesse. It would be wrong from this and numerous facts of the same kind, to charge the Saxons with perfidy. Independently of the instability of purpose peculiar to barbarians, the probability is, that those who submitted to the law of the conqueror, were generally that part of the population which was fixed to the soil by its weakness—the women and aged men. The young, flying into the marshes and mountains in the northern cantons, would return and renew the war. They were only to be kept under by dwelling in the midst of them. Therefore, Charles took up his residence on the Rhine, at Aix-la-Chapelle, to whose hot baths he was also partial, and built and fortified in Saxony itself the castle of Chresburg§.

The year following (A. D. 775), he crossed the Weser; when the Saxon Angarians submitted to him, as did part of the Westphalians. He devoted the winter to chastising the Lombard dukes, who had recalled Didier's son. The ensuing spring, the assembly or council of Worms took a solemn oath to prosecute the war until the Saxons should be converted. Under the Carolingians the bishops are known to have taken the lead in these assemblies. Charles penetrated as far as the sources of

the Lippe, and built a fort there*. The Saxons appeared to give way. All of them who abided in their settlements, suffered themselves to be baptized without difficulty; and, indeed, this ceremony, of which, undoubtedly, they hardly understood the meaning, never seems to have inspired the barbarians with any particular repugnance. More proud than fanatical, they, perhaps, prized their religion much less than their resistance would lead us to conclude. In the reign of Louis the Debonnaire (the Meek), the Northmen flocked in crowds to be baptized, the only difficulty being to find white dresses enough for the proselytes; some of whom would be baptized three times in order to gain three dresses†.

Thus, whilst Charlemagne supposes his work finished, and is baptizing the Saxons by thousands at Paderborn, Witikind, the leader of the Westphalians, returns with his warriors who had taken refuge in the north, and even with Northmen who then, for the first time, meet the Franks. Defeated in Hesse, he withdraws into his forests, and retires among the Danes—but soon to re-appear.

This was in the very year 778, when the arms of Charlemagne received so memorable a check at Roncesvalles. The weakness of the Saracens, the friendship of the petty Christian kings, and the prayers of the revolted emirs of the north of Spain, had favoured the progress of the Franks, who had pushed as far as the Ebro, and had erected their encampments in Spain into a new province, under the names of the March of Gascony and March of Gothia. On the east, they were completely successful, being supported by the Goths: but, on the west, the Basques, Hunald's and Guaifer's old soldiers, and the kings of Navarre and the Asturias, who saw Charlemagne taking possession of the country, and securing all the forts in the hands of the Franks, took up arms under Lope, Guaifer's son‡. The Franks being attacked by these mountaineers on their return, sustained a considerable loss in those difficult *ports*, those gigantic ladders, only to be scaled in single file, either on foot or on a mule's back, where the rocks tower above, and seem ever on the point of crushing the violators of this solemn limit of the two worlds§.

The defeat of Roncesvalles is said only to have been a rear-guard affair. However, Eginhard confesses that the Franks lost many men in it, with several of their most distinguished chiefs, and, among them,

* A column or statue of Germany, or of Arminius.

† Stapfer. art. Arminius in the Biographie Universelle. "The neighbourhood of Dethmold is still full of the recollection of this memorable event. The field at the foot of the Teutberg is still called Winfeld, or Victory Field, and is crossed by the Rodenbeck or Stream of Blood, and the Knochenback or Stream of Bones—recalling the bones found six years after the defeat of Varus by the soldiers of Germanicus. Close by, is Feldrom, the Field of the Romans; a little further, near Pymont, is Herminsberg, or the Hill of Arminius, crowned by the ruins of a castle, called Harminsburg. On the borders of the Weser, in the same county of Lippe, is Varenholz, the wood of Varus."

‡ Eginhard, Annal. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 201. "E diutius siti confectus laboraret exercitus, divinitus factum creditur ut quadam die, cum juxta morem tempore meridiano cuncti quiescerent, prope montem qui castris erat contiguus tanta vis aquarum in concavitate ejusdem torrentis eruperit, ut exercitui cuncto sufficeret.—Poetæ Saxonicæ Annal. l. i.

§ Annal. Franc. ibid. 27.—Reedificavit ipsum castellum, et basilicam ibidem construxit. Annal. Fuld. ibid. 328. Eresburgum reedificat

* Annal. Franc. ibid 29. Et fecit castellum super fluvium Lyppia.

† On one occasion that some Northmen were being baptized, there was a deficiency of linen dresses, and an indifferently made shirt was given to one of them. Looking at it for some time with great indignation, he said to the emperor—"I have been washed here twenty times, and have always had given me fine linen, white as snow! Is a sack like this fit for a warrior or a swineherd? Were I not ashamed to go naked, having now no dress of my own and spurning yours, I would turn my back upon your cloak and your Christ." Monachus, S. Galli, l. ii. c. 29, ap. Ser. H. Fr. v. 134.—The Avars, Charlemagne's allies, perceiving that he feasted their Christian countrymen in the hall, whilst the rest eat at the door, received baptism in numbers in order to have a seat at the imperial table as well. Pagi Critica, ad ann. 304.

‡ Sismondi confounds him with Lope, a son of Hatto's, p. 261.

§ See book the third of this History.

he famous Roland. It may be that the Saracens took a share in the engagement, and that the defeat began by them on the Ebro, was finished by the Basques in the mountains. The name of the famous Roland receives no other explanation from Eginhard than is contained in the words—*Rolandus præfectus Britannici limitis** (Roland, Prefect of the Bretagne March.) The immense breach that opens the Pyrenees under the towers of Marboré, whence a keen sight could descry at will, Toulouse or Saragossa, is, as is well known, only a stroke of Roland's sword. His horn was long preserved at Blaye, on the Garonne; that horn on which, according to the poet, he blew so furious a blast,—when, having broken his good sword Durandal, he summoned the heedless Charlemagne, and the traitor, Ganelon of Mentz,—that he burst the veins of his neck. The traitor, in this eminently national poem, is a German.

The following year (779) was still more glorious for the king of the Franks. He invaded the Saxons, who were again in arms, and finding them concentrated on Buckholz, fell upon them and defeated them there. Resting on the Elbe, the boundary between the Saxons and the Slaves, he busied himself in settling the country which he fancied he had conquered. Again receiving the oaths of the Saxons at Ohrheim, he had them baptized by thousands, and charged the abbot of Fulda to establish a regular system of conversion, of religious conquest†. An army of priests succeeded his army of soldiers. The whole land, say the Chronicles, was partitioned out between the abbots and the bishops‡. Eight large and powerful bishoprics were created in succession—Minden, Halberstadt, Verden, Bremen, Munster, Hildesheim, Osnaburgh, and Paderborn (A. D. 780—802)—foundations at once ecclesiastical and military,

* Eginhard, Vita Karoli, ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 93.—See also Eginhard, Annal. ibid. 203.—Poet. Sax. l. i. ibid. 113.—Chroniques de St. Denys, l. i. c. 6.—No mention is made of this defeat in the other Chronicles.—On the Carolingian poems, see the Cours of M. Fauriel, and the excellent thesis of M. Morin (*sur le Roman de Roncevaux*, 1832), professor at the Faculty of Toulouse.

† He took fifteen of the noblest of them as hostages, and placed them in the keeping of Vulfar, archbishop of Reims, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence, and who had previously filled the office of missus dominicus (royal commissioner) in Champagne. Frodoard. Hist. Remens. l. ii. c. 18.—The biographer of Louis-le-Debonnaire states that the wise and able Charles managed to make the bishops his staunch adherents. He established throughout Aquitaine counts and abbots, and many others—who are called *Vassi*—all of Frankish race, entrusting to them the care of the kingdom, the defence of the frontiers, and the government of the royal farms.† Astro- nom. Vita Ludov. Pil. c. 3, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 88. Here we see the abbots discharging military functions. Charlemagne summons a Saxon abbot to come with well-armed men and victuals for three months. Caroli M. epist. 24, ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 633.

‡ Vita S. Sturmii, Abbat. Fuld. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 447. Karolus . . . assumptis universis sacerdotibus, abbatibus, presbyteris . . . totam illam provinciam in parochias episcopales divisit . . . Tunc pars maxima beato Sturmio populi et terræ illius ad procurandum committitur. Annal. Franc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 26. Divisitque ipsam patriam inter presbyteros et episcopos suos et abbates, ut in eis baptizarent et prædicarent.—Item Chron. Moissiac. ibid. 71.

where the most docile of the chiefs will take the title of counts to execute against their brothers the orders of the bishops. Tribunals instituted throughout the country will pursue backsliders, and severely teach them the gravity of the vows so often taken and violated; and to these tribunals has been ascribed the origin of the famous Weimic courts, which in reality only date from between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries*. We have already seen the willingness of the German nations to refer their institutions to Charlemagne; and, perhaps, the terrible secrecy of these proceedings may have vaguely recalled to men's minds the inquisitorial proceedings enforced in former days against their ancestors by the priests of Charlemagne's day. Or, if it still be contended that the Weimic courts are a remains of ancient German institutions, the probability is that these tribunals of freemen, who struck in the dark a culprit stronger than the law, were first established for the punishment of traitors who passed over to the foreigner, forsaking their country and their gods, and who, under his protection, braved the ancient laws of their country. But they did not brave the arrow which whistled in their ears from unseemly hands; and more than one turned pale in the morning when he saw nailed to his door the funeral sign that summoned him to appear before the invisible tribunal.

Whilst the priests reign, convert, and judge, and securely pursue their murderous education of the barbarians, Witikind (A. D. 782) again swoops down from the north to destroy their work. The Saxons crowd round him, defeat Charlemagne's lieutenants near Sonnehal (the Valley of the Sun), and, when the slow moving masses of the Frankish army come up, disperse as quickly as they had drawn together. Four thousand five hundred of them remained, who probably having their families to provide for, could not follow Witikind in his rapid retreat. The king of the Franks burnt and destroyed all before him until they were given up; and his counsellors, being churchmen, imbued with notions derived from the Roman form of administration, and constituting a government at once of priests and jurists, coldly cruel, and uninformed by any touch of generosity or knowledge of the barbarian character—saw in these captive Saxons so many criminals guilty of high treason, and judged them by the letter of the law. They were all beheaded in one day at Verden†. Their countrymen, who endeavoured to avenge them, were themselves defeated and massacred at Dethmold and near Osnaburgh. The conquerors, whose operations were often suspended in this humid region by rains, inundations, and the impossibility of forcing a way from the depth of the mud, determined to prosecute the war through the winter; and the forests stripped of their leaves, and the marshes frozen over, no longer screening the fugitives—each isolated in his hut, with his wife and children, falls the prey of the soldiery, like the deer crouching in its lair over the tender hind.

* Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer.

† Eginh. ann. v. 206. Cæterorum, qui persuasioni ejus Witikindi morem gerentes, tantum facinus peregrinæ, usque ad mmmmd traditi, jussu regis omnes unæ decollati sunt. Hujusmodi vindictâ perpetrata, rex in hiberna concessit.—Annal Fuld. p. 329. Annal. Met. p. 344.

Saxony remained undisturbed for eight years—Witthind having surrendered; but, nevertheless, the Franks were not left tranquil, the nations dependent on them being anything but resigned. Nay, the Thuringians drew the sword in the very palace against the Franks, who, on the occasion of the marriage of one of their chiefs, sought to subject them to the Salic law*. For this, and other causes with which we are unacquainted, a conspiracy was formed against Charlemagne by the nobles; who were, besides, excessively irritated by the pride and cruelty of his young wife Fastrade †, to whom a husband of fifty could refuse nothing. On the discovery of the plot, the conspirators were so far from seeking to deny it, that one of them audaciously exclaimed, "Had my counsel been taken, thou wouldst never have passed the Rhine alive." The only punishment imposed upon them by the easy-mannered monarch, was to order them to undertake distant pilgrimages to tombs of the saints—but he had every one of them murdered on his journey ‡. Some years after this, a natural son of Charlemagne's joined in a conspiracy with some nobles to dethrone his father §.

Abroad, too, the tributary princes conspired. The Bavarians and Lombards were almost one and the same people, the first having long given kings to the second. Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, had married a daughter of Didier's—sister to that wife whom Charlemagne had ignominiously sent back to her father; and, by this connexion, had become brother-in-law of the Lombard duke of Beneventum. The latter was on friendly terms with the Greeks, who were masters of the sea, and Tassilo called in the Slaves and Avars. Some movements at the same time among the Bretons and Saracens gave them additional hope ||. But Tassilo was surrounded by three armies; and, on his surrendering himself, was cited as a common criminal before the assembly of Ingelheim, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was finally forced to submit to the torture, and shut up in the monastery of Jumieges. Bavaria lost her independence as a nation, as did the kingdom of the Lombards—with the exception of the mountain duchy of Beneventum, which Charlemagne was never able to subdue, but which he weakened and disturbed by raising a rival to Didier's son, whom the Greeks had brought back.

Charlemagne thus had one more tributary, and one more war. It was the same in Germany. For, as he advanced to the Elbe, and being thus in presence of the Slaves, he found himself con-

strained to interfere in their quarrels, and to second the Abodrites against the Wiltzi (or Weletabi). The Slaves placed hostages in his hands; and the empire, always extending its limits, but always growing weaker, appears to have gained the whole of the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

Between the Slaves settled on the Baltic and those on the Adriatic, and beyond Bavaria, which, as we have just seen, had become a mere province, Charlemagne encountered the Avars, whose indefatigable cavalry, intrenched in the marshes of Hungary, swept thence at pleasure upon the Slaves and the Greek empire. Every winter, says the historian, they used to go and lie with the wives of the Slaves. Their camp, or *ring*, was a huge village of wood, covering a whole province, and encircled by hedges of trees with their branches interlaced. Here was amassed the plunder of centuries, the spoils of the Byzantines—a strange heap of the most brilliant objects, and, at the same time, the most useless to barbarians; a fantastical museum of robberies. According to an old soldier of Charlemagne's, this camp must have been twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference*, like the eastern cities, like Nineveh or Babylon. Such is the Tartar habit—the people collected into one camp, whilst part are scattered over desert pastures. The visitor of the chagan of the Turks in the sixteenth century, found the barbarian sitting on a golden throne in the midst of the desert. The chagan of the Avars, in his wooden village, rested on beds of massive gold, which he forced from the weakness of the emperors of Constantinople †.

These barbarians, now neighbours of the Franks, sought to exact tribute from them as they had done from the Greeks. Charlemagne attacked them with three separate armies, and advancing as far as the Raab, burnt the few habitations he met with; but what did the burning of these huts signify to the Avars? Charlemagne's cavalry was worn out in seeking through this desert region an invisible enemy, encountering in his stead marshy plains, bogs, and overflowing rivers; amongst which the Frank army lost all its horses ‡.

We say the Frank army: but the Frank nation is like Theseus' ship, for, renewed piece by piece, scarcely anything remains of its original self. Charlemagne's armies were recruited in Frisia and in Saxony quite as much as in Austrasia, and it was these nations which really suffered from the losses sustained by the Franks. They had not only to bear the yoke of the clergy, but, what was intolerable to these barbarians, were forced to forsake the dress, manners, and language of their fathers, to

* Secundum legem Francorum. Annal. Nazar. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 11.

† Eginh. Kar. M. c. 20, ibid. 97. *Id est, coniurationum Fastrade crudelitas causa et origo exarsit; et ideo in anhabus (coniurationibus) contra regem conspiratum est, quia uxoris crudelitati consentiens a suae naturae benignitate ac solita mansuetudine immaniter exorbitasse videbatur.*—Eginh. Annal. ibid. 210. "Charlemagne's eldest son, Pepin, and certain Franks conspired against him, alleging that they could not endure the cruelty of queen Fastrade Fardolph, a Lombard, having detected the plot, was rewarded with the monastery of St. Denys.

‡ Annal. Nazar. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 12.

§ Annal. Franc. ibid. 65. Filius regis Pippinus, ex concubina Himildrudâ, cum aliquibus comitibus Francorum consiliatur

|| Eginh. Kar. M. c. 10. Domuit (ann. 785) et Brittones qui dicto audientes non erant.

* Monach. S. Galli, l. ii. c. 2. "The country of the Huns was encircled by nine circles. One circle was as wide as is the distance between Tours and Constance. The streets and houses were so far apart, that a shout could hardly be heard from one to the other. Over against these buildings, and between these impregnable inclosures, gates of no great width were constructed. Likewise from the second circle, formed like the first, it was twenty German, which are equal to forty Italian miles, to the third—and so on to the ninth, only each circle being much smaller than the one before it. They had heaped up in these fortifications for two hundred years and more, riches of every kind from all the western countries, almost stripping the whole west."

† Exc. Menapri, p. 106—164. Theophilact. lib. ii. c. 16, 17.—Gibbon, ch. 42. 46.

‡ Poet. Sax. lib. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 155.

bury themselves in the battalions of the Franks, their enemies, and to conquer and die for them. And they seldom saw their country again, being sent three or four hundred leagues off against the Spanish Moors, or the Lombards of Beneventum. Death being their fate, the Saxons preferred facing it in their own land. They massacred Charlemagne's lieutenants, burnt the churches, expelled or slaughtered the priests, and returned enthusiastically to the worship of their old gods. They made common cause with the Avars, instead of furnishing an army against them. The same year, the army of the caliph Hixém, finding Aquitaine drained of its garrisons, passed the Ebro, crossed the *marches* and the Pyrenees, burnt the faubourgs of Narbonne, defeated with great slaughter the troops drawn together by William (au Court-Nez) count of Toulouse and regent of Aquitaine, and then withdrew into Spain, carrying off with them a whole nation of prisoners, and laden with rich spoils with which the caliph adorned the magnificent mosque of Cordova*. The world was in arms against Charlemagne, and even nature herself. When he received this disastrous news he was in Suabia, hurrying on the works of a canal which was designed to connect the Rhine with the Danube, and which, in case of invasion, would have facilitated the defence of the empire. But the humidity of the ground and the constant rains prevented its being carried into execution†; and so with the great bridge of Mentz, which was to have secured the communication between France and Germany, and was burnt down by the boatmen on either side of the river.

Notwithstanding these various reverses, Charlemagne soon resumed the ascendant over enemies at such distant points from each other. He determined to unpope Saxony, since he could not subdue it. Encamping on the Weser, and, perhaps, by way of convincing the Saxons that he would not relax his hold on them, calling his camp Heerstall, after the name of the patrimonial castle of the Carolingians on the Meuse, he thence carried his inroads on every side, and forced, from more than one canton, as many as a third of the inhabitants to be delivered up to him. These flocks of captives were then driven southwards and

westwards, and settled in strange lands, in the midst of Christian and hostile populations, and speaking a different tongue. In like manner, the Babylonian and Persian monarchs had transported the Jews to the Tigris, and the people of Chalcis to the shores of the Persian gulf; and so had Probus transported colonies of Franks and Frisians as far as the shores of the Euxine sea.

At the same time, a son of Charlemagne's, taking advantage of a civil war among the Avars, invaded them on the south with an army of Bavarians and Lombards. He crossed the Danube and the Theiss, and at length laid his hands on that precious *ring*, in whose enclosure slumbered such vast riches. So great was the booty, says the annalist, the Franks were poor in comparison with what they became from that moment. It would seem as if this hoarding race had lost its life with the gold over which it brooded—like the dragon of Scandinavian poetry, for it at once fell into a state of pitiable weakness. Its chagan turned Christian; and they who remained Pagans, were constrained to eat out of wooden platters along with the dogs, at the gates of the bishops sent to convert them*. Some years afterwards, they humbly sought from Charlemagne refuge in Bavaria, alleging their inability to make head against the Slaves, whom they formerly had the upper hand of.

Now, at last, Charlemagne began to hope that he should enjoy some rest. To judge by the extent of his dominion, if not by his real strength, he must have been the most powerful monarch at this time on the face of the globe. Why then should he not accomplish what Theodoric had been unable to effect—the resurrection of the Roman empire? Such seems to have been the thought of the priestly counsellors by whom he was surrounded. In the year 800, Charlemagne repairs to Rome, under the pretext of re-establishing the pope, who had been driven from the pontifical city†. On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, whilst Charlemagne is absorbed in prayer, the pope places on his head the imperial crown, and proclaims him Augustus. The emperor is astonished, and regrets the imposition of a burthen beyond his strength‡—a puerile hypocrisy which he belies by adopting the titles and ceremonies of the court of Byzantium. For the perfect restoration of the empire, one thing more was necessary—to marry the aged Charlemagne to the aged Irene, who reigned at Constan-

* Chronic. Moissiac. v. 74.—Hist du Languedoc, l. ix. c. 26.—Conde, Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne (translated from the Arabic into Spanish), t. ii. of the French translation, p. 264.

† Eginh. Annal. ad ann. 793. "The king had been persuaded, that by forming between the Rednitz and the Altmul a canal large enough for vessels, navigation might easily be carried on between the Rhine and the Danube, one of these rivers falling into the Danube and the other into the Mein. Charlemagne immediately repaired to this district with the whole of his court, and collected an immense number of labourers whom he kept at work the whole of the autumn. They dug about two thousand paces of the canal, with a width of three hundred yards, but unsuccessfully. The work came to nothing, owing to the marshy nature of the soil, which was rendered worse, too, by continual rains, so that whatever earth was dug out in the day time, its place was sure to be filled up by an equal quantity in the night. Whilst engaged in this undertaking two very unpleasant pieces of news were brought to him; first, that the Saxons were everywhere up in arms; secondly, that the Saracens had invaded Septimania, encountered the counts and guards of that frontier, slain numbers of the Franks, and returned home in triumph."

* Pagi Critica, ad ann. 804, p. 238.—Sismondi, ii. 403.

† He likewise entertained a warm regard for Leo, pope Adrian's predecessor. "On the news of Adrian's death," says Eginhard (Vita Kar. M. c. 19), "whom he esteemed his dearest friend, he wept as if he had lost a brother or beloved son."—Id c. 17. "Nor, throughout his reign, did he cherish any thought more warmly than the idea of restoring Rome to her ancient influence by his instrumentality."—"He went four times to Rome for the fulfilment of vows, and to perform prayers there."—See Adrian's letter to Charlemagne (Scr. R. Fr. v. 403. 544—545, 546, &c.)

‡ Eginh. Annal. p. 215. Coram altari, ubi ad orationem se inclinaverat, Leo papa coronam capit ejus imposuit.—See the passage (Eginh. Vita. Kar. M. ibid. 100), freely rendered by Gibbon, "In his familiar conversation, the emperor protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed by his absence on that memorable day."

tinople, after murdering her son. So thought the pope*, but not so Irene, who took good care not to accept of a master†.

A crowd of petty kings adorned the court of the king of the Franks, and aided him in keeping up this weak and pale representation of the empire. The young Egbert, king of Sussex, and Eardulf, king of Northumberland, came to form themselves in the polished school of the Franks‡. Both were re-established in their dominions by Charlemagne. Lope, duke of the Basques, was also brought up in his court. The Christian kings and emirs of Spain followed him even to the forests of Bavaria, to implore his assistance against the caliph of Cordova. Alphonso, king of Galicia, displayed the rich hangings which he had taken in the sack of Lisbon, and offered them to the emperor. The Edrisites of Fez also sent him an embassy; but no embassy was so brilliant as that of Haroun Alraschid, caliph of Bagdad, who thought it expedient to entertain relations with the enemy of his enemy, the schismatic caliph of Spain. Among other things, he is said to have offered Charlemagne the keys of the holy sepulchre—a very honourable present, which it is certain the king of the Franks could not abuse; and it was reported that the chief of the infidels had transferred to him the sovereignty of Jerusalem. A clock that struck the hours, an ape, and an elephant, were presents which struck the people of the West§ with astonishment; and it depends on ourselves to believe that the gigantic horn still shown at Aix-la-Chapelle, is one of this self-same elephant's teeth.

To know Charlemagne, we must see him in his palace of Aix||. This restorer of the empire of

* Chronogr. Theophanis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 189. "Ἐφθασιν δ' οἱ ἀποσταλέντες παρὰ Καροῦλλου Ἀποκρίσάριοι καὶ τοῦ Πάπα Ἀλέντος πρὸς τὴν Ἐρήνην, αὐτοῖσι μὲν ἔχοντες αὐτὴν τῷ Καροῦλλῳ πρὸς γάμον.

† A Greek proverb said—"Choose the Frank for your friend, but not your neighbour." Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 16.

‡ Eginh. Annal. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 57. "The king of Northumberland, in the isle of Britain, Eardulf by name, being driven out of his country and kingdom, sought the emperor, then at Nimegen; and, having explained the reason of his journey, repaired to Rome; on his return from which city he was restored to his kingdom, by the mediation of the legates of the Roman pontiff, and of the emperor."

§ "The poet's figurative expression to denote an impossibility—

'Aut Ararim Parthus bibet, aut Germania Tigrim.'

(The Persian shall as soon drink of the Arar, the German of the Tigris.)

—became at this time a literal truth," says the monk of St. Gall, "through Charles's relations with Haroun. For proof hereof I call all Germany as witness, which, in the time of your glorious father, Louis (the writer is addressing Charles the Bald), was held to pay a denier for every head of oven, and the same for every manse dependent on the royal domain,—towards the redemption of the Christians in the Holy Land; who, in their misery, implored your father to deliver them, as having been subjects of your great-grandfather Charles, and of your grandfather Louis." Monach. Sangall. l. ii. c. 14.

|| He built his palace at Aix, we are told by Eginhard, on account of its hot springs. "He delighted in their genial warmth, and frequently bathed in them, inviting the great of his court, his friends, and his guards, so that at times there would be more than a hundred persons bathing along with him." Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 22.—He used to pass the autumn in hunting; §. 30.

the West had despoiled Ravenna of her most precious marbles in order to adorn his barbarian Rome. Actively busied even when taking his leisure, he prosecuted his studies there under Peter of Pisa and the Saxon Alcuin, applying himself to grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy. He also acquired the art of writing—a rare accomplishment in those days*. He piqued himself on his choral singing, and was unsparing in his animadversions on those priests who were deficient in this part of the service†. He even found time to watch who went in and who went out of the palace‡; and for

* Eginh. in Karol. M. c. 25. "He studied grammar with the deacon Peter, of Pisa. His instructor in his other studies, was Albinus, surnamed Alcuin, also a deacon, born in Britain and of Saxon race, a man of universal knowledge, and under whose guidance he devoted much time and labour to rhetoric and logic, and, particularly to astronomy. He also learnt the art of calculation, and studied the courses of the stars with curious and eager sagacity. He also attempted to acquire writing; and it was his custom to keep tablets under his pillow, that he might seize every opportunity of practising the formation of letters, but having begun late in life, he made no great progress."—"In the concluding years of his life, his chief occupations were prayers, almsgiving, and the correction of books. The day before his death, he had carefully corrected, with the assistance of some Greeks and Syrians, the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John." Plegan, de Gestis Ludov. Pil. c. 7, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 76.—He sent "to his best friend," pope Adrian, a psalter in Latin, written in letters of gold, and with a dedication in verse. (Eginh. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 402.) He was buried with the gospel, written in letters of gold, in his hand. (Monach. Engolism. in Kar. M. ibid. 186.)

† Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 26. "He carried the reading and chanting of the Scriptures to perfection, although he never himself read in public, and sang only in an under tone together with the choir."—Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 7. "It was never necessary in the basilica of the learned Charles to point out to each the passage which he had to read, or to mark where he had to leave off with wax or one's nail—for he knew so well what they had to read, that if told to begin suddenly and without preparation, they were never at fault. The emperor would lift his finger or a stick (or would send some one to the priests, who were seated some distance from him), and point out the one he wished to begin. He would mark where he himself intended to leave off by a guttural sound, which all were accustomed to look at anxiously for, so that whether he ended at the close of a meaning, or at the pause in the midst of a sentence, or even before, no one took it up at any other than the exact spot where he left off, however strange beginning there might appear. So that, although there might be some who did not understand what they read, nowhere were better readers to be found than in his palace, and no one durst enter his choir (however known elsewhere) who could not both read and sing well."—C. 21. "On the occasion of a certain festival, a young man, a relative of the king's, singing the Alleluia excellently, the king observed to a bishop near him, 'Our priest sings well!' when the foolish man, thinking the king was joking, and not aware that the priest was his relation, replied—'It's like our boors singing to their oxen.' At which impertinent answer the emperor darted such a withering look at him that he was as if thunderstruck."

‡ Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 32. Quæ (mansiones) ita circa palatium peritissimè Caroli ejus dispositione constructæ sunt, ut ipse per cancellos solarii sui cuncta possit videre, quæcumque ab intrantibus vel exeuntibus quasi latenter ferent. The monk goes on to say—"the apartments of the nobles were raised to such a height from the ground, that not only the soldiers, and their servants, but all classes could shelter themselves from rain, frost, or snow by the side of the hearths, and at the same time, Charles's searching eyes could descry all that was going on."

his convenience in this respect, he caused lattices to be made in its upper galleries. He regularly rose a-nights for matins*. Tall, with a round head, full neck, long nose, rather prominent belly, and a clear but small voice†—so Charlemagne is drawn by his historian and contemporary. On the contrary, his wife Hildegard had a strong voice; and Fastrade, whom he afterwards married, ruled him with manly influence. However, he had many mistresses, and married five times; but, on the death of his fifth wife, he did not marry again, but selected four concubines, with whom he thenceforward contented himself‡. The Solomon of the Franks had six sons and eight daughters—the latter very beautiful and very frail. It is stated that he was exceedingly attached to them, and never wished them to marry, and he delighted in seeing them parade behind him in his wars and journeys§.

The literary and religious glory of Charlemagne's reign is derived, as has been already remarked, from three foreigners. Alcuin, the Saxon, and Clement, the Scot, founded the Palatine school, which was the model of all succeeding ones. Benedict of Aniane, the Goth, and son of the count of Maguelone||, reformed the religious houses, and did away with the differences introduced by St. Columbanus and the Irish missionaries of the seventh century. He imposed the rule of St. Benedict on all the monks of the empire; but how far this peddling and pedantic reform fell short of the original institution, has been excellently shown by M. Guizot¶. No less pedantic

and fruitless was the attempt at literary reform, in which Alcuin was the prime mover. We know that Charlemagne and his principal counsellors formed themselves into a kind of academy, in which he took his place as king David, the rest assuming different names as well, as Homer, Horace, &c. Notwithstanding this pompous nomenclature, a few poems of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, a Gotho-Italian, and some letters of Leidrad's, archbishop of Lyons, are all that is left of their efforts worthy attention. The wish and the endeavour to re-establish uniformity of instruction throughout the empire, remain to deserve our praise. Charlemagne encountered great difficulties in the mere attempt to bring into uniform use the Latin liturgy and the Gregorian chant; and with so many different nations and languages to deal with, despite all his efforts the grossest differences constantly prevailed*. Drogo, the emperor's brother, presided himself over the school of Metz.

With this turn for literature and Roman reminiscences, it is not surprising that Charlemagne and his son Louis loved to surround themselves with strangers, and literary men of mean extraction. It happened that together with some Breton merchants, two Irish Scots†, men of incomparable skill in literature, both profane and sacred, landed on the coast of Gaul. They displayed no merchandise for sale, but daily exhorted the crowd of purchasers on this wise—'Whoever desires wisdom, let him come to us and receive it, we have it to sell.' . . . This they continued so long, that the people in their astonishment, or else concluding them to be madmen, conveyed information of the circumstance to king Charles, always a passionate lover of wisdom. He sent for them with all haste, and asked them if it were true, as fame had reported to him, that they had wisdom with them? They replied, 'We have it, and we give it, in the name of the Lord, to those who seek it worthily.' And, on his asking what they sought in return, they said—'A convenient place, rational creatures, and—what cannot be done without in this earthly pilgrimage—food and raiment.' Filled with joy, the king at first kept them some time with him. Then, being compelled to undertake certain military expeditions, he ordered one of them, named Clement, to remain in Gaul, and entrusted to him a number of children of all ranks of society, high, low, and of the middle class, and found them in such things as were necessary, as well as provided them with a comfortable abode. The other, John Mailros (Melrose †) a disciple of Bede's, he sent into Italy, giving him St. Augustin's monastery, near Pavia, that he might open a school there.—On hearing of these things, Albinus, of the nation of the Angles, one of the learned Bede's disciples, seeing the warm reception given to wise men by Charles, the most

* Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 26. 'He was a diligent attendant at church, morning and evening, and in the night, and at mass, as long as his health allowed.'—Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 33. 'The most glorious Charles had a long and wide cloak to wrap himself up in for the nightly lauds.'—In Lent he used to fast till the eighth hour of the day.

† Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 22. 'He was of large and stout frame, of a just and not disproportionate height, round-headed, with very large and quick eyes, his nose a little exceeding a moderate size, his neck thick and short, his belly rather protuberant, his voice clear, but not consonant to his stature.—He hated physicians, because they tried to persuade him to discontinue the use of roast meats, to which he was accustomed, and to habituate himself to boiled.'—We may allow the Chronicles of St. Denys, written so long afterwards, to relate how he split a knight in two with one stroke of his sword, and could carry a man, fully accoutred, and standing upright, in his hand. The emperor has been proportioned to the empire; and it has been concluded that he who reigned from the Elbe to the Ebro must needs have been a giant.

‡ Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 18. Post cujus (Luitgardis) mortem, quatuor habuit concubinas.

§ Id. ibid. c. 19. . . . Nunquam iter sine illis faceret. Adequitabant ei filii, filiae vero pone sequebantur. . . . Que cum pulcherrimæ essent et ab eo plurimum diligerentur, mirum dictu quod nullam earum cuiquam aut suorum aut exterorum nuptum dare voluit. Eginhard adds, 'He kept them all with him till he died, saying that he could not live without their society. And on this account, though fortunate in all other respects, he experienced the malignancy of fortune—though he dissembled so far as to seem never to have heard any reports unfavourable to their honour.'

|| Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sec. iv. p. 194. Ex Getarum genere, partibus Gothiar, oriundus fuit. . . . Pater ejus comitatum Magdalonensem tenuit. See, also, Guizot (1829), 26^e leçon.

¶ Vingt-sixième leçon. p. 42, seqq.

* See a curious passage from a life of St. Gregory, t. v. p. 445, of the *Scriptores Rerum Francicarum*.—See, also, the Life of Charlemagne, by a monk of Angoulême (ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 185).—Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 16. 'Being annoyed at finding the chanting different in different provinces, he sent to the pope for a dozen priests skilled in psalmody. But when they had been despatched to different quarters, they all maliciously set about teaching different methods, at which Charles indignantly complained to the pope, who put them all in prison.'

† It has already been stated that the Irish and the Scotch were anciently indifferently termed—Scots.

religious of kings, embarked and repaired to him. . . . Charles gave him St. Martin's abbey, near Tours, in order that, during his absence, he might repose himself there and teach those who hastened to hear him*. And such fruits did his learned labours produce, that the modern Gauls or Franks were thought to equal the ancient Romans or Athenians.

"When, after a long absence, the victorious Charles returned to Gaul, he ordered the children who had been placed under Clement's care to be brought to him, to show him their exercises and verses. Such of them as belonged to the middle and lower classes displayed works beyond all hope, seasoned with all the condiments of wisdom; but such as were of noble descent had only crude and silly trifles to show. Then the wise monarch, imitating the justice of the eternal Judge, placed those who had done well on his right hand, and addressed them as follows—"A thousand thanks, my sons, for your diligence in labouring according to my orders, and for your own good. Proceed; endeavour to perfect your-selves, and I will reward you with magnificent bishoprics and abbeys, and you shall be ever honourable in my sight." Then he bent an angry countenance on those on his left hand, and troubling their consciences with a lightning look, with bitter irony, and thundering rather than speaking, he burst upon them with this terrible apostrophe—"But for you nobles, you sons of the great, delicate and pretty minions as you are, proud of your birth and your riches, you have neglected my orders, and your own glory, and the study of letters, and have given yourselves up to ease, sports, and idleness, or to worthless exercises!" After this preamble, raising on high his august head and his invincible arm, he fulminated his usual oath—"By the King of Heaven, I care little for your nobility and beauty, however others may admire you; and hold it for certain, that if you do not make amends for your past negligence by vigilant zeal, you will never obtain anything from Charles."

• One of these low-born youths of whom I have spoken, a proficient in the arts of dictating and writing, was placed by him in the chapel—the name given by the kings of the Franks to their oratory from the *chape* (cope) of St. Martin, which they constantly wore in battle, for their own defence and the defeat of the enemy. One day, on news being brought to the prudent Charles of the death of a certain bishop, he asked whether the prelate

* Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 26. Albinum, cognomento Alcuinum, item diaconum, de Britannia, Saxonici generis hominem. Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne—"Send me from France some learned treatises as excellent as those of which I have the care here (in the library at York), and which were collected by my master, Ecbert; and I will send some of my young people to bear into France the flowers of Britain, so that there may no longer be only an enclosed garden at York, but that some off-shoots from Paradise may blossom at Tours as well." Epist. I.—Summoned to France, he became the master of Rabanus Maurus, the Scot, who founded the great school of Fulda—Eginhard says (c. 16), that Charlemagne bestowed honours and magisterial offices on the Scots. From the sense he entertained of their fidelity and worth; and that the Scottish kings were much devoted to him.—In his life of St. Cesarius, dedicated to Charlemagne, Hericus says, "Almost the whole nation of the Scots, braving the dangers of the sea, come to settle in our country with a numerous train of philosophers."

had sent before him, into the other world, any of his wealth and of the fruit of his labours† and, on the messenger's replying, 'Lord, not more than two pounds of silver,' our young clerk sighed, and, unable to contain the lively thought within him, exclaimed, 'A poor provision for so long a journey!' Charles, the most reasonable of men, after a few moments reflection, said to him, 'What thinkest thou, hadst thou this bishopric, wouldest thou make a better provision for so long a journey?' The clerk, with his mouth watering at these words as at grapes of the first vintage dropping into it of themselves, threw himself at his feet, saying, 'Lord, herein I trust myself to the will of God, and to thy power.' And the king said to him, 'Keep thee behind this curtain at my back, and thou wilt hear how many protectors thou hast.' In fact, at the news of the bishop's death, the courtiers, ever on the watch for the misfortunes or the death of others, all impatient and envious of one another, endeavoured to obtain the vacant place through those about the emperor's person. But he, holding firmly to his purpose, refused every one, saying that he would not break his word to the young man. At last, queen Hildegard, having first sent the great of the kingdom, sought the king in person, in order to secure the bishopric for her own clerk. As he received her demand most graciously, saying that he neither would nor could refuse her anything, but that he could never forgive himself should he deceive the young clerk, she did as all women do when they seek to bend their husband's will to their own caprices. Dissembling her passion, and softening her big voice, she strove to coax and wheedle the unshakable soul of the emperor into compliance, saying—"Dear prince, my lord, why throw away the bishopric on this child? I beseech you, my sweetest lord, my glory, and my support, to bestow it on my clerk, your faithful servant!" Then the young man whom Charles had placed close by him behind the curtain, in order that he might hear the solicitations of all the suitors, clasping the curtain and the king together, cried out in imploring tone—"Stand firm, lord king, and suffer not the power which God has confided to thee to be wrested from thy hands." Then this courageous friend of truth ordered him to show himself, and said, "Take the bishopric, and see that thou sendest before me and before thyself into the other world, greater alms and a better provision for that long journey, whence there is no return*."

However, whatever might be Charles's preference for strangers, and literary men of mean condition, his endless wars made the men of the German stock too necessary to him, for him to become altogether Roman. German was the language which he commonly spoke; and he even wished, like Chilperic, to frame a German grammar, and had a collection made of the old national songs of the Germans†. His object may have been to

* Monach. Sangall. l. i. c. 2, sqq.—See, also, in the fifth chapter of the same writer, an amusing account of a poor man who was in like manner preferred by Charles to a rich bishopric.

† Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 29. Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus ac bella canebantur, scripsit, memorieque mandavit. Inchoavit et grammaticæ patrii sermonis.—According to Eginhard (c. 14), Charlemagne gave the months significant names in German (as winter month, mud month, &c.); but, as M. Guizot observes,

arouse the patriotism of his soldiers, just as, in 1813, Germany, not recognising herself when she awoke, sought herself in the Nibelungen. Charlemagne always wore the German dress*. Perhaps, it would have been impolitic for him to have presented himself in any other garb to his soldiers.

Here then we see him strenuously affecting to renew the empire—often speaking Latin†, and forming his staff of officers on the model of that of the imperial ministers. Nothing can be more imposing than the picture left us by Hinemar of Charlemagne's administration. The general assembly of the nation, regularly held twice a year, deliberated, (the churchmen and the laymen, in separate bodies)—on the matters laid before it by the king. They then met in committee; with a master, whose sole desire was to gain correct information. Four times a year, provincial assemblies were held, with *missi dominici* (royal commissioners) as presidents. These *missi* were the eyes of the emperor—the quick and faithful messengers who, incessantly traversing the empire, reformed and denounced every abuse. Under them, the counts presided over inferior assemblies, in which they rendered justice, assisted by the *boni homines*, jurymen chosen amongst the lauded proprietors. Under these, again, were other assemblies, as those of the vicars or viscounts, and of the centenaries or governors of hundreds; what do I say—the humblest benefited clergyman, and the overseers of the royal farms, held courts like the counts‡.

Assuredly this apparent order leaves nothing to be desired. There is no want of forms. A more regular system of government cannot be imagined. Yet it is clear that the general assemblies were not general. It is not to be supposed that the *missi*, counts, and bishops, ran twice a year after the emperor, in the distant expeditions from which he dates his capitularies; that one while they scale the Alps, another, the Pyrenees—equestrian legislators who must have passed their lives in galloping from the Elbro to the Elbe. Still less, could the people have followed him. In the marshes of Saxony, and in the marches of Spain, Italy, and Bavaria, these were only hostile, or conquered populations. If the word *people*, in this case, be not a fiction, it signifies the army; or else a few notables who accompanied the nobles and bishops,

we find similar appellations used by various German nations before Charlemagne's time.

* "When the Franks, fighting in the midst of the Gauls, saw the latter clad in gay cloaks, of different colours, taken with the novelty, they forsook their own for the Frankish costume. The severe emperor, who thought the latter fitter for war, did not oppose the change; but when he saw the Frisians found advantage of it to sell the little short cloaks at as high a price as they were used to sell the large ones, he ordered that only very long and wide cloaks should be bought of them, and at the ordinary price."—"Of what use," said he, "are these little cloaks? In bed they won't cover me; on horseback, they screen me neither from the rain nor the wind; and when I satisfy the calls of nature, my limbs are frozen." Monach. Sangall. l. i. c. 26.

† Eginh. in Kar. M., c. 25. "He so mastered Latin, as to pray indifferently in it or his native tongue; Greek he understood better than he spoke it."—Poeta Saxon. l. v. ap. Scr. Fr. v. 176—

... Solitus linguâ sæpe et orare Latinâ,
Nec Græcæ prorsus nescius extitit.

‡ Capitul. ann. 816, c. 2, ap. Scr. Fr. v. 681.—Hinemar, ex Adalardi libro (edit. 1645), p. 206. 224.

&c., represented the great nation of the Franks, as at Rome the thirty lictors represented the thirty curie in the *comitia curiata*. As to the assemblies of the counts, the *boni homines*, the *scabini* (schöffen)* who compose them, are elected by the count with the approbation of the people, and are removable at his pleasure. They are no longer the old Germans judging their equals; but rather resemble the poor decurions, presided over and directed by an imperial agent. The sad image of the Roman empire is summoned up again in this early decay of the empire of the barbarians. Yes, the empire is restored; only too well restored. The count sits in the seat of the duumvir, the bishop calls to our mind the *defensor civitatis*, and the *herimans* (men of the army), who forsake their property in order to withdraw themselves from the overwhelming obligations which it imposes on them, stand in the place of the Roman *curiales*†—those free proprietors whose only safety consisted in deserting their property and in flying, or in turning soldiers or priests, and whom the law was unable to confine to their homes.

The desolation of the empire is here reproduced. The enormous price of corn and cheapness of cattle are clear proofs that the land remains in pasture‡. Slavery, mitigated it is true, is greatly increased. Charlemagne gratifies his master, Alcuin, with a farm of twenty thousand slaves§. The nobles daily force the poor to give themselves up to them, body and goods. Slavery is an asylum where the freeman daily takes refuge.

No legislative genius could have stayed society on the rapid hill down which it was descending. Charlemagne could only confirm the laws of the barbarians. "When he had taken the name of emperor," says Eginhard, "he designed to fill up omissions in the laws, to correct them, and to make them consistent and harmonious. But aſſ he did was to add some articles, which nevertheless were imperfect||."

Generally speaking, the capitularies are administrative laws—civil and ecclesiastical ordinances. They contain, it is true, a considerable mass of legislation, which seems intended to supply the omissions alluded to by Eginhard; but, perhaps, these acts, though all bearing Charlemagne's name, are only repetitions of the capitularies of the ancient Frankish kings. It is unlikely that the Pepins, that Clotaire II., and Dagobert, should have left so few capitularies; and that Brune-

* Compare Savigny and Grimm.

† The curial was to have at least twenty-five acres of land; the herman from thirty-six to forty-eight.

‡ "One ox, or six bushels of wheat, were worth two sous. Five oxen, or a single robe, or thirty bushels of wheat, ten sous. Six oxen, or a cuirass, or thirty-six bushels of wheat, twelve sous." M. Desmichels, Hist. du Moyen-Âge, ii. I rely for these prices on the exactitude of this conscientious writer. But he commits a mistake in referring for proof to the Canons of the Council of Frankfort.

§ Pref. ad Elipand. Epist. 37, ap. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. l. xlv. c. 17.

|| Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 29. Post susceptum imperiale nomen, cum adverteret multa legibus populi sui deesse, (nam Franci das habent leges plurimas in locis valde diversis), cogitavit quæ deessent addere, et discrepantia unire, prava quoque ac perperam prolata corrigere. Sed de his nihil aliud ab eo factum est, quam quod pauca capitula, et ea imperfecta, legibus addidit.

hault, Fredegonda, and Ebroin, should have left none*. That must have happened to Charlemagne which would have occurred with respect to Justinian, had all the monuments of Roman law, previous to his time, been lost—the compiler would have been taken for the legislator. This conjecture derives confirmation from the striking differences of language and form presented by the capitularies.

The original portion of the capitularies is the administrative, which provides for the wants of society according to the conjuncture. It is impossible not to admire the activity, though fruitless, of that government which made every effort to reduce to some degree of order the immense disorder of such an empire, and to introduce some degree of unity into an heterogeneous whole, all whose parts tended to isolate themselves and fly off from each other. The large share occupied by canonical legislation† shows, although we derive the knowledge from no other source, that the priests had a principal hand in all this; and the fact is rendered plainer still, by the moral and religious counsels with which the laws abound. They reflect the pedantic tone‡ of the Visigoth laws, made, as is well known, by the bishops. Charlemagne, like the Visigoth monarchs, gave the bishops an inquisitorial power, by investing them with the right of pursuing criminals within the boundaries of their dioceses. A few passages of the capitularies, condemnatory of the abuses of the episcopal privileges, cannot invalidate our belief in the supremacy of the clergy during this reign. They may have been dictated by priests attached to the court, by chaplains, and by the central clergy, naturally jealous of the local power of the bishops. The friend of Rome, and surrounded by priests like Leidrad, and so many others who considered episcopacy equivalent to retirement from the world, Charlemagne would naturally concede much to this untitled clergy who composed his ordinary council.

The feeling of Byzantine and Gothic pedantry, observable in the capitularies, is conspicuous in all Charlemagne's conduct relative to matters of doctrine. He ordered a long letter to be written in his name to the heretic Felix of Urgel, who, with the church of Spain, maintained that Jesus, as man, was simply the adopted son of God. In his name, too, appeared the famous *Caroline books* against the adoration of images§. Three hundred bishops condemned at Frankfort, what three hundred and

fifty bishops had just approved of at Nice*. The men of the West, who struggled in the North against Pagan idolatry, necessarily denounced image worship; whilst those of the East justified it through hatred of the image-breaking Arabs. The pope, who coincided with the Eastern Christians, durst not speak out in opposition to Charlemagne; and manifested equal prudence when the French church, in imitation of that of Spain, added to the Nicene creed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son (*Filioque*), as well as from the Father.

Whilst Charlemagne is lecturing on theology, dreaming of the Roman empire, and studying grammar, the power of the Franks is quietly crumbling away. Charlemagne's young son having, in his kingdom of Aquitaine, either through weakness or a sense of justice, given up and restored all that Pepin† had laid violent hands on, incurs his father's displeasure; still he only did that voluntarily which was taking place of itself. The work of conquest was naturally going to pieces; men and lands gradually slipped away from the monarch's hands into those of the nobles, and, particularly, of the bishops, that is to say, of the local authorities who were soon to constitute the feudal republic.

Abroad, the empire manifested a similar decay. In Italy, its efforts against Beneventum and Venice had been fruitless. In Germany, it had retreated from the Oder to the Elbe, and suffered the Slaves to divide its power. And, indeed, how could it for ever contend and struggle with new enemies? Beyond the Saxons and the Bavarians Charlemagne had found the Slaves, and then the Avars; beyond the Lombards, the Greeks; beyond Aquitaine and the Ebro, the caliphate of Cordova. This cincture of barbarians, which he conceived to be single, and which he at first broke through, doubled and tripled itself before him; and when his arms dropped down through weariness, then there appeared, with the Danish fleets, that restless and fantastic image of the Northern world, which had been too much forgotten. These, the true Germans, come to demand a reckoning from those bastard Germans who have turned Romans, and who call themselves the empire.

One day that Charlemagne happened to be in a city of Narbonnese Gaul, some Scandinavian barks boldly entered the port for plunder. Some took them for Jewish or African, others for British merchants; but Charles recognised who they were

* See the *Recueil de Baluze*

† See Guizot, 21^e leçon.

‡ Numerous examples might be cited. Capitul. ann. 802, ap. Scr. R. F. v. 659. "It has been thought fit that every one should use his best endeavours to preserve himself wholly the servant of God, according to God's word and his baptismal vow, as far as his understanding and his strength permit; because our lord the emperor cannot give necessary heed to each separately."—Capitul. anni 806, ibid. 677. "Desire may be either laudable or culpable. Laudable, according to the apostle, &c."—Avarice is seeking what is another's, and giving nothing of one's own. And, according to the apostle, it is the root of all evils. They follow base lucre, who seek by fraud of every kind, for the sake of gain, to heap up all manner of things dishonestly."

§ Carol. libri ii. c. 21. "God alone, therefore, is to be worshipped, adored, and glorified, of whom it is spoken by the prophet—'His name alone is to be exalted,' &c."

* (This was the seventh general council—but second of Nice—held A.D. 787, for the restoration of images. The council of Frankfort against image worship, was held seven years afterwards, A.D. 794.) TRANSLATOR.

† I conceive that this is the view to be taken of that dilapidation of his domain, with which Charlemagne reproaches his son. This domain must have been constructed out of the robberies of conquest. The scrupulous character of Louis, and the restitutions which, at a later period, he made to other nations which had been ill-treated by the Franks, authorize this interpretation of his conduct in Aquitaine. The following is the text of the contemporary historian—*In tantum largus, ut antea nec in antiquis libris nec in modernis temporibus auditum est, ut villas regias quæ erant et avi et tritavi (Pepin and Charles Martel) fidelibus suis tradidit eas in possessiones sempiternas . . . Fecit enim hoc diu tempore. Theganus, de Gestis Ludov. Pil. c. 19, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 78.*

by the speed of their vessels. "Those are not merchants," he exclaimed, "but cruel enemies." As soon as pursued, they disappeared. But the emperor, rising from table, stationed himself, says the chronicler, at the window looking towards the East, and remained there a long time with his face bathed in tears. No one durst question him, but, turning to the nobles around him, he said, "Do you know, my faithful friends, the reason of these bitter tears? Certes, I can have no fear of injury from these wretched pirates; but I deeply mourn that they should dare, in my lifetime, all but to land on these shores, and I am overcome with agony of grief when I foresee all the mischief they will do to my successors and their subjects*."

Thus the fleets of the Greeks, Danes, and Saracens are already prowling round the empire, as the vulture hovers over the dying in expectation of his corpse. Once, two hundred armed barks fall upon Frisia, laden themselves with booty, and disappear. Nevertheless, Charlemagne "collected men" to repulse them. On the occasion of another invasion, "the emperor assembles men in Gaul and in Germany†," and builds in Frisia the town of Essefeld. Unhappy athlete—he slowly moves his hand to his wounds, to parry blows already received.

"Godfried, king of the Normans, promised himself the empire of Germany, and looked upon Frisia and Saxony as his own. He had already subdued his neighbours, the Abotrites, and compelled them to pay tribute. He even boasted that at the head of a numerous army he would soon visit the king in his court of Aix-la-Chapelle. However vain and empty these threats might be, they were not altogether disbelieved; and it was supposed that he would have made some attempt of the kind, had he not been cut off by a premature death‡."

The aged empire proposes to protect herself. Armed barks defend the mouths of the rivers; but how fortify the whole coast? He who has dreamed of unity, is, like Diocletian, obliged to divide his dominions in order to provide for their safety; to one of his sons he entrusts Italy; to another, Germany; to a third, Aquitaine. But everything is against Charlemagne. His two eldest die; and he is forced to leave this weak and immense empire in the pacific hands of a saint.

* Mon. Sangall. l. ii. c. 22. Scitis, O fideles mei, quid tantopere ploraverim? Non hoc timeo quod isti nugis mihi aliquid nocere prævaleant; nimium contristor quod, me vivente, ausi sunt littus istud attingere; et maximo dolore torquor, quia prævideo quanta mala posteris meis et eorum sint facturi subiectis.

† Annal. Franc. ad ann. 810, ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 59. Nuntium accepit classem c. navium de Nortmanniâ Frisiam appulisse. Missis in omnes circumquaque regiones ad congregandum exercitum nuntius. . . . Ibid. ad ann. 809. Cumque ad hoc per Galliam atque Germaniam homines congregasset

‡ Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 14. Godefridus adeo vanâ spe inflatus erat, ut totius sibi Germaniæ promitteret potestatem, &c.—See, also, Annal. Franc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 57. Herman. Contrad. ibid. 366.

CHAPTER III.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

THE disruption and divorce of the heterogeneous parts which constituted the vast whole of the empire, were to be consummated under the rule of Louis the Debonnaire (the meek), or which is the more faithful translation of his name, of *Saint Louis*. These various parts suffered from their union; the evil to which it gave rise being the obligation it imposed of keeping up one immense war, so that the reverses sustained in one part were felt in those most distant from it—the disasters of Austrasia shaking the banks of the Loire. This was the result of the tyrannous effort to bring about a premature centralization; and the nearer Charlemagne attained this end, the more intolerable was the grievance. No doubt Pepin, and his father—the *smith's hammer*, had rained hard blows on the nations; but, at least, they had not undertaken to reduce them, discordant as they still were, to this insufferable unity—which, at first, however, was simply administrative, though Charlemagne was contemplating to render it legislative: whilst his son effected unity in matters of religion by naming Benedict of Aniane to be reformer of the monasteries of the empire, and to bring them all back to the rule of St. Benedict.

An expiring world always breathes its last and expiates its faults in the arms of a saint—this is an invariable law of history. The purest of the race has to bear their faults, and the punishment devolves on the innocent, whose crime is the carrying on of a system condemned to perish, and the cloaking with his virtues the long continued injustice that oppresses his people. Advantage is taken of one man's virtue, to revenge the social wrongs of a nation! 'Tis an odious means; and, in the case of Louis the Debonnaire, it was parricide—since his children headed the different races, who sought to separate themselves from the empire.

The hapless being who lends his life to this immolation of a social world—whether he be called Louis the Debonnaire, Charles the First, or Louis the Sixteenth—is, however, not always free from reproach. His fate would be less touching were he less mortal. No, he is a man of flesh and blood like ourselves—tender-hearted, weak-willed, desiring good, sometimes committing evil, unbounded in his repentance, trusting those who surround him, and betrayed by them.

The Saint Louis of the ninth century*, like his

* There is a singular resemblance between the portraits left us by history of Louis the Debonnaire and of St. Louis. "The emperor had long hands, straight fingers, long and slender legs, and long feet." Theganus de Gest. Ludov. Pii, c. 19, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 78.—"Louis (St. Louis) was thin, slender, meagre, of good length, and of angelic look and gracious countenance." Salimbene, 302, ap. Haumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, iv. 271.—Both sedulously avoided loud and hearty laughter. "Never did the emperor raise his voice in laughing, not even on occasions of public rejoicing, when jesters and buffoons, minstrels and harpers, played at his table to amuse the people, who laughed merrily in his presence, he not even smiling so as to show his white teeth." Thegan. ibid.—With regard to the gravity of St. Louis, and his aversion to mountebanks and minstrels, see the Second Part of this History.—To conclude, the same desire was displayed by both saints, to repair the wrongs done by their fathers.

successor of the thirteenth, was reared in the thoughts of a holy war. Whilst still young, he headed many expeditions against the Spanish Saracens, and took from them the important city of Barcelona, after a two years' siege. Educated by St. Guillemus, of Toulouse, just as St. Louis was by Blanche of Castile, he mingled in his religion, like him, the fervour of the south with the candour of the north.

His instructors, the priests, succeeded better with him than they wished. Their pupil was more a priest than they, and, in his intractable virtue, began by reforming his masters. He would reform the bishops—no more arms, horses, or spurs*. He would reform the monasteries—and so subjected them to the scrutiny of the severest of monks, St. Benedict of Aniane, who found the Benedictine rule itself only calculated for babes and sucklings†. The new king dismissed to their monasteries, Adalhard and Wala‡, two clever and intriguing monks, grandsons of Charles Martel,

* Astronomi Vita Ludov. Pii, c. 28, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 701. *Tunc caperunt deponi ab episcopis et clericis cingula balteis aureis et gemmeis cultiris onerata, exquisitæque vestes, sed et calcaria talos onerantia relinqui.*

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 195. "Contending that the rule of St. Benedict was given only for children and the weak, he strove to attain to the strictness of the rules of St. Basil and of Pachomius."—Astronom. c. 28, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 100. "Louis caused a book, setting forth the rule of canonical life, to be drawn up, and copies to be made. . . . He also appointed the abbot Benedict, and with him monks of approved life, who, going to and fro through all the religious houses, should bring them, as well nunneries as monasteries, to one uniform and unchangeable practice and observance of the rule of St. Benedict."

(Dean Waddington, in his History of the Church, says, "When Benedict of Aniane undertook to establish a system, he found it prudent to relax from that extreme austerity, which as a simple monk he had both professed and practised. As his youthful enthusiasm abated, he became gradually convinced that the rule of the Nursin hermit (St. Benedict) was as severe as the common infirmities of human nature could endure. He was therefore contented to revive that rule, or rather to enforce its observance, and the part which he particularly pressed on the practice of his disciples was the obligation of manual labour. To the neglect of that essential portion of monastic discipline, the successive corruptions of the system are with truth attributed; and the regulations, which were adopted by the reformers of Aniane, were confirmed (in 817) by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle. From this epoch we may date the renovation of the Benedictine order; and though, even in that age, it was grown perhaps too rich to adhere very closely to its ancient observance, yet the sons whom it nourished may nevertheless be accounted, without any exaggeration of their merits, among the most industrious, the most learned, and the most pious of their own generation.") TRANSALPINA.

‡ S. Adalardi Vita, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 277. "Enviously despoiled of his power, stripped of his dignities, and disgraced in the opinion of the people, he was dismissed into retirement."—Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. iv. p. 461. Wala . . . with whose ability Augustus was familiar, he determined, at some one's instigation, to humble and relegate among the lowest, although he was his own cousin, the son of his uncle.—Ibid. p. 492. "One day he said to Louis, 'Pray, most reverend emperor Augustus, tell us wherefore you have so utterly abandoned your own duties, to undertake divine ones.'"—Astronom. c. 21. "There was great apprehension felt that Wala, who had enjoyed high authority in Charlemagne's time, would make some sinister attempt against the emperor."

who had governed Charlemagne in his latter years. The imperial palace had its reform likewise. Louis expelled his father's concubines, and his sisters' lovers, and his sisters themselves*.

The people, oppressed by Charlemagne, found in his son an upright judge, ready to decide against himself. When king of Aquitaine, he had attended to the claims of the Aquitanians, and had reduced himself to such poverty, says the historian, that he had no more any thing to give, hardly even his blessing†. As emperor, he listened to the complaints of the Saxons, and restored them the right of succession‡, at the same time depriving the bishops, the governors of the country, of the tyrannical power of disposing of inheritances at their pleasure. The Spanish Christians, who had taken refuge in the Marches, had been despoiled by the imperial nobles and lieutenants of the possessions allotted to them by Charlemagne; but Louis promulgated an edict by which they were confirmed in their rights§. He respected the principle of episcopal elections, constantly violated by his father, and suffered the Romans to choose, without applying to him, popes Stephen IV. and Pascal I. ||

Thus, this inheritance of conquests and of spolia-

* Astronom. c. 21. "Although naturally of the mildest disposition, his anger was roused by the conduct of his sisters under the paternal roof,—the only blot by which it was blemished. . . . He sent thirty friends to attach some of gross and insolent life, as guilty of high treason, until his arrival."—C. 28. "With the exception of a few, he had the crowd of women in the palace, which was very numerous, sent off. But he allowed his sisters whatever each had received from his father."

† Astronom. c. 7. "King Louis soon gave a proof of his wisdom, as well as displayed the tenderness natural to him. He settled that he would spend his winters in four different places, and that after the expiration of three years he would seek a new abode for the fourth winter. These four places were Doué, Chasseuil, Audiac, and Ebreuil. Thus, each, in its turn, would be enabled to supply the royal requisition. In conformity with this wise plan, he forbade the supplies for the soldiers, vulgarly called *foederum*, from being henceforward exacted of the people. The army was discontented. But this man of mercy, taking into consideration the wretchedness of those who paid this tax and the cruelty of those who collected it, and the perdition it entailed on both, preferred maintaining his men out of his own means, to suffering the continuance of so heavy an impost on his subjects. At the same time, he, of his bounty, relieved the Albigenes from a contribution of wine and corn. . . . All this, it is said, was so pleasing to his father, that he similarly suppressed the military supplies with which his subjects in France were taxed, and ordered many other reforms, congratulating his son on his happy beginnings."—See, also, Thegan. de Gestis, &c.

‡ Astronom. c. 24. *Saxonibus atque Frisonibus jus paternæ hereditatis, quod sub patre ob perfidiam legaliter perdidierant, imperatoria restituit clementia Post hæc easdem gentes semper sibi devotissimas habuit.*

§ Diplom. Ludov. Imperat. ann. 816. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 486, 487 "It is our pleasure that those who have been thought worthy of receiving precepts from ourself, or from our lord and father, should possess of our free grace whatever waste lands they and their followers have reclaimed. Those who have arrived since, and have commended themselves to our counts, of our *cassu*, or their own equals, and have received lands from them to dwell upon, are to hold them henceforward, and leave them to their posterity on the same agreement and conditions on which they took them, &c."

|| Astron. c. 26. Thegan. c. 18. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 77. Baronii Annal. p. 650.

tions falls into the hands of a simple and just man, who chose at any cost to make reparation. The barbarians, who recognised his sanctity, submitted their disputes to his arbitration*. He sat on the judgment-seat, in the midst of his people, like an easy and confiding father. He went about repairing, comforting, and restoring; and it appeared as if he would willingly have given away the whole empire in making reimbursement.

In this day of restitution Italy put in her claim †, and asked for nothing less than liberty. The cities, bishops, and people formed one common league—under a Frankish prince, but that matters not. Charlemagne had made Bernard, the son of his eldest son, Pepin, king of Italy. The pupil of Adalhard and Wala, and long after his accession to the throne a puppet in their hands, he laid claim to the empire as the heir of the eldest born.

However, the right of the younger brother is held by the barbarians to be preferable to that of the nephew ‡. Besides, Charlemagne had appointed Louis his successor, and had consulted his nobles one by one, and obtained their recognition of his choice§. Bernard himself, indeed, had recognised his uncle as emperor||; and custom, his father's will, and, finally, election, were all in favour of the latter.

Bernard, therefore, deserted by the greater portion of his own dependents, was obliged to avail himself of the promises of the empress Hermengarde, who offered her mediation. He delivered himself up at Chalons sur Saône, and denounced all his accomplices; one of whom had formerly plotted against the life of Charlemagne¶. Bernard and the rest were condemned to death; but the emperor would not consent to their execution**.

* Several Danish chiefs who claimed to succeed to Godfried chose him as arbiter between them. He decided in favour of Harold.

† Bernard's attempt against his uncle is the first essay, made by Italy to free herself from the barbarians. "All the cities and princes of Italy conspired together, and agreed to guard and block up all the passes." Astronom. c. 29. See, also, Eginh. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 177.

‡ They prefer for king a man to a child, and, generally, the uncle is a man, is *useful* (as was the phrase of those days) long before the nephew.

§ Thegan. c. 6. "When he felt that his last hour drew nigh, he summoned his son Louis, with all his army, bishops, abbots, chiefs, counts, and lieutenants. . . . he then questioned all from the highest to the lowest, whether they were willing that he should name his son Louis emperor after him. They all answered that such was clearly God's will."—He also consulted Alcuin at the tomb of St. Martin of Tours. "On which spot, holding Albinus by the hand, he says secretly—'Sir master, which of my sons seems fittest to succeed to those honours which God has bestowed on me, however unworthy of them?' But he, looking to Louis, the youngest, but distinguished by his humility, for which he was despised of many, says, 'The lowly Louis will be thy best successor.'" Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 156.

|| Thegan c. 12. Venit Bernardus . . . et fidelitatem ei cum juramento promisit.

¶ Eginh. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 177. "The heads of this conspiracy were . . . Reginhair, count Meginhair's son, whose grandfather, on the mother's side, Hardradus, had formerly conspired in Germany against the emperor Charles, together with many nobles of that province."

** Astronom. c. 30. Cum lege iudicioque Francorum deberent capitali invectione ferri, suppressa tristiori sententia, luminibus orari consensit, licet multis obniti-

Hermengarde at last induced him to consent to Bernard's being deprived of sight; but had the operation performed in such a manner that he died of it in three days.

Italy was not solitary in this movement. All the tributary nations had taken up arms. The Slaves of the north had the Danes to support them; those of Pannonia counted upon the Bulgarians; the Basques of Navarre extended their hand to the Saracens*; and the Bretons relied upon themselves. These insurrections were all quelled. The Bretons saw their country completely occupied, perhaps for the first time; the Basques were defeated, the Saracens repulsed, the Slaves were overcome and compelled to serve against the Danes, and one of the Danish kings even embraced Christianity. Louis founded the archbishopric of Hamburg; and a bishop, whose metropolitan was the archbishop of Reims, was given to Sweden†. It is true that these first conquests of Christianity were not lasting; and his subjects rose up and expelled the Christian king of the Danes.

Up to this period, Louis's reign, it must be acknowledged, flourished in strength and in justice. He had maintained the integrity of the empire, and extended its influence. The barbarians feared his arms, and venerated his sanctity. Fortune being all smiles, the soul of the saint was softened, and he discovered that he had human wants. His wife being dead, he invited, it is said, the daughters of the nobility of his empire, and chose the most beautiful‡. In Judith, daughter of count Welf, was blended the blood of the nations most odious to the Franks. Her mother was a Saxon, her father a Bavarian—one of that people who were allied with the Lombards, and who had summoned the Slaves and Avars into the empire§. Learned ||,

et animadverti in eos totâ severitate legali cupientibus.—Thegan. ibid. 79. Iudicium mortale imperator exercere noluit; sed consiliarii Bernhardum luminibus privarunt. . . . Bernhardus obiit. "On hearing of Bernard's death," says the chronicler, "the emperor wept long and bitterly."

* Astronom. c. 37. Eginh. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 185. † S. Anscharii Vita, lib. 26. In civitate Hammaburg sedem constituit archiepiscopalem.—Ibid. 306.—Ebo (archiep. Remensis) quemdam . . . pontificali insignium honore, ad partes direxit Sueonum, &c.

‡ Astronom. c. 80. Undecunque adductas procerum filias inspicies, Judith . . . Thegan. c. 26. Accepit filiam Welfi ducis, qui erat de nobilissima stirpe Bavarorum, et nomen virginis Judith, quæ erat ex parte matris nobilissimi generis Saxonici, eamque reginam constituit. Redd enim pulchra valde. . . . Bishop Priculf wrote to her. "As to personal charms, you excel every queen whom it has been the lot of my humble self to see or hear of." Scr. R. Fr. vi. 355.

§ See above. Besides, they had been allies of the Aquitanian, Hunald.

|| See the dedicatory epistles of the celebrated Rabanus of Fulda, and of Bishop Priculf. The latter writes, "When I learnt the copiousness of your erudition in divine and human learning, I was amazed." Scr. R. Fr. vi. 355, 356.—See, also, the Verses of Walafrid, ibid. 268—

"Organa dulcisono percurrat pectine Judith.

O si Sappho loquax, vel nos inviseret Holda

Ludere jam pedibus . . .

Quidquid enim tibi met sexus subtraxit egestas,

Reddidi ingenii culta atque exercitia vita."

(Judith runs over the organ with sweetly sounding touch. O! if the eloquent Sappho or Holda should visit us—to dance . . . whatever thou hast lost by thy sex's

says history, even too learned, she brought her husband under the influence of the elegant and polished natives of the south. Louis was already well inclined to the Aquitanians, among whom he had been brought up. Bernard, the son of his old preceptor, St. Guilhemus of Toulouse, became his favourite, and still more the favourite of the empress. A beautiful and dangerous Eve, she degraded and ruined her husband.

After this fall, Louis, weaker, because he had ceased to be pure; more human and more sensitive, because he was no longer a saint, opened his heart to fears and scruples. He felt himself sunk—*virtue had gone out of him*. He began to repent of his severity towards his nephew Bernard, and towards the monks Wala and Adalhard—whom, however, he had only dismissed to the performance of their duties. His heart yearned for relief. He asked and was allowed to submit to public penance. Since Theodosius, this was the first time that this great spectacle of the voluntary humiliation of an all-powerful man had been witnessed. The Merovingian kings, after committing the greatest crimes, had contented themselves with founding religious houses. Louis's penitence may be deemed the new era of morality—the advent of conscience.

But the brutal pride of the men of the day blushed for royalty, and for its humble admission of its weakness and mortality. They conceived that he who had bowed his head before the priest would be unfit to command warriors. The empire, likewise, appeared degraded and disarmed by the act; and the first beginnings of its inevitable dissolution were ascribed to the weakness of a monarch who had figured as a penitent. In 820, thirteen Norman Vikings ravaged the coast for three hundred leagues, and amassed such quantities of booty, that to make room for it, they were obliged to release the prisoners they had made*. In 824, the Frank army having invaded Navarre, was defeated at Roncesvalles. In 829, apprehensions were entertained that the Normans, whose leas-
•barks were so formidable, would attempt an invasion by land, and the people were ordered to be ready to march *en masse*†. Thus the public discontent gained ground. The nobles and bishops encouraged it. They accused the emperor, and also the Aquitanian, Bernard. They were confined and circumscribed by the central power, and longed to break in upon the unity of the empire. Each wished to be king in his own domain.

CONSPIRACY OF THE EMPEROR'S SONS (A. D. 830.)

Leaders were wanting. The emperor's own sons undertook the office. As soon as he ascended the throne, he had given them two frontier provinces to govern and defend—to Louis, Bavaria; to Pepin, Aquitaine—the two barriers of the kingdom‡. Lothaire, the eldest, was to be emperor,

weakness, thou hast gained in mental cultivation and elegance.)

Annal. Met. ibid. 212. "She was too beautiful, and adorned with all the flowers of wisdom."

* Astronom. c. 33. Eginh. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 180.

† Eginh. Annal. ibid. 189. Quo nuncio commotus, misit in omnes Francie regiones, et jussit ut summā festinatione tota populi sui multitudo in Saxoniā veniret.

‡ Chronic. Moissiac. ibid. 177. Unum Bajoriæ, alterum Aquitanie.

with the sovereignty of Italy. When Louis had a son by Judith, he gave the child, named Charles, the title of king of Alamania (Suabia and Switzerland)—a grant which operated no change in the possessions of the princes, though it greatly altered their hopes. They lent their names to the conspiracy of the nobles, who refused to march their followers against the Bretons, whose ravages Louis was anxious to repress, so that the emperor found himself deserted and alone. A Frank by birth, and leaning for counsel and aid on an Aquitanian, he was supported neither by the north nor the south; and we have already seen a similarly equivocal position prove the ruin of Brunelault. His eldest son, Lothaire, thought himself already emperor, and exiled Bernard, imprisoned Judith, and confined his father in a monastery—poor old Lear, who found no Cordelia amongst his children!

However, neither the nobles nor Lothaire's brothers were inclined to bow the knee to him. Emperor for emperor, they preferred Louis. The monks, whose prisoner he was, laboured to effect his restoration. The Franks perceived that the triumph of his sons was depriving them of the empire; and the Saxons and Frisians, who were indebted to him for their liberty, interested themselves in his behalf. A diet was assembled in Nimègen, in the midst of the nations that espoused his cause. "All Germany hastened to it, to succour the emperor*." Lothaire, in his turn, found himself deserted, and at his father's mercy. Wala and all the leading conspirators were condemned to death, but the good emperor would not have their lives taken†.

However, war is rekindled in the south by the Aquitanian Bernard, who had been supplanted in the royal favour by Gondebald, a monk, one of those who had effected the liberation of Louis. Pepin is persuaded by Bernard to take up arms, and the three brothers enter into a new conspiracy. Lothaire is attended by the Italian, Gregory IV., who fulminates excommunication against all who refuse obedience to the king of Italy. The armies of the father and sons encounter in Alsace. The pope is put forward to parley, and various unexplained means are resorted to during the night. In the morning the emperor, seeing himself abandoned by a part of his followers, says to the rest, "I do not wish any one to lose his life on my account‡." The theatre of this disgraceful scene was called the Liar's Field.

Lothaire, again master of the person of Louis, wished to conclude the business, and to get rid of his father. He was a man who shrank not from shedding blood, and had had a brother of Bernard's

* Astronom. c. 45. "The emperor's enemies were anxious that the general council should be held somewhere in France. But the emperor, distrusting the Franks, and confiding in the Germans, secretly opposed their plans, and succeeded in having it held in Nimègen." . . . "Om-nisque Germania eo confluit, imperatori auxilio futura." On Louis's pardoning his son, the enraged people threatened to massacre both; but the chief insurgents were seized, and though condemned to death he would not suffer the judgment to be executed.—See, also, Annal. Bertinian. ibid. 193.

† Astronom. c. 46. Cunctis dijudicatis ad mortem, vitam concessit.

‡ Thegan. c. 42. "Saying, 'Go to my sons. I wish none to lose life or limb for me.' They left him, with tears."

murdered, and his sister thrown into the Saône*; but he feared the public execration if he laid patricidal hands on Louis. He bethought himself of degrading him by imposing on him so humiliating a public penance, that he would never rise above its effects. Lothaire's bishops handed the prisoner a list of crimes of which he was to confess himself guilty. First on the list figured the death of Bernard (of which he was innocent); next, the perjuries to which he had compelled his people by new divisions of the empire; then the having made war in Lent; then his severity towards the adherents of his sons (whom he had saved from capital punishment); then the having allowed Judith and others to justify themselves by oath; sixthly, the having exposed the kingdom to murders, spoil, and sacrilege, by exciting civil war; seventhly, the having excited these civil wars by arbitrary divisions of the empire; and lastly, the having ruined the state, which he was bound to defend†.

When this absurd confession was read in the church of St. Médard at Soissons, the poor Louis disputed no one point, signed the whole, humbled himself to the extent of their wishes, wept, and besought that he might expiate by public penance the scandals which he had caused‡. He laid aside his military baldric, put on sackcloth; and his son led him in this plight, miserable, degraded, and humiliated, to the capital of the empire, to Aix-la-Chapelle, to the very city in which Charlemagne had himself taken the crown from the altar§.

The parricide thought he had killed Louis; but a feeling of pity became general throughout the empire. The people, miserable as they were themselves, yet found tears for their aged emperor. It was told with horror how his son had held him down at the altar, weeping, and sweeping the dust with his hoary locks; how he had enquired into the sins of his father—a second Ham, exposing to derision his father's nakedness; how he had drawn up his confession, and such a confession!—stuffed with lies and calumnies. It was archbishop Hebo who had been brought up with Louis, and was his foster-brother—one of those sons of serfs whom he loved so well||, who had torn his baldric

from him, and clad him in sackcloth. But in depriving him of his belt and sword, and stripping him of the dress of tyrants and of nobles, they had shown him to the people as one of themselves, and both as saint and man. Nor was his history any other than that of the biblical man. His Eve had ruined him, or, if you will, one of those daughters of the giants who, in the book of Genesis, seduce the sons of God. Besides, in this marvellous example of suffering and of patience, in this wronged and ~~spat upon~~ man, who returned blessings for insults, men thought they recognised the patience of Job, or rather an image of the Saviour—nothing was wanting to complete the likeness, neither gall nor vinegar.

So the aged emperor found himself exalted by his very humiliation—all avoided the parricide. Abandoned by the nobles (A. D. 834-5), and unable, this time, to suborn his father's partisans*, Lothaire fled to Italy. Sick himself, he saw in the course of one year (836) all the chiefs of his party die—the bishops of Amiens and of Troyes, his father-in-law Hugh, counts Matfried and Lambert, Agimbert of Perche, Godfried and his son Borganit—his warden of the chace—and numerous others†. Hebo, deprived of the see of Reims, passed the rest of his life in obscurity and exile. Wala withdrew to the monastery of Bobbio, to the

had long been a mischievous habit to make bishops of the lowest slaves, and this did not hinder, &c." Then follows a long invective against upstarts.—Many facts prove Louis's predilection for the serfs, for the poor, and the conquered races. One day he gave the dress he had on to a serf, a glazier belonging to the monastery of St. Gall. Mon. Sangall. ad calc.—His affection for the Saxons and Aquitanians has been noticed. In his youth he wore the Aquitanian dress. "The young Louis, in compliance with his father's commands, which he observed with all his heart and to the best of his power, repaired to him to Paderborn, attended by a company of young people of his own age, and attired in the Gascon dress, that is to say, wearing the little round surcoat, a shirt with long sleeves and hanging down to his knees, his spurs laced on his boots, and a javelin in his hand. Such was the king's pleasure and desire." Astronomi: c. 4.—Mon. Sangall. l. ii. c. 31. "Moreover, finding himself absent, king Louis chose to have the trials of the poorer classes so regulated that one of their own order, who, although completely *inhum*, appeared endowed with superior energy and intelligence, was authorized to inquire into their crimes, prescribe what restitution should be made in cases of theft, order the *lex talionis* for injuries and deeds of violence, and, taking cognizance even of the most serious matters, should order a limb to be struck off, or beheading, or the punishment of the gallows, as the case might require. This individual established dukes, tribunals, and centurions, gave them deputies, and discharged with firmness the duties entrusted to him."

* Nithardi Historie, l. i. c. 4. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 12. "Shame and repentance seized all the people for having twice deposed the emperor."—C. 5. "The Franks, having twice deserted the emperor, were filled with compunction, and refused again to be driven into rebellion."—All the nations returned to their allegiance.—"The people as well of France as of Burgundy, and both of Aquitania and Germany, united in loud complaints of the misfortunes of the emperor, &c." Astronomi. c. 49.—All were of one accord—undoubtedly, through discontent with Lothaire, that is, with the unity of the empire. Bernard seems to have sided with the emperor against his sons, but with Pepin, that is to say, with Aquitania, even against the emperor.

† Astronomi. c. 56. "It is marvellous how Lothaire's followers were swept off, &c." "He himself died not long afterwards."

* Id. c. 52. "He had her enclosed in a wine-cask, and thrown into the river."

† Acta Exauatoratoris Lud. Pii, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 245. —Of all these charges, the seventh is the heaviest. It reveals the feeling of the time. It is the voice of that local spirit, which seeks henceforward to follow the material and fated movement of races, countries, and languages, and which, in every purely political division, sees only violence and tyranny.

‡ Ibid. 246. Pœnitentiam publicam expetiit, quatenus Ecclesie, quam peccando scandalizaverat, pœnitendo satisfaceret.

§ Chronic. Moissiac. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 83.

|| Thegan. c. 44. "Hebo, bishop of Reims, who was a serf by birth. . . . O, what a return hast thou made him! He arrayed thee in purple and in the pallium, thou hast clad him in sackcloth. . . . Thy fathers were goat-herds, not princes' counsellors. . . . But the trial of the most pious king . . . just like the patience of the blessed Job. They who insulted the blessed Job are said to have been kings; but they who afflicted him were his own lawful servants and the servants of his fathers. . . . All the bishops molested him, and chiefly those whom he had raised from a servile condition, together with such of the barbarians as were similarly honoured."—Id. c. 20. "It

tomb of St. Columbanus (a brother of St. Arnulph—the bishop of Metz, and progenitor of the Carolingians, who had been abbot of this monastery), and died there this very year, which proved so fatal to numbers of his party, exclaiming every moment, “Why was I born a man of strife and discord?” This grandson of Charles Martel’s, this political monk, this factious saint, this hard, ardent, and impassioned man, who had been confined by Charlemagne in a monastery, had then been made his counsellor, and who afterwards became all but king of Italy under Pepin and Bernard, had the misfortune to lend a name, previously unsullied, to the partricial revolts of the sons of Louis.

However, the Debonnaire, following the same counsels as before, did what he could to renew the revolt, and to be again deposed. On the one hand, he summoned the nobles to restore to the churches the estates which they had usurped; on the other, he lessened the shares of his eldest sons, who, it is true, well deserved the loss, and elevated at their expense the son of his choice, the son of Judith—Charles the Bald. The children of Pepin, who had just died, were stripped of their inheritance, and Louis the German was reduced to the possession of Bavaria alone. All was divided betwixt Lothaire and Charles. The aged emperor is reported to have said to the first—“See, my son, all the kingdom is before thee, divide, and let Charles take his choice; or, if you desire the choice, we will make the division.” Lothaire took the east, Charles was to have the west. Louis of Bavaria took up arms to prevent this treaty’s being carried into execution; and, by a singular change, the father had now France on his side, and the son Germany. But the aged monarch sank under the vexation and fatigues of this new war. “I forgive Louis,” he said, “but let him look to himself, who, despising God’s command, has brought his father’s grey hairs to the grave.” The emperor died at

Ingelheim, in an island of the Rhine, near Mentz*, in the centre of the empire—whose unity expired with him.

It was vain to attempt to restore it, as Lothaire did—and with what means? With Italy, with the Lombards, who had so poorly defended Didier against Charlemagne, and Bernard against Louis the Debonnaire? The young Pepin, who attached himself to his fortunes through a spirit of opposition to Charles the Bald, brought as his contingent the army of Aquitaine, so often defeated by Pepin le Bref and Charlemagne. Strange, that the men of the south, the conquered, the men of the Latin tongue, should seek to maintain the unity of the empire against Germany and Neustria. The Germans only sought independence.

However, the name of eldest son of the sons of Charlemagne, the title of emperor and of king of Italy, and the having Rome and the pope on one’s side, still had their influence. It was, then, with humility, and in the name of peace and of the Church†, of the poor and of the orphan, that the kings of Germany and of Neustria addressed themselves to Lothaire, when the armies were in presence, at Fontenai or Fontenaille, near Auxerre. “They offered to present him with all they had in their army, save the horses and arms; if he did not choose to accept this, they offered to cede to him a part of both their kingdoms, the one as far as Ardennes, the other as far as the Rhine; if this would not content him, they would divide all France into equal portions, and give him his choice. Lothaire answered, according to his custom, that he would make known his wishes through his messengers. Then sending Drogo, Hugh, and Heribert, he told them that not having made him such propositions before, he required time for consideration. But, in fact, Pepin not having arrived, Lothaire desired to wait for his coming‡.

On the next day, at the precise hour of the morning they had given Lothaire notice that they would attack him, they marched upon him and defeated him. To believe the historians, the battle was murderous and bloody—so bloody that it exhausted the military population of the empire, and left it defenceless against the ravages of the barbarians§. Such a massacre, difficult to credit at all times, is particularly so as occurring at this period of softness and of ecclesiastical influence.

* Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 453. Virum rixæ virumque discordiæ se progenitum frequenter ingenuerit.—Paschasius Radbertus, author of the Life of Wala, and who wrote in the reigns of Louis the Debonnaire and of his son, Charles the Bald, thought it prudent to disguise his personages under fictitious names. Wala is called *Arsenius*; Adhalar, *Antonius*; Louis the Debonnaire, *Justinianus*; Judith, *Justina*; Lothaire, *Honorius*; Louis the German, *Gratianus*; Pepin, *Melanus*; Bernard of Septimania, *Naso* and *Amisarius*.

† Ibid. passim.—A monk having tried to escape from the monastery in order to avoid some punishment, Wala placed soldiers at the gates. p. 485.

‡ Annal. Bertiniani, ann. 837, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 198.—Astronom. c. 53. Mandavit Pippino . . . res ecclesiasticas restitui. See, also, c. 56.

§ Nithard. i. l. c. 7. Ecce, fili, ut promiseram, regnum omne coram te est: divide illud prout libuerit. Quod si tu divideris, partium electio Caroli erit. Si autem nos illud dividerimus, similiter partium electio tua erit.—“When Lothaire had been three days trying to make the division and could not, he sent Josippus and Ricardus to his father, praying that he would undertake the division, and leave the right of choice to him . . . they professed that he had been unable to make the division from ignorance of the countries alone. Wherefore his father, being very ill, divided the whole kingdom, Bavaria excepted, with his sons. Lothaire took the Southern portion from the Meuse, and consented that Charles should take the West.”—Astronom. c. 64.

|| Astronom. c. 64.

* Nithard. i. l. c. 8.—Astronom. c. 64.—Wandalbertus, in Martyrol. ap. Scr. R. Fr. VI. 71.

† Nithard. i. l. c. 9. Memor sit Dei omnipotentis, et concedat pacem fratribus suis universæque ecclesiæ Dei.

‡ Nithard. i. l. c. 10.

§ Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 184. In quâ pugna ita Francorum viri attenuati sunt . . . ut nec ad tuendos proprios fines in posterum sufficerent.—“In this battle,” says another chronicle written in the reign of Philip Augustus, “almost all the warriors of France, of Aquitaine, of Italy, of Germany, and of Burgundy mutually destroyed each other.” Hist. Reg. France. 259.

|| The extent of this effeminacy may be inferred from the extraordinary moderation which characterises the military games given at Worms by Charles and Louis. “The multitude clustered all round; and at first, the Saxons, the Gascons, the Austrasians, and the Bretons, ranging themselves in equal numbers, on opposite sides, as if they were about to wage mutual war, galloped headlong against each other. The one party took flight, covering themselves with their shields, and feigning to avoid the pursuers; when,

We have already seen, and we shall see more clearly still, that the reigns of Charlemagne and of his immediate successors were exalted in the eyes of the men of the deplorable times which followed into an heroic epoch—the glory of which they loved to heighten by fables as patriotic as they were insipid. Besides, it was beyond the age to account for the depopulation of the west, and the decay of military spirit, by political causes. It was at once both easier and more poetical to suppose that all the brave had perished in one bloody fight, and that the cowardly were the only survivors.

The battle was so indecisive, that the conquerors were unable to pursue Lothaire; but, on the contrary, in the succeeding campaign, he pressed Charles the Bald hard. Charles and Louis, ever insecure, contracted a new alliance at Strasburg, and endeavoured to interest the people in it, by addressing them, not in the language of the Church, till then constantly used in all treaties and councils, but in the popular speech of Gaul and Germany. The king of the Germans took his oath in the Romance or French tongue; the king of the French (so we may henceforward style the Fränkish monarchs) took his in the German. These solemn words, pronounced on the bank of the Rhine, are the first monument of the nationality of the two races.

Louis, as the eldest, was the first to take the oath:—"Pro Don amur, et pro christian poble, et nostro commun salvamento, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarcio cist meon fradre Karlo et in adjudha, et in cad-huna cosa, si cüm om per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il mi altre si fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meo fradre Karle, in damno sit." Louis having sworn, Charles repeated the oath, but in German:—"In Godes minna indum tes christiaues folches, ind unser bedherro gehaltunissi, foz thesemo dage frammdordes, so fram so mir Got gewizei indi madh furgibit so hald in tesan minan bruoðder soso man mit relitu sinan bruder seal, inthui thaz er mig soso ma duo; indi mit Lutheren inno kleinnin thing ne geganga zhe minan vvilon imo ce scadhien vverhen *." The oath taken by the people of the

two countries, each in their vernacular tongue, is as follows in the Romance language:—"Si Lodhuvigs sacrament que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io returnar non lint pois, ne io ne nuelis cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla adjudha contrà Lodhuwig nun lin iver *."

This oath is as follows, in the German—"Oba Karl then eid then er sineno bruoðder Ludhuwige gessuor geleistit, ind Luduwig min herro then er imo gesuor forbrilhehit, ob ina ih nes irrwenden ne mag, nah ih, nah thero, noh hein then ih es irrwenden mag, vriindhar Karle imo ce follusti-ne wirdlit."

"The bishops," adds Nithard †, "declared that Lothaire had fallen under the just judgment of God, who had transferred his kingdom to the most worthy. But they did not authorize either Charles or Louis to take possession of it, until they had enquired of them whether they would reign after the example of their dethroned brother, or according to the will of God. The monarchs having replied, that so long as God should give them the power, to the best of their knowledge they would order both themselves and their subjects in obedience to his will, the bishops pronounced—"In the name and power of the Most High, take the kingdom, and govern it according to his will; we advise, exhort, command you so to do." Both brothers chose twelve of their adherents (I was of the number), and entrusted them with the division of the kingdom."

The conduct of Lothaire and of Pepin in endeavouring to support themselves by aid of the Saxons and Saracens, gave the advantage to Charles and Louis, since the Church declared against the two first. Lothaire, therefore, had to content himself with the title of emperor, without the authority. "All the bishops deciding that the three brothers ought to be at peace, the two kings sent for Lothaire's deputies, and granted him what he asked. They passed four days, and more, in dividing the kingdom. It was at length concluded that the whole country between the Rhine and the Meuse ‡, as far as the source of the latter river, thence as far as the source of the Saône, along the Saône to its confluence with the Rhône, and along the Rhône as far as the sea, should be offered to

suddenly wheeling, they became pursuers in their turn, until both kings, with all their young men, uttering loud shouts, spurring their horses, and brandishing their lances, charged and pursued sometimes the one, sometimes the other party. It was a fine sight, both from the numbers of the high nobility collected there, and from the moderation which prevailed. Out of this large multitude, and amidst so many of different race, one did not even see what is often seen where the number is small and the combatants acquainted—any one dare to wound or injure another." Nithard. l. iii. c. 6.

* Nithard. l. iii. c. 5. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 27. 35. I borrow M. Aug. Thierry's translation of these oaths (Lettres sur l'Hist. de France) but do not adopt his restorations, thinking it too hazardous to change the Latin words met with in the monuments of such an epoch. Latin must have entered, in different proportions, into all the early languages of Europe. (See, in the Appendix, the barbarous poem on the captivity of Louis II.)

† "For the love of God and for the Christian people, and our common safety, from this day forward, and as long as God shall give me understanding and power, I will support my brother Karl here, present, by aid and in every thing, as it is right that one should support one's brother, so long as

he shall do the same for me. And never will I make any agreement with Lothaire which by my will shall be to the detriment of my brother."

* "If Ludwig keep the oath which he has sworn to his brother Karl, and if Karl, my lord, on his part does not keep it, if I cannot bring him back to it—and neither I nor any others can bring him back to it, I will aid him in nothing against Ludwig now or ever."

‡ The Germans repeated this in their tongue, only changing the order of the names. Nithard. l. iii. c. 5.

† Id. iv. c. 1.

‡ The countries watered by the Meuse had declared openly for Charles. "All the people who dwell between the Meuse and the Seine sent messengers to Charles (A. D. 840), beseeching him to come before Lothaire should seize their country, and promising to meet him on his arrival. Charles, accompanied by a few followers, hastily set out, and, on his reaching Quierzy, was warmly welcomed by the people from the forest of Ardennes and from the countries below. As to the dwellers beyond the forest—Herefrid, Gislebert, Bovon, and others, seduced by Oulfi, they failed in the allegiance which they had sworn." Nithard. l. ii. c. 2.

Lothaire as the third of the kingdom; and that he should hold all the bishoprics, all the abbeyes, all the counties, and all the royal domains of the countries on this side of the Alps, with the exception of * . . . (Treaty of Verdun, A. D. 843).

"Louis and Charles's commissioners having made various objections to the proposed division, they were asked if any one of them were thoroughly acquainted with the whole kingdom. No one answering in the affirmative, they were then asked why they had not taken advantage of the time allowed for consideration, to send parties throughout the provinces, to draw up a description of them. It was discovered that this was what Lothaire did not want to be done; and they were told that it was impossible for men to make an equal division of a thing they were ignorant of. They were then asked whether they could conscientiously have taken oath, that they would divide the kingdom equally and impartially, when they were aware that not one of them knew its extent—and the question was referred for decision to the bishops†."

Lothaire's odious application to the Pagans‡ for aid—an example afterwards followed by his ally Pepin in Aquitaine—seemed to bring down misfortune on his family. Charles the Bald and Louis the German, supported by the bishops of their kingdoms, perpetuated the name of Charlemagne, and, at least, founded the monarchy, which, long eclipsed by feudalism, was one day to become so powerful. Lothaire and Pepin were unable to found any thing. Charles the Bald, who was supposed to be the son of Bernard of Languedoc, the favourite of Louis the Debonnaire, and of Judith, and who resembled Bernard§, seems, indeed, to have had all his southern address. At first, he is the man of the bishops, of Hincmar, the great archbishop of Reims; and, in some sort, it is in the name of the Church that he wars on Lothaire and Pepin, the allies of the Pagans. Pepin, governed by the counsels of a son of Bernard's, did not hesitate to invite the Saracens and Normans|| into Aquitaine. It has

been seen by the marriage of Eudes' daughter with an Emir, that the Christianity of the men of the south was by no means shocked at these alliances with unbelievers. The Saracens invaded Septimania in Pepin's name, and the Normans took Toulouse. It is asserted that he went so far as to deny Christ, and ratified his oaths by adorning Woden and the horse. Such means must have been more fatal than serviceable to him. The people detested the friend of the barbarians, and imputed all the ravages committed by them to him. Given up to Charles the Bald by the leaders of the Gascons, often a prisoner, and often a fugitive, anarchy was all he wrought.

Lothaire's family was hardly more fortunate. On his death (A. D. 855), his eldest son, Louis II., became emperor. His two other sons, Lothaire II., and Charles, became, the first—king of Lorraine (the provinces between the Meuse and Rhine), the second, king of Provence. Charles died early. Louis, harassed by the Saracens, and taken prisoner by the Lombards, was always unfortunate, despite his courage. As to Lothaire II., his reign seems to be the advent of the Papal supremacy over kings*. He had put away his wife, Teutberga, in order to live with the archbishop of Cologne's sister (niece, too, to the bishop of Trèves), accusing Teutberga of adultery and incest. For a long time she denied the charge, and then confessed it—undoubtedly, through intimidation. Pope Nicholas I., to whom she first addressed herself, refused to credit her confession, and compelled Lothaire to take her again. The latter repaired to Rome to justify himself, and received the communion from the hands of Adrian II.; who, however, at the same time threatened him, unless he repented, with the vengeance of Heaven. Lothaire died within the week, and most of his supporters within the year†. Charles the Bald, and Louis the German, profited by this judgment of God's, and divided Lothaire's dominions between them.

On the contrary, the king of France, at least in the earlier reigns, was the man of the Church; for since France had escaped the influence of Germany, the Church alone possessed power within it, a power which the secular clergy were unable to counterbalance. Germans, Aquitanians, and even Irish and Lombards, seem to have been more favoured at the Carlovingian court than the Neustrians. Governed and defended by foreigners, Neustria had long only moved and breathed through her clergy. Her population would appear to have consisted of slaves, scattered over the immense and half-cultivated estates of the nobles of the country; of whom the greatest and richest were the nobles and abbots. With the exception of the episcopal cities, the towns were nothing; but around each abbey was clustered a town, or at least a small burgh‡. The richest abbeyes were those of St.

* Id. l. iv. c. 36.

† Id. ibid. c. 4.

† Id. ibid. c. 2. "He sent messengers into Saxony, to promise both freemen and serfs (frilingi et lazzi), who are most numerous, that if they would support him, he would restore the laws which their ancestors had enjoyed at the time they worshipped idols. The Saxons, eagerly desiring this consummation, took the new name of *Stellingi*, banded together, expelled nearly all their lords, and each, according to ancient custom, began to live as he liked best. Lothaire also called the Northmen to his aid. He subjected some tribes of Christians to their rule, and had even allowed them to plunder the rest of the people of Christ. Louis feared that the Northmen and Slaves might be induced, through ties of kindred, to join the Saxons who had taken the name of *Stellingi*, invade his dominions, and abolish the Christian religion." See, also, the Annals of St. Bertin, ann. 841, the Annals of Fulda, ann. 842, and the Chronicle of Hermann, Abridged ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 232, &c.

‡ Thegan. c. 36. "There were even men evil enough to say that queen Judith had been violated by duke Bernard."—Vita Venerabil. Walze, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 289.—Agobardi Apolog. ibid. 246.—Ariberti narratio, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 286. "His features were marvellously like, and gave natural proof of his mother's adultery."

§ Annal. Bertin. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 66.—Chron. S. Benigni Divion. ibid. 229.—Translat. S. Vincent. 353. Nortmanni . . . a Pippino conducti mercimonis, pariter cum eo ad obsidendam Tolosam adventaverant.

* Nicolai, Epist. i. ap. Mansi, xv. p. 373.

† Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 1.

‡ M. de Chateaubriand justly observes, that an abbey was neither more nor less than the abode of a rich Roman patrician, with the various classes of slaves and of workmen attached to the service of the property and of the proprietor, together with the towns and villages dependent on these. The father abbot was the master; the monks—so many freedmen of the master—cultivated science, literature, and art.—To the abbey of St. Riquier belonged the town of that name, with thirteen other towns, and thirty villages,

Médard of Soissons, and of St. Denys—founded by Dagobert, the cradle of our monarchy, and the tomb of our kings. Above the whole land there domineered—by its dignity as a see, by its doctrine, and by its miracles—the great metropolis of Reims, as great in the north as Lyons was in the south. Through wars and ravages, the sees of St. Martin of Tours, and of St. Hilary of Poitiers, had lost much of their pristine splendour; and under the second race, Reims succeeded to their influence, and extended its possessions into the most distant provinces, even into the Vosges and Aquitaine*. It was pre-eminently the episcopal city. Laon, on its inaccessible hill, was the royal city, and enjoyed the melancholy honour of defending the last of the Carolingians. Our kings of the third race waited till the incursions of the Normans ceased, before they ventured to descend to the plains, and establish themselves at Paris, in the island of the City, close to St. Denys, as the Carolingians had chosen for their last asylum Laon, close to Reims.

Charles the Bald was, at first, only the humble client of the bishops. Before and after the battle of Fontenai, he complains, in his negotiations with Lothaire, of the latter's disrespect for the Church†. Therefore is he protected by God. When Lothaire arrives on the banks of the Seine with his barbarous and pagan army, partly consisting of Saxons, the river miraculously overflows its banks and protects Charles the Bald‡. The monks, before they set Louis the Debonnaire free, had asked him whether he would re-establish and maintain Divine worship§. In like manner the bishops interrogated Charles the Bald and Louis the German, and then conferred the kingdom upon them||. Later still, the bishops are of opinion that peace should prevail among the three brothers¶. After the battle of Fontenai, the bishops, in full assembly, declare that Charles and Louis have fought for equity and justice, and command a three days' fast**. "The Franks, as well as the Aquitanians," says Charles's partisan, Nithard, "despised the small number of Charles's followers. But the monks of St. Médard of Soissons came to meet him, and prayed him to bear on his shoulders the relics of

St. Médard, and of fifteen other saints, which they were removing to their new basilica; and, with all veneration, he bore them on his shoulders, and then repaired to Reims.*"

The creature of the bishops and of the monks, he conferred on them the greatest share of his power, as indeed was right and fit, for they alone had both the knowledge and the means to regulate, in some degree, the wild disorder that prevailed throughout the land†. Thus the powers of the king's commissioners are divided between bishops and laymen by the capitulary of Epernay (A. D. 846); and by that of Kiersy (A. D. 857), the right of proceeding against all evil-doers ‡ is conferred on the curés. This thoroughly ecclesiastical legislation prescribes as a remedy for the troubles and robberies that distract the kingdom—the oaths, to be sworn on relics, of the freemen and hundredors; and recommends brigands to episcopal exhortation, threatening them, if they persist in their course of life, with the spiritual sword of excommunication§. The bishops, then, were the masters of the land.

The real king, and the real pope of France, was the famous Hincmar||, archbishop of Reims. He

* Id. Ibid. c. 2.—Before leaving Angers (A. D. 873), Charles the Bald would assist at the ceremonies of the inhabitants on their return to their city, in order to replace the bodies of St. Aubin and of St. Lezin in the silver shrines which they had carried off. Annal. Bertin. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 117.

† A recent historian is mistaken in supposing this power to have been transferred to the bishops exclusively. Baluz. t. ii. p. 31. Capital. Sparnac. ann. 846, art. 20. Missos ex utroque ordine . . . mittatis. . . .

‡ Capitul. Car. Calvi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 630. Ut unusquisque presbyter imbreviet in sua parrochia omnes malefactores, etc., et eos extra ecclesiam faciat. . . . "If they do not reform, they must be cited before the bishop."

§ A treaty of alliance and mutual aid was entered into (A. D. 581) by the three sons of Louis the Debonnaire, for the seizing of such as fled from episcopal excommunication into the kingdoms of the others, and for the capture of such as had been guilty of incest, erring nuns, and adulteresses.

¶ Ibid. . . . Si quis hoc transgressus fuerit, ecclesiastico anathemate feriatur.

|| ("Hincmar," says Dean Waddington,—History of the Church, p. 252—"was descended from a noble family, and the early part of his life he so divided between the court and the cloister, and displayed so much ability and enthusiasm in the discharge of the duties attached to either situation, as to combine the practical penetration of a statesman with the vigour of a zealous ecclesiastic. He was raised to the see of Reims in the year 845, at the age of thirty-nine, and filled it for nearly forty years with firmness and vigour. In the ninth century, when the mightiest events were brought about by ecclesiastical guidance, he stands among the leading characters, if, indeed, we should not rather consider him as the most eminent. He was the great churchman of the age: on all public occasions of weighty deliberation, at all public ceremonies of coronation or consecration, Hincmar is invariably to be found as the active and directing spirit. His great knowledge of canonical law enabled him to rule the councils of the clergy; his universal talents rendered him necessary to the state, and gave him more influence in political affairs than any other subject; whilst his correspondence—Frodoard mentions 423 letters of Hincmar's, besides many others not specified—attests his close intercourse with all the leading characters of his age. In the management of his diocese, he was no less careful to instruct and enlighten than strict to regulate; and while he issued and enforced his capitularies of discipline with the air and authority of a civil despot, he waged

besides an immense number of farms. The offerings of silver laid on the Saint's tomb yearly amounted to nearly two millions of our money. Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 104.—The monastery of St. Martin, at Autun, though not equally wealthy with these, owned, under the Merovingians, a hundred thousand farms, (*mans*).—Etudes Historiques, iii. 271, seq.

* Frodoard, Hist. Eccles. Rem. lib. ii. c. 18: 1 iii. c. 26.

† "He required him to forbear persecuting God's holy Church, and to pity the poor, the widow, and the orphan." Nithard. i. iii. c. 3.

‡ Id. Ibid. "Wonderful to tell, the Seine, although the weather was perfectly tranquil, began to rise."

§ Id. i. i. c. 3. Percontari . . . si respublica ei restitueretur, an eam erigere ac fovere vellet, maximeque cultum divinum.

|| Id. i. iv. c. 1. Palam illos percontati sunt . . . an secundum Dei voluntatem regere voluissent. Respondentibus . . . se velle . . . alunt: Et auctoritate divina ut illud suscipiatis, qd secundum Dei voluntatem illud regatis, monemus, hortamur, atque precipimus.

¶ Id. Ibid. c. 3. "As usual, the matter is referred to the priests and bishops: on whose unanimously counselling peace, they consent, expedite ambassadors, and come to an agreement."

** Id. i. iii. c. 1.

was born in the north of Gaul, but an Aquitanian by descent, being related to St. Gulielmus of Toulouse, and to Bernard, that favourite of Judith's, who was thought to be Charles's father. No one contributed more to increase the power of the latter, or exercised more authority under him in the first years of his reign. It was Hincmar, apparently, who, at the head of the French clergy, hindered Louis the German from establishing himself in Neustria and in Aquitaine, whither he had been invited by the nobles. When Louis invaded Charles's dominions in 859, the council of Metz deputed three bishops to wait upon him, and offer him the Church's pardon, provided he would redeem the sin of which he had been guilty in invading his brother's kingdom, and exposing it to the ravages of his army, by a proportionate penance. Hincmar was at the head of this deputation. "King Louis," said the deputies on their return to the council, "gave us audience at Worms on the 4th of June, and said—'I beg you, if in anything I have offended you, to be good enough to pardon me, so that I may proceed to speak in safety with you.' To this Hincmar, who was in the first place, on his left, replied, 'Our business will be soon despatched, for we are come on purpose to offer you the pardon which you seek.' Grimold, the king's chaplain, and bishop Theodoric, having addressed some remark to Hincmar, he resumed—'You have committed nothing against me to leave in my heart reprehensible rancour, otherwise I durst not approach the altar to offer sacrifice to the Lord.'—Grimold, and bishops Theodoric and Solomon, again addressed Hincmar, and Theodoric said to him, 'Do as our lord the king requests you, pardon him.'—To this Hincmar replied, 'As regards myself and my own person, I have pardoned, and I do pardon you. But as to your offences against the Church, which is entrusted to my keeping, and against my people, I can only give you my best advice, and offer you the help of the Lord to obtain absolution, if you desire it.'—Then the bishops exclaimed, 'Of a verity, he says well.'—All our brothers being unanimous on this head, and never vacillating, this was all the indulgence extended to him, and nothing more . . . for we expected that he would ask our advice as to the means of safety offered to him, and then we should have counselled him according to the tenor of the paper of which we were bearers. But he answered from his throne, that he could not attend to the paper before he had consulted with his bishops."

Soon after, another and a more numerous council was assembled at Savonnières, near Toul, to restore peace between the kings of the Franks. Charles the Bald addressed himself to the fathers

incessant warfare with ignorance. It is indeed probable that he possessed less theological learning than his less celebrated contemporary, Rabanus Maurus; but he had much more of that active energy of character so seldom associated with contemplative habits. It is also true that he was crafty, imperious, and intolerant; that he paid his zealous devotions to the Virgin, and was infected with other superstitions of his age. His occasional resistance to the see of Rome has acquired for him much of his celebrity; but if Divine Providence had so disposed that Hincmar had been bishop of Rome for as long a space as he was primate of France, he would unquestionably have exalted papal supremacy with more courage, consistency, and success, than he opposed it.") TRANSLATOR.

of this council (A.D. 859) for justice against Venilo, clerk of his chapel, whom he had made archbishop of Sens, and who had nevertheless left him for Louis the German. The complaint of the king of the French is remarkable for its humble tone. After recapitulating all the benefits which he had heaped upon Venilo, all his personal obligations, and all the proofs of his ingratitude and want of faith, he adds, "Elected by him, and by the other bishops and faithful nobles of our kingdom, who testified their will and their consent by their acclamations, Venilo, in his own diocese, in the church of the Holy Rood at Orleans, consecrated me king, according to the traditions of the Church, in presence of the other archbishops and bishops—he anointed me with the holy chrism, gave me the diadem and royal sceptre, and bade me ascend the throne. After having been thus consecrated, I ought neither to have been de-throned nor supplanted, without having been heard and judged by the bishops, by whose ministration I have been consecrated king, and who have been called the thrones of the Divinity. In them God sits, and through them He renders judgment. At all times I have shown myself ready to submit to their paternal corrections and castigatory judgments—and I am so now *."

The kingdom of Neustria was, in fact, a theocratic republic. The bishops cherished and supported this king of their own making, allowed him to levy soldiers among their retainers, and directed the affairs of war as well as those of peace. "Charles," says the annalist of St. Bertin, "gave notice that he would proceed to the assistance of Louis with such army as he had been able to assemble, and chiefly raised by the bishops†."—"The king," says the historian of the Church of Reims, "entrusted all ecclesiastical matters to archbishop Hincmar, and moreover, when it was necessary to raise the people against the enemy, it was to him that the mission was confided, and, straightway, by the king's orders, he convened the bishops and the counts."

The same hands then were the depositories both of the temporal and the spiritual power; and the churchmen governed by the triple title of bishops, magistrates, and great proprietors: a fact, sufficient to show the worldly and political character which episcopacy is about to assume, and that the state will be neither governed nor defended. This weak and lethargic rule, under which the wearied world might have slumbered, was broken up by two events. On the one hand, the human mind raised its protest, in various ways, against the spiritual despotism of the Church; on the other, the incursions of the Northmen constrained the bishops to resign, at least in part, the temporal power into hands more capable of defending the country. The foundations of feudalism were being laid; the scholastic philosophy was, at the least, being gradually prepared.

* Baluz. Capitul. ann. 859, p. 127.—At a later period, Hincmar expressly asserts that he elected Louis III. Hincmar ad Ludov. iii. epist. (ap. Hincmar. Opp. ii. 198.)—Ego cum collegis meis et ceteris Dei ac progenitorum vestrorum fidelibus, vos elegi ad regimen regni, sub conditione debitas leges servandi.

† Annal. Bertin. ann. 865, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii.

† Frodoard, Hist. Eccles. Remensis, lib. 214. . . . Sed et de populo in hostem convocando . . .

The first dispute turned on the Eucharist; the second, on Grace and Liberty. This is the natural and necessary order of religious differences; first, the question touching God—next, that concerning man. Thus Arius precedes Pelagius, and Berenger, Abelard. It was Paschasius Radbertus, the panegyrist of Wala and abbot of Corbie, who, in the ninth century, first explicitly taught the marvellous poetry of a god enclosed in a loaf, spirit in matter, and infinity in an atom*. The ancient fathers had had glimpses of this doctrine, but the time was not come. It was not till the ninth century, and till the eve of the last trials of barbaric invasion, that God deigned to descend in order to strengthen mankind in their extreme of misery, and suffered Himself to be seen, touched,

* ("Mosheim asserts without hesitation that it had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church, that the body and blood of Christ were really administered to those who received the sacrament, and that they were consequently present at the administration, but that the sentiments of Christians concerning the nature and manner of this presence were various and contradictory. No council had yet determined with precision the manner in which that presence was to be understood; both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter; nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or controlled the extravagance of the other. The historian's first position is laid down, perhaps, somewhat too peremptorily, for though many passages may be adduced from very ancient fathers in affirmation of the bodily presence, the obscurity or different tendency of others would rather persuade us that even that doctrine was also left a good deal to individual judgment. The second is strictly true; and the question which had escaped the vain and intrusive curiosity of oriental theologians was at length engendered in a convent in Gaul. In the year 831, Paschasius Radbert, a Benedictine monk, afterwards abbot of Corbie, published a treatise concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which he presented, fifteen years afterwards, carefully revised and augmented, to Charles the Bald. The doctrine advanced by Paschasius may be expressed in the two following propositions:—First, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, nothing remains of those symbols except the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present. Secondly, that the body of Christ, thus present, is the same body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. Charles appears decidedly to have disapproved of this doctrine; and it might perhaps have been expected that, after the example of so many princes, he would have summoned a council, stigmatized it as heresy, and excommunicated its author. He did not do so; but, on the contrary, adopted a method of opposition worthy of a wiser prince and a more enlightened age. He commissioned two of the ablest writers of the day, Ratramn and Johannes Scotus, to investigate by arguments the suspicious opinion. The composition of the former is still extant, and has exercised the ingenuity of the learned even in recent times; but they have not succeeded in extricating from the perplexities of his reasoning, and perhaps the uncertainty of his belief, the real opinions of the author. The work of Johannes Scotus is lost; but we learn that his arguments were more direct, and his sentiments more perspicuous and consistent: he plainly declared that the bread and wine were no more than the symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ, and memorials of the Last Supper. Other theologians engaged in the dispute, and a decided superiority, both in numbers and talents, was opposed to the doctrine of Paschasius—yet so opposed that there was little unanimity among its adversaries, and no very perfect consistency even in their several writings." Waddington, History of the Church, pp. 257, 8.) TRANSLATOR.

and tasted. Vainly did the Irish church protest in the name of logic—it did not hinder the doctrine from pursuing its triumphant progress through the middle ages.

The question of liberty originated a livelier controversy. A German monk, a Saxon*, named Gotteschalk (i. e. God's glory), had proclaimed the doctrine of predestination†—that religious

* See the texts relative to this, collected by Gieseler. Kirchengeschichte, ii. 101, sqq.—In his profession of faith Gotteschalk offered to prove his doctrine by passing through four barrels filled with boiling water, oil, and pitch, and afterwards through a large fire.

† ("The subject of predestination and Divine grace, which had already—in the fifth century—been controverted in France with some acuteness, and, what is much better, with candour and charity, was subjected to another investigation in the ninth century. Gotteschalkus, otherwise called Fulgentius, was a native of Germany, and a monk of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. He was admitted to orders, during the vacancy of the see, by the chorepiscopus—a circumstance to which the subsequent animosity of Hincmar is sometimes attributed. He possessed considerable learning, but a mind withal too prone to pursue abstruse and unprofitable inquiries. Early in life he consulted Lupus, abbot of Ferrara, on the question, whether, after the resurrection, the blessed shall see God with the eyes of the body? The abbot concluded a reluctant reply to the following effect:—'I exhort you, my venerable brother, no longer to weary your spirit with such-like speculations, lest, through too great devotion to them, you become incapacitated for examining and teaching things more useful. Why waste so many researches on matters which it is not yet, perhaps, expedient that we should know? Let us rather exercise our talents in the spacious fields of Holy Writ; let us apply entirely to that meditation, and let prayer be associated to our studies. God will not fail in his goodness to manifest Himself in the manner which shall be best for us, though we should cease to pry into things which are placed above us.' The speculations of Gotteschalkus were diverted by this judicious rebuke, but not repressed; and the books of Scripture were still rivalled or superseded in his attention by those of Augustin. Accordingly he involved himself deeply and inextricably in the mazes of fatalism. About the year 846 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return, soon afterwards, he expressed his opinions on that subject very publicly in the diocese of Verona. Information was instantly conveyed to Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mayence, the most profound theologian of the age. That prelate immediately replied, and, in combating the error of a professed Augustinian, protected himself also by the authority of Augustin. "Happy had it been for the author of the controversy if his adversary had allowed it to remain on that footing; but the doctrine was becoming too popular, and threatened moral effects too pernicious to be overlooked by the Church. Rabanus assembled, in 848, a council at Mayence, at which the king was present, and Gotteschalkus was summoned before it. Here he defended, in a written treatise, the doctrine of double predestination,—that of the elect, to eternal life by the free grace of God,—that of the wicked, to everlasting damnation through their own sins. His explanations did not satisfy the council, and the tenet was rejected and condemned; but its advocate was not considered amenable to that tribunal, as he had been ordained in the diocese of Reims; wherefore Rabanus consigned him to the final custody of Hincmar, who then held that see. . . . It is certain that he was confined to the walls of a convent for almost twenty years, and that at length, during the agonies of his latest moments, he was required to subscribe a formula of faith as the only condition of reconciliation with the Church,—that he disdained to make any sacrifice, even at that moment, to that consideration,—and that his corpse was deprived of Christian sepulture by the

fatalism which offers up human liberty a sacrifice to Divine prescience. Germany thus became heir to St. Augustin, and plunged into that career of mysticism which she has since but seldom quitted. The Saxon Gottschalk foreshadowed the Saxon Luther. Like Luther, he repaired to Rome, and did not return the more tractable for it. Like him, too, he disavowed his monastic vows.

Having sought refuge in northern France, he was ill received there. German doctrines were not calculated to win a favourable welcome in a country which had just separated from Germany, and a new Pelagius arose against the new predestination.

And first, the Aquitanian Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, entered his protest in favour of free will and of endangered morality. A violent and tyrannic defender of liberty, he caused Gottschalk, who had taken refuge in his diocese, to be seized, and had him condemned, scourged, and imprisoned. But Lyons, always mystical, and the rival, too, of Reims—with whom she contested the title of metropolis of Gaul—Lyons sided with Gottschalk; and men of eminence in the Gallic church—Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, and Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, whom Gottschalk called his master, endeavoured to justify him by putting a favourable construction on the terms in which he had advanced his doctrine. There were certain ardent saints, and councils against councils. Hincmar, who had not foreseen the storm, at first sought the assistance of the learned Rabanus, the abbot of Fulda*, to which monastery Gottschalk had belonged, and who had been the first to denounce his errors. Rabanus hesitating, Hincmar applied to an Irishman who had engaged in controversy with Paschasius Radbertus on the question of the Eucharist, and who was then in high credit with Charles the Bald. Ireland was always the school of the West—the mother of monks, and, as it was termed, *the isle of saints*. It is true that its influence on the continent had dwindled, since the Carlovingians had supplanted the rule of St. Columbanus by that of St. Benedict. However, even in Charlemagne's time, the school of the palace had been entrusted to Clement, an Irishman, with whom had been associated Dungal and St. Virgilius. The Irish were in still higher favour with Charles the Bald, who, a patron of literature, like his mother Judith, entrusted the school of the palace to John of Ireland (otherwise called the *Scot or Erigena*)—and attended his lessons, and admitted him to the greatest familiarity. The phrase was no longer the *school of the palace*, but the *palace of the school*.

This same John, who was acquainted with Greek, and, perhaps, with Hebrew, had become celebrated

by his translation—undertaken at Charles's request—of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, the manuscript of which had just been presented by the emperor of Constantinople to the French king. It was supposed that these writings, which had in view the reconciliation of the neoplatonism of Alexandria with Christianity, were the production of Dionysius the Areopagite, spoken of by the apostle Paul—with whom the Gallic apostle was confounded.

The Irishman did as Hincmar desired. He wrote against Gottschalk, in favour of liberty; but did not confine himself within the limits to which the archbishop of Reims would no doubt have restrained him. Like Pelagius, from whom he derived his opinions, and like Origen, their common master, he relied less on authority than on reason. He admitted faith—but as the beginning of knowledge. Scripture, with him, is simply a text for interpretation: religion and philosophy are the same word*. It is true that he only defended liberty against the predestination of Gottschalk, to absorb and lose it in the pantheism of Alexandria; however, the violence with which Rome attacked John Scotus, proves the alarm authority felt at his doctrines. The disciple of the Breton, Pelagius, and predecessor of the Breton, Abelard, he marks at once the regeneration of philosophy, and the revival of the free Celtic genius in opposition to the mysticism of Germany.

INCURSIONS OF THE NORMANS. (A. D. 819-20.)

At the very moment in which philosophy aimed at extricating herself from theological despotism, the temporal government of the bishops became paralyzed. France slipped out of their power. She needed stronger and more warlike hands to defend her from new invasions of the barbarians. Hardly freed from the rule of the Germans, who had so long governed her, she found herself weak and incapable under the administration and protection of priests. Yet she was inundated by her every river and her every shore with other Germans, whose savageness was of a very different kind from that of those she had just escaped from.

The incursions of these brigands of the north (Northmen, Normans), differed widely from the great German migrations that had taken place from the fourth to the sixth centuries. The barbarians of this earlier period, who settled on the left bank of the Rhine, or who established themselves in England, have left their language there. The petty Saxon colony of Bayeux preserved their own tongue, for at least five hundred years. On the contrary, the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries, adopted the speech of the people among

unrelenting bigotry of Hincmar." Waddington, History of the Church, pp. 258—260.) TRANSLATOR.

* According to some, both Rabanus and his master Alcuin, were Scots. Low, p. 464.

William of Malmesbury relates the following anecdote. "One day that John was sitting at table, opposite to the king,—the dishes having been removed and the wine going round,—Charles, with lively look, and after some other pleasantries, seeing John do something which shocked Gallic breeding, gently rebuked him by asking *Quid distat inter scottum et Scutum?* (what's the distance between a *scot*—a fool—and a *Scot*)?"—A table's breadth, was John's reply, who thus retorted the insult."

• J. Erig. de Div. Prædestin. c. i. (Guizot, Vingt-neuvième leçon) . . . "True philosophy is true religion, and, reciprocally, true religion is true philosophy."—De Nat. Divis. l. i. c. 66, (ibid.) . . . "It is not to be supposed that Holy Scripture always employs precise and specific words and signs to penetrate us with the Divine nature; but, by the use of similitudes, and of indirect and figurative terms, stoops to our weakness; and, by its simple teaching, elevates our gross and childish minds." In the treatise *Περὶ φύσεως θεοῦ*, authority is derived from reason, but by no means reason from authority. All authority not recognised by reason seems worthless, &c. See Guizot, ibid. 164, sqq.

whom they settled. Their kings, Rou, both of Russia and of France (Ru-Rik, Rollo), did not introduce the language of Germany into their new country. And from this essential distinction between the invasions of the two epochs, I am led to believe that those of the first, which were carried on by land, consisted of whole families—of warriors, followed by their wives and children. They would not be so blended with the conquered by intermarriage, and would thus the better preserve the purity of their race and language. The pirates of the epoch at which we are now arrived, appear to have been for the most part exiles, banished men who aspired to be *sea-kings*, for lack of land whereon to reign. Furious wolves *, whom hunger had driven from their paternal lair †, they landed alone, and without families; and, when they were satiated with plunder, when, by dint of annual visitations, they had come to look upon the land which they pillaged as their country—these new Romuluses repeated the tale of the Sabine women ‡. They took wives; and the children, of course, spoke the language of their mothers. It is conjectured by some, that these roving bands were increased, in Charlemagne's time, by fugitive Saxons. For my part, I can readily believe that not only Saxons, but that every fugitive, every bandit, every stout-hearted serf, was welcomed by these pirates, commonly few in number, and who would gladly strengthen their bands with any bold and robust volunteer. Tradition will have the most terrible of the sea-kings, Hastings, to have been originally a peasant of Troyes §. Such fugitives must have

been valuable to them as interpreters and as guides; and often, perhaps, the fury of the Northmen, and the atrocity of their ravages, were inspired less by the fanaticism of the worshippers of Odin, than by the vengeance of the serf, and the rage of the apostate.

Far from keeping up the armament of barks with which Charlemagne had sought to bar the mouths of the rivers against them, his successors called in the barbarians as auxiliaries. The younger Pepin employed them against Charles the Bald, and hoped, it is said, to secure their assistance by worshipping their gods. They took the faubourgs of Toulouse, thrice pillaged Bordeaux *, and sacked Bayonne and other cities at the foot of the Pyrenees. However, they were soon discouraged (from A. D. 864) by the mountains and torrents of the south. They could not sail up the rivers of Aquitaine so easily as they had ascended the Loire, the Seine, the Scheldt, and the Elbe.

They succeeded better in the north. Since their king, Harold, had obtained from the pious Louis a province for a baptism (A. D. 826)†, they all resorted to the same gainful trade. At first, they got themselves baptized for the sake of the dresses; which could not be provided in sufficient quantities for the crowd of neophytes. In proportion as they were refused the administration of a sacrament which they at once mocked and made a source of gain, they became the more furious. As soon as their *dragons*, their *serpents*‡, ploughed the rivers, as soon as the *ivory-horn* §, re-echoed on the banks, no one stayed to look behind him. All fled to the

* *Wargr*, wolf; *wargus*, banished. See Grimm.

† Famine was the presiding genius of these sea-kings. A dearth which desolated Jutland gave rise to a law, which condemned every five years all eldest sons to exile. Odo Cluniac. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 318.—Dodo, de Mor. Duc Normann. l. i.—Guill. Gemetic. l. i. c. 4. 5.—According to an Irish Saga, parents used to have their gold and silver, &c. burnt with them when they died, in order to compel their children to seek their fortunes by sea. Vaetzela, ap. Barth. 438.

‡ Oliver Barnakall, an intrepid pirate, was the first to forbid his comrades to toss infants from one to another on the points of their spears, which was their usual practice, and hence his name of Barnakall—"saviour of children." Bartholin. p. 457.—When the warlike enthusiasm of the companions of the chief rose to frénzy, they took the name of *Berserkir* (madmen, infuriated). The Berserkir's post was the prow. The ancient Sagas give the name to their heroes as an honourable appellation (See the Edda Siemundar, the Hervarar-Saga, and several of Snorro's Sagas); but in the Vaetzela-Saga, the name of Berserkir becomes a reproach. Barthol. 345.—"He is to be punished, who runs rampant with the madness of a Berserkir." Ann. Kristni-Saga.—Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 463, sqq.

§ The poetic form of the tradition which assigns them as companions of the *Virgins of the buckler*, clearly proves that this was an exception, and that they seldom had women with them.—See Depping, Expéditions des Normands.

§ Had. Glaber. l. i. c. 5. ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 9. "In course of time there was born, near Troyes, a man, in the lowest class of the peasantry, named Hastings. He belonged to a village called Tranquille, three miles from the city, and was strong in body, but of a perverse disposition. In his youth, his pride inspired him with contempt for the poverty of his parents, and, yielding to his ambition, he voluntarily expatriated himself, and managed to fly to the Normans. There, he commenced his career by taking service with those who devoted themselves to constant piracy in order to supply the rest of their nation with food, and who formed what was called the *fleet* (flotta).

* Fragn. Hist. Armoric. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. ad ann. 843. —Annal. Bertin. ibid. ad ann. 848, 855.

† Thegan. c. 33, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 80. Quem imperator elevavit de fonte baptismatis. Tunc magnam partem Frisonum dedit ei. Astropom. c. 40, ibid. 107.—Eginh. Annal. ibid. 187.—Annal. Bertin. ann. 870. "Meanwhile some Normans were baptized, brought for this purpose to the emperor by Hugh, who was both abbot and marquis. Presents were made them, and they returned to their countrymen; when, after baptism, they conducted themselves as before, like Normans and like pagans."

‡ *Drakars*, *snekars*—these were the names they gave their barks.

§ The ivory horn figures conspicuously in the legends relating to the Normans; for instance, in the Armorican legend of St. Florentius. Tum Guallo monachus apud S. Florentium dirigitur . . . postquam monasterium subintravit, illius cryptas tam silvaticis serofis quam illarum festibus plenas evacuavit. . . . Dein . . . Hastensem ad Normannorum ducem . . . adhuc morantem in urbe Nantetica. Quem ut dux ad se cum donis agnovit advenisse, protinus surgit relicta sede, origie illius os suum cepit imponere. Etenim utcumque Christi nris dicitur fuisse Tubam eburneam tonitruum nuncupatam dedit monacho, hæc illi addens, ut suis in prædam exeuntibus eâ buccinaret, et nequaquam de suo timidus esset, ubicumque a prædatoribus audiri posset. (The monk Guallo was sent to St. Florentius. When he entered the convent he drove out of the vaults the wild sons, with their young, that had taken possession of them. Then he repaired to Hastings, the Norman chief, who still abode in Nantes. When the chief saw him arrive with presents, he forthwith arose and left his seat, and kissed him on the mouth—for he is said to have professed Christianity after a fashion. He gave the monk an ivory horn, called the horn of thunders, adding, that whenever his men came to plunder, he (the monk) should sound it, and fear nothing for his property whenever he could be heard by them.) D. Morice, Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne, p. 119.

nearest town or abbey, hastily driving their flocks before them, and hardly taking time for this. Vile flocks themselves, without strength, unity, or guidance, they crouched at the altars under the relics of the saints, which, however, did not stop the barbarians. On the contrary, they seemed wild to violate the most venerated sanctuaries. They broke into those of St. Martin of Tours, St. Germain-des-Près, and numerous others. So great was the terror they inspired, that the harvest was left neglected; and men would eke out the flour with earth. The woods between the Seine and Loire grew denser. A flock of three hundred wolves* devastated Aquitaine, without interruption; and the wild beasts seemed to have taken possession of France.

And, meanwhile, what was done by the sovereigns of the country, the abbots and the bishops? They took to flight—carrying off with them the bones of the saints, and, powerless as their relics, left the people without guide or asylum. At the most they sent some armed serfs to Charles the Bald—to watch timidly the march of the barbarians, to negotiate, but at a distance, with them, and to seek from them for how many pounds of silver they would quit such a province, or deliver up such a captive abbot. A million and a half of our money was paid for the ransom of the abbot of St. Denis†.

These barbarians laid waste the north, whilst the Saracens infested the south‡. I pass over the monotonous history of these inroads, to specify their three principal stages—the inroads themselves, the posts or stations taken up by the marauders, and thirdly, their places of final settlement. The usual stations of the Northmen were islands at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Seine, and the Loire. Those of the Saracens were at Fraxinet (Garde Fraisenet) in Provence, and at St. Maurice-en-Valais: such was the audacity of these pirates, that they had thus dared to leave the sea behind them, and pitch even in the heart of the Alps, in the passes commanding the high roads of Europe. The Saracens had no settlements of consequence except in Sicily. The Northmen, the more practicable of the two, ended by adopting Christianity, and settled in several parts of France; particularly in the province which is named after them, Normandy.

The following passages from the annals of St. Bertin show the daring of the Northmen, the helplessness and humiliation of the king and of the bishops, and their vain attempts to combat these barbarians or to oppose them to one another.

"It was stipulated in the year 866 that all serfs taken by the Normans, who might make their escape, should either be restored to them or ransomed at their own valuation, and that if any Norman were slain, a fine should be paid as the price of his life.

"In 861, the Danes who had recently burnt the city of Terouanne, coming back, under their chief Weland, from the country of the Angles, sail up the Seine with more than two hundred ships, and

besiege the Northmen in the castle which they had built on the island of Oissel. Charles ordered there to be raised—in order to give to the besiegers as a guerdon—five thousand pounds of silver, with a considerable quantity of cattle and of grain, so that his kingdom might not be laid waste; then, crossing the Seine, he repaired to Mehun-sur-Loire, and received count Robert with the stipulated honours. However, Gunthrid and Gozfrid, by whose advice Charles had received Robert, deserted him, together with their companions, according to the ordinary inconstancy of their race and of their native habits, and joined Salomons, the duke of the Bretons. Another band of Danes ascended the Seine with sixty ships, and, entering the river of Hières, joined the besiegers. The besieged, overcome by famine and the most fearful misery, gave the besiegers six thousand pounds, as well of gold as of silver, and join them.

"In 869, Louis, son of Louis, king of Germany, undertaking a war with the Saxons against the Wends, who dwell in the country of the Saxons, gained a kind of victory, with great slaughter on both sides. On his return, Roland, archbishop of Arles, who (but not empty-handed) had obtained from the emperor Louis, and from Ingelberga, the abbey of St. Cesareus, erected in the island of Camargue—which is on every side extremely rich, and where is most of the property of the abbey, and in which the Saracens were accustomed to have a port—a fortress, of earth alone, hastily thrown up, and imprudently threw himself into it when he learnt the arrival of the Saracens, who, landing there, slew more than three hundred of his retainers, and taking the archbishop prisoner, led him to their vessel, and put him in chains. To the said Saracens were given as ransom a hundred and fifty pounds of silver, a hundred and fifty cloaks, a hundred and fifty large swords, and a hundred and fifty slaves, exclusive of what was given by common consent. Meanwhile, the bishop died on board. The Saracens cunningly hastened the collection of his ransom, saying that they could stay no longer, and that, if they wished to have him again, his ransom must be quickly paid—which was done; and the Saracens having received it, seated the bishop in a chair, clad in the sacerdotal vestments which he wore when they took him prisoner, and, as if to do him honour, carried him so seated from the ship to the shore. When they who had ransomed him desired to speak with him, and congratulate him, they found him to be dead. Bearing him off with great mourning, they buried him on the 22nd of September, in the sepulchre which he had had made for himself."

Thus was proved the inability of the episcopal power to defend and govern France. In 870, the head of the Gallican church, the archbishop of Reims, Hincmar, made the following painful confession to the pope—"These are the complaints addressed to us by the people, 'Cease to take our defence upon yourselves; content yourselves with contributing to it by your prayers, if you desire our assistance for the common defence. . . . Beg the apostolic lord not to impose upon us a king, who cannot aid us in distant parts against the frequent and sudden incursions of the pagans.' . . .

* Et vos ergo solis orationibus vestris regnum contra Normannos et alios impetentes defendite, et nostram defen-

* Annal. Bertin. ann. 846.

† Note by the editors of the French historians, t. vii. p. 73.—The abbey itself was often ransomed, and was finally reduced to ashes. Annal. Bertin. *ibid.* 72. Chronic. Normannie, *ibid.* 53.

‡ The incursions of the Saracens in the south of France were no where been described and enumerated with more judgment and talent than in M. Desmichel's *Histoire du Moyen-Age*, t. II. (1831.)

These grave words are equally the condemnation of the local power of the bishops and of the central power of the sovereign, who, a cypher in the Church, will only be the weaker for separating from it. He may dispose of some bishoprics, humble the bishops, and oppose the pope of Rome to the pope of Reims. He may accumulate empty titles, have himself crowned king of Lorraine, and divide with the Germans the kingdom of his nephew, Lothaire II.; he will not be the stronger. When he becomes emperor, his weakness is at its height. In 875, the death of his other nephew, Louis II., left Italy vacant, and the imperial dignity as well. Anticipating the sons of Louis the German at Rome by his greater speed †, he flies, if I may so speak, the title of emperor; but the very Christmas-day on which he triumphantly arrays himself in the Greek Dalmatic‡, his

sionem nolite querere: et si vultis ad defensionem habere nostrum auxilium, sicut vultis de vestris orationibus habere adiutorium, nolite querere nostrum dispendium, et petite dominum apostolicum. . . . ut non præcipiat nobis habere regem qui nos in longinquis partibus adjuvare non possit contra substantias et frequentes paganorum incursus, &c. Epist. Hinc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 510.

* Annal. Bertin. ann. 859. "Charles gave certain monasteries to laymen which had never been bestowed save on priests."—Ann. 862. "He bestowed the abbey of St. Martin, which he had unreasonably given his son, Hludovic, without any more reason, on Hubert, a married priest." For a long time he did not fill up the vacant abbots'hip, in order that he might enjoy the revenues himself. In 861, he did the same with the abbey of St. Quentin and St. Waast.—Ann. 876. He rewarded with abbey the deserters who passed over to his party.—Ann. 865. "He nominated Vulfad, of his own authority, before any decision was come to in the case, to the archbishopric of Bourges, &c."—Frodoard, l. ii. c. 17. The synod of Troyes, which had disapproved of Vulfad's nomination, sent a report of its proceedings to the pope. Charles required it to be sent to him, and to read it, broke the seals of the archbishops, &c.—See also, in the Annals of St. Bertin, his harsh and haughty conduct to the bishops assembled in the council of Ponthion.—In 867, he required from the bishops and abbots an account of their possessions, that he might know how many serfs to exact from them to employ in building. Ten years afterwards, he assessed the clergy for the payment of a tribute to the Normans. Ann. Bertin.—In his military expeditions his scruples did not restrain him from plundering the churches. Ibid. ann. 851.—Doubts were even raised as to the purity of his faith (Lotharius adversus Karolum occasione suspectæ fidei queritur. . . . Multa catholice fidei contraria in regno Karli, ipso quoque non nescio, concitantur. Ibid. ann. 855.) He even humiliates the archbishop of Reims, to whom he owed all, by giving the primacy to the archbishop of Sens.—Hincmar was weak and vulnerable on many points. He had succeeded archbishop Hebo, whose deposition was much disapproved of. He had compromised himself in Gottschalk's business, both by his illegal proceedings against the heretic, and his connexion with Joannes Erigena. His violence towards his nephew Hincmar, the bishop of Laon, a young and learned prelate, who was not sufficiently submissive to the primacy of Reims, was also objected to him.

† Annal. Fuld. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 181. "Quantâ potuit velocitate Romam profectus est.

‡ Ibid. "Returning from Italy to Gaul, he is said to have assumed new and unusual garments; so, arrayed in the Dalmatic, which flowed down to his heels, and girt, moreover, with a belt that hung as low (balteo pendente usque ad pedes), and with his head wrapped in a silken veil (turban ?) and wearing his crown, he was wont so to proceed to church on the Lord's-day and on holydays . . . he thought Greek clothes the best. . . .

brother, for the moment master of Neustria, triumphs in Charles's own palace. The poor emperor flies from Italy at the approach of one of his nephews, and falls ill and dies in a village of the Alps (A. D. 877)*.

His son, Louis the Stammerer, cannot even retain the shadow of power preserved by his father. Italy, Lorraine, Brittany, and Gascony will not hear him spoken of. Even in the north of France he is compelled to acknowledge before the prelates and nobles, that he holds the crown only by election †. His life is short; those of his sons, shorter. In the reign of one of these—that of the young Louis—the annalist cursorily lets fall this terrible fact, which enables us to estimate the depth of the abyss into which France had sunk—"He built a fort of wood, but it rather served to strengthen the pagans than to defend the Christians, for the said king could find no one to whom he could entrust the charge of it ‡."

However, in 881, Louis gained a victory over the Northmen of the Scheldt, and the historians were at a loss how to celebrate so rare an event. A poem, in the German tongue, which was composed on this occasion§, is still extant. But this reverse only rendered them the more terrible. Their chief Godfrid who had espoused Gizla, the daughter of Lothaire II., required Frisia to be ceded to him; and when Charles the Fat, the new king of Germany, consented, he demanded in addition a settlement on the Rhine, in the very heart of the empire. Frisia, he said, did not yield wine. He wanted Colbentz and Anderwach. Being admitted to an interview with the emperor on an island in the Rhine, he advanced new pretensions in the name of his brother-in-law, Hugh; until the imperial retainers lost patience and assassinated him. Either to avenge this murder, or in concert with Charles the Fat, his successor, Siegfried, associated himself with the Northmen of the Seine and invaded Northern France—which submitted with an ill grace to the yoke of the king of Germany, Charles the Fat, who had become king of France by the extinction of the French branch of the Carolingians.

But the humiliation of the country is not complete until the accession of the German prince (A. D. 884), who unites in his own person the whole of Charlemagne's empire, becoming emperor and king of Germany, Italy, and France. A splendid mockery! The Northmen do not content

* Annal. Fuldens. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 183.—According to the annalist of St. Bertin (ibid. 124) he was poisoned by a Jew physician. See, also, the Annals of Metz, ibid. 203.

† Annal. Bertin. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 27. "I, Louis, appointed king by the mercy of the Lord our God, and by the election of the people . . . do promise the people that I will keep the laws and statutes, &c."

‡ Annal. Bertin. ann. 881, ibid. 35. Castellum materiâ ligneâ . . . quod magis ad munimen paganorum quàm ad auxilium Christianorum factum fuit, quoniam invenire non potuit cui illud castellum ad custodiendum committere posset.

§ Scr. R. Fr. ix. 99.—

"Einen Kuning weiz ich
Heisset er Ludwig
Der gerne Gott dienet, &c."

A chronicler, two centuries later, roundly affirms that Fudes, Louis's general in this war, slew a hundred thousand of the Normans. Marianus Scotus, ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii.

themselves in his reign with ravaging the empire, but seek to take possession of the fortified places. They lay siege to Paris with prodigious fury. Often attacked, that city had never been taken; but would have fallen now, had not count Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, bishop Gozlin, and the abbot of St. Germain-des-Près, thrown themselves into it, and defended it with the utmost valour. Eudes even dared to sally from it, in order to implore Charles the Fat to come to its relief. The emperor came, indeed, but contented himself with watching the barbarians, and persuaded them to leave Paris to ravage Burgundy, which did not yet recognise his authority (A. D. 885, 886)—a cowardly and perfidious connivance on his part, which dishonours Charles the Fat.

It at once provokes melancholy and laughter to see the efforts of the monk of St. Gall to reanimate the courage of the emperor. The good monk makes nothing of exaggerating. He tells him how his grandfather Pepin cut off a lion's head with a single blow; how Charlemagne (as Clotaire II. had before done) slew in Saxony every one taller than his sword*; how Charlemagne's meek son astonished the envoys of the Northmen with his strength—sportively breaking their swords to pieces with his hands†. He makes a soldier of Charlemagne's boast that he had carried seven, eight, and even nine barbarians, spitted on his lance like little birds‡. He invites him to imitate his forefathers, conduct himself like a man, and to be peremptory with the nobles and bishops. “Charlemagne having sent to consult one of his sons who had turned monk, on the conduct he should observe towards the nobles, found him plucking up nettles and other weeds. ‘Tell my father,’ are his words, ‘what you have seen me doing.’ . . . His monastery was destroyed, and there can be no doubt as to the cause—but I will not tell it to you, until I shall see your little Bernard with his sword in his belt§.”

This little Bernard passed for the emperor's natural son, though Charles himself threw a doubt on the matter by the manner in which he accused his wife before the diet of 887, so as to appear to give himself out for impotent. He affirmed “that he had not known the empress, although he had been united to her in lawful wedlock for ten years||.” It was but too likely that the emperor was as powerless as the empire. The degeneracy of his race is sufficiently attested by the sterility of eight queens and the premature death of six kings. It is fairly worn out, like that of the Merovingians. The French branch is extinct, and France disdains

longer to obey the German. Charles the Fat is deposed by the diet of Tribur, in 887. The different kingdoms that composed the empire of Charlemagne are once more separated; and not only kingdoms, but duchies, countships, and simple lordships, will soon be so.

The very year of his death (A. D. 877) Charles the Bald had made the counts his hereditary*; ~~they were so already.~~ The counts—up to this period, judges removable at pleasure—became hereditary sovereigns in their several districts. Circumstances had compelled this concession. At first, Charles the Bald had prohibited the barons from building castles, as a vain and culpable mode of defence when the Northmen ravaged all around; but he was constrained to yield to necessity, and recognised the hereditary tenure of the countships†—it was to resign his crown. The counts and barons are the real heirs of Charles the Bald, and already he has married his daughters to the bravest of them, to those of Brittany and Flanders.

These liberators of their country will occupy the defiles of the mountains, the fords of the rivers. They will rear their strongholds there, and defend themselves at once against the barbarians and their prince, who from time to time will be tempted to endeavour to resume the power which he abandoned with regret. But the people hate and despise a king who cannot protect them; they crowd around their defenders, around the lords and the counts. On its first institution, nothing could be more popular than feudalism; and there is a confused remembrance of this popularity in the romances in which Gerard of Roussillon, Renaud, and the other sons of Aymond, maintain an heroic struggle against Charlemagne, whose name is used in them as a common designation for the Carolingians.

The first and the most powerful of these founders of feudalism is Charles the Bald's own brother-in-law, Boson, who (A. D. 879) assumes the title of king of Provence, or of Burgundy Cisjura (on this side of the Jura‡). Not long afterwards (A. D. 888), Rodolph Wolf occupies Burgundy Transjura (beyond the Jura), which he erects into a kingdom§. These are the barriers of France on the south-east. Here the Saracens will have to contend with Boson, with Gerard of Roussillon—the celebrated hero of romance,—with the bishop of Grenoble, and the viscount of Marseilles.

That family of Hunald's and of Guafier's||, so

* This remark is due to the *Histoire du Moyen-Age* of M. Desmichels (t. ii. p. 372). All this portion of his work is beyond praise.

† Capitul. Caroli Calvi, ann. 177, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 705. Si comes de isto regno obierit . . . filium illius de honoribus illius honoremus.—He secures the inheritance to the son, even though a child at his father's death. If there is no son, the countship falls to the disposal of the prince.—See the mistake on this subject of the authors of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, v. 471.

‡ He was chosen king at the council of Mantaille by twenty-three bishops of the south and east of Gaul. See the Acts of the Council, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 304.

§ Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 68. Provinciam inter Jura et Alpes Penninas occupat, regemque se appellavit.

|| See the charter of 845, by which Charles the Bald refuses to ratify the vast gifts which the count of the Gascons, Vandregisil, and his family (counts of Bigorre, &c.) had conferred on the church of Alabon (in the diocese of Urgel).

* Mon. Sangall. i. li. c. 17.

† Id. ibid. c. 20. In like manner Haroun Alraschid breaks the weapons brought to him by the ambassadors from Constantinople. The reader will call to mind Ulysses' bow in the *Odyssey*, the bow of the king of Ethiopia in *Herodotus*, &c.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 20. “When he had mown down Bohe-mians, Wilzis, and Avars like grass, and hung them like small birds from his spear . . . he was wont to say, ‘What were these frogs to me? I used to carry here and there seven, eight, or nine of them, indeed, spitted on my spear, and croaking I know not what.’”

§ Id. ibid. c. 19. Quam antea non solvam, quam Bernardum vestrum spatula femur accinctum conspiciam.

|| Annal. Metens. ann. 887, ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii.—Gesta Reg. Franc. ibid. ix. 47.

ill-treated by the Carolingians on whom it brought the disaster of Roncesvalles, re-establish, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the duchy of Gascony; and, in Aquitaine, arise the powerful families of Gothia (Narbonne, Roussillon, Barcelona), of Poitiers, and of Toulouse. Those of Gothia and of Poitiers trace their origin to St. Gulielmus, the patron saint of the south, and conqueror of the Saracens. In like manner all the kings of Germany and Italy claim to descend from Charlemagne; and the heroic families of Greece, the kings of Macedon and of Sparta, the Aleuadae of Thessaly, and Bacchidae of Corinth, referred their origin to Hercules.

On the east, Regnier, count of Hainault, will dispute Lorraine with the Germans—with Swintibald, the ferocious son of the king of Germany. Regnier-Renard will remain the type and popular name of that strife of stratagem with brute force, which eventually terminates in its favour.

On the north, France takes for its twofold defence against the Belgians and the Germans—the *foresters* of Flanders*, and the counts of Vermandois, kindred and allies, more or less faithful, of the Carolingians.

But the great struggle is on the west, towards Normandy and Brittany, where the Northmen are accustomed to land yearly. The Breton, Nomenoë, puts himself at the head of the people, defeats Charles the Bald, defeats the Northmen, defends the independence of the Breton church against Tours, and desires to erect Brittany into a kingdom†. On his decease, the Northmen return in greater numbers, and the country is reduced to a desert, when one of his successors (A. D. 937), the heroic Allan Barbetorte, takes Nantes from them; on which occasion he has to cut his way with his sword through the brambles to get to the cathedral to return thanks for his victory to God. This time, however, the country is delivered. The Northmen and the Germans—called in by the king against Brittany—are alike repulsed. For the first time Allan convenes the states of the counthip, and the contest between him and the king ends by the recognition, on the part of the latter, that every serf who takes refuge in Brittany becomes, by that act alone, a freeman‡.

In 859, the lords had hindered the people from taking up arms against the Northmen§. In 864,

Charles the Bald had forbade the barons to build castles. A few years elapse; castles arise in every direction, and in every direction the barons arm their followers. The barbarians begin to feel the obstacles that spring up against them. Robert the Strong falls in a battle with the Northmen, near Brissorte (A. D. 866). His son Eudes, with better success, defends Paris against them in 855; and, sallying from the town, cuts his way back to it through their camp*. They raise the siege, and, attacking Sens, fail there as well. In 891, Arnulph, king of Germany, forces their camp, near Louvain, and drives them into the Dyle. In 923 and 955, the Saxon emperors, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, gain their famous victories of Merseburg and Augsburg over the Hungarians; and about the same period (A. D. 965—972) bishop Izarn drives the Saracens out of Normandy, and William, viscount of Marseilles, delivers Provence from them.

Gradually the barbarians lose confidence, and sink into peace. Forsaking their life of pillage, they ask for lands whereon to settle. The Northmen of the Loire, so terrible under the aged Hastings, who led them as far as Tuscany, are repulsed from the shores of Britain by king Alfred. They care not to stay and die there, like their hero, Regnar Lodbrog, in a cavern swarming with serpents, but prefer settling in France, on the beautiful Loire. Chartres, Tours, and Blois become theirs. Theobald, their chief, the progenitor of the house of Blois and of Champagne, closes the Loire against new invasions, as Rad-holf or Rollo presently will the Seine, where he settles with the consent of the king of France, Charles the Simple or the Fool. He did not, however, betray any folly in attaching these Northmen to him, and giving them the burthensome sovereignty of Brittany—through which the Bretons and they would mutually wear each other out. Rollo was baptized, and performing homage, not in person, but by deputy—his representative managed so to execute the ceremony of kissing the king's foot as to throw him on his back†. Such was the insolence of these barbarians.

Thus the Northmen settle down; the natives gather strength. France acquires consistency, and gradually shuts herself in. Large feudal seigniories rise on all her frontiers, like so many towers, and she finds some security in the formation of local powers—in parcelling out the empire, and breaking down unity. Is there, then, no hope that that great and noble unity of our country, the image of which, at least, has been shown us in the Roman and Frankish governments, will one day return? Have we utterly perished as a nation? Does there not exist, in the midst of France, some central force which allows of the belief that the various members will be again brought together, and once more form a complete whole?

If the idea of unity is preserved, it is in the

Hist. du Lang. l. note at p. 688 and p. 85, of the proofs.—He did not give less than the whole of the ancient patrimony of his ancestors in France—all their property and rights in the *Toulousan*, the *Agenois*, the *Quercy*, the *pays d'Arles*, *Perigueux*, *Saintogne*, and *Poitou*. The Benedictines do not see either in the material or the form of this document, any reason to doubt its authenticity. It may be considered the testament of the ancient Aquitanian dynasty, which having sought refuge among the Basques, had willed to the Spanish church all it ever possessed in France. The gift was reduced by Charles to some estates in Spain, to which, indeed, he had no great pretensions.

* The counts of Flanders at first bore this name as well as the counts of Anjou.

† Hist. Britann. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 49. . . . In corde suo cogitavit ut se regem faceret. According to the chronicler he thought of removing from their see the bishops nominated to them by the kings of the Franks, and of appointing bishops of his own choice in their stead, so as to ensure his own election to the throne.

‡ See the authors cited by Daru, Hist. of Brittany, l.

§ Annal. Bertin. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 74. *Vulgus promissum inter Sequanarum et Ligerim, inter se conjurans adver-*

sus Danos in Sequanâ consistentes, fortiter resistit. Sed quia incautè suscepta est eorum conjuratio, a potentioribus nostris facillè interficitur.

* Annal. Vedast. ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 85. Nortmanni, ejus reditum præsenties, accurerunt ei ante portam Turris; sed ille, emissio equo, a dextris et sinistris adversarios cedens, civitatem ingressus.

† Guillaum. Gemetic. l. ii. c. 17.

great ecclesiastical sees which maintain their pretensions to the primacy. Tours is a centre upon the Loire; Reims forms one in the north. Every where, however, the episcopal power is limited by the feudal. At Troyes and at Soissons the count lords it over the prelate; at Cambrai and Lyon they hold divided power. It is chiefly in the king's domains that the bishops obtain or preserve the seigniorial of their cities. Those of Laon, Beauvais, Noyon, Châlons-sur-Marne, and of Langres, become peers of the kingdom; as do the metropolitans of Sens and Reims,—the first expelling the count, the second resisting him. The archbishop of Reims, the head of the Gallican church, is long the faithful support of the Carolingians; and he alone seems still to take an interest in the monarchy and the family on the throne*.

This age-worn dynasty, committed to the guardianship of bishops, could not rally France. Envoyed by wars, and by the ravages of the barbarians, the kingly title must perforce pass to one or other of the chiefs who have begun to arm the people; and this chief is to issue from the central provinces. The inhabitants of the frontier are not the men to take up and defend the idea of unity, which is hateful to them. Independence is their wish.

The church of Tours had constituted the centre of the Merovingian world. The centre of the Carolingian wars against the Northmen and the Bretons is also on the Loire, but more to the west, that is to say, in Anjou, close by the Bretagne march. Here two families arise; the progenitors of the Capets and of the Plantagenets, of the kings of France and of England—both springing from obscure chiefs who distinguished themselves by their defence of their country.

The Plantagenets refer their origin to one Tortulf or Tertul, of Rennes in Brittany, according to the Chronicle, a simple peasant, living on hunting and on the products of forest life. "Charles the Bald named him forester of the forest of Nid-de-Merle† (Thrush's nest). His son, who was named after him, was created seneschal of Anjou. His grandson, Ingelger‡, and the Fulks, his descendants, were the scourges of Normandy and Brittany."

The Capets, likewise, first settled in Anjou, and appear to have been Saxon chiefs in the service of Charles the Bald §, who trusted to their first known

ancestor, Robert the Strong, the defence of the country between the Seine and the Loire. Robert is slain by Hastings, the leader of the Northmen, in the battle of Brisserte; whilst his more successful son, Eudes, repulses them when they lay siege to Paris (A.D. 885), and gains a great victory over them at Montfaucon*. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, he is chosen king of France (A.D. 888.)

DYNASTIC REVOLUTION.

The alternations of this long contest which, in the space of a century, confirmed the new dynasty on the throne, have been traced with great perspicacity by M. Augustin Thierry in his letters on the History of France, and I cannot resist the temptation of borrowing a few pages from his spirited narrative†. The question is treated under one point of view only; but with singular clearness:—

"To the revolution of 888, there corresponds in the exactest manner a movement of another kind, which raises to the throne a man who is an entire stranger to the Carolingian family. This king—the first to whom our history can assign the title of king of France, as opposed to that of king of the Franks, is Ode, or, according to the Roman pronunciation which then began to prevail, Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, count of Anjou. Elected to the disadvantage of an heir who was legitimately qualified, Eudes was the national candidate of the mixed population which had fought for fifty years to form a kingdom by itself; and from his reign dates the commencement of a second series of civil wars, which, after the struggle of a century, terminated by the definitive exclusion of the family of Charles the Great. In fact, the French could only regard this race, which was thoroughly German, and attached by the ties of remembrance and of family affection to the countries of the German tongue—as an obstacle to that separation, on which their independent existence had just been founded.

"It was not through caprice, but policy, that the barons of the north of Gaul, Franks by origin, but attached to the interests of the country, violated the oath taken by their ancestors to the family of Pepin, and consecrated king at Compiègne

count of Anjou, a man of Saxon race, had two sons, prince Eudes and Robert, Eudes' brother." Also, Chron de Strozzi, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 278.—An anonymous writer, author of a Life of Louis VIII., says, "The kingdom passed from the race of Charles to that of the counts of Paris, who were of Saxon origin."—Helgald, Life of Robert, c. 1, says, "The august family of Robert, as he himself asserted in holy and humble words, had its origin in Ausonia." (Ausonia—should not the reading be Saxonia?)—Some historians make Neustria Robert's birth-place; others, Seex (Saxia, civitas Saxonum); others, again, Saissieu (Saxiacum). See the preface to the tenth volume of the Historians of France. All these opinions are reconciled and confirmed by their very discrepancies, on the supposition that Robert the Strong descended from the Saxons settled in Neustria, and particularly, at Bayeux. The whole coast was called *litus Saxonicum*; and the names of Seex, Saissieu, and of the river of Seé, &c., have evidently the same origin.

* Abbonius versus de Bellus Paris. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 24.

† The only alteration which I have allowed myself to make, is in the German orthography adopted by M. Thierry for the proper names. All trace of German is almost entirely lost under the later Carolingians.

* When Charles the Simple summoned his vassals to serve against the Hungarians in 919, not one obeyed except Heriveus, the archbishop of Reims, who repaired to him with fifteen hundred men at arms. Frodoard, l. iv. c. 14.—In 935, Louis d'Outremer confirmed all the ancient privileges of the church of Reims; which were again confirmed by Lothaire in 955, and, later, by the Othos.

† Gesta Consulum Andegav. c. 1, 2, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 256. Torquatus . . . seu Tortulfus . . . habitator rusticanus fuit, ex copâ silvestri et venatico exercitio virgatus, &c. See, also, (ibid.) Pactius Lochiensis, de Orig. Comitum Andegavensium.

‡ The first forester of Flanders was called Ingelram.

§ Aimoïn de St. Fleury, who wrote in 1005, expressly calls Robert . . . a man of Saxon race . . . His sons were Eudes and Robert. Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. P. ii. sec. iv. p. 357. M. Sismondi is mistaken in supposing that Alberic des Trois Fontaines, who wrote two centuries later, was the first to trace this genealogy. "Kings Robert and Eudes were sons of Robert the Strong, marquis of the race of the Saxons . . . but historians tell us nothing further of this race." Ibid. 285.—Guillaum. de Jumièges, "Robert,

a man of Saxon descent. Charles, surnamed the Simple or the Foolish*—the heir dispossessed by this election—was not slow to justify his exclusion from the throne by placing himself under the protection of Arnulph, king of Germany. 'Not being able to hold out,' says an ancient historian, 'against the power of Eudes, he went, as a suppliant, to petition the protection of king Arnulph. A public assembly was convened in the city of Worms, to which Charles repaired; and, after having offered large presents to Arnulph, was invested by him with the sovereignty whose title he had assumed. Commands were issued to the counts and bishops who dwelt near the Moselle to lend him every aid, and to marshal him back to his kingdom in order that he might be crowned there; but all was of no avail.

"The Carolingian party, though aided by German intervention, did not gain the day over that which may be called the French party. They and their chief were several times defeated; and, after each defeat, he placed himself in safety under cover of the Meuse, out of the limits of the kingdom. Nevertheless, Charles the Simple, thanks to the vicinity of Germany, managed to obtain some degree of power in the territory between the Meuse and the Seine. A remnant of the old German belief—that the Weselks or Walloons were natural subjects of the sons of the Franks, contributed to render this contention for the throne popular in all the countries adjoining the Rhine. Under pretext of supporting the rights of legitimate royalty, Swintibald, natural son of Arnulph, and king of Lorraine, invaded the French territory in the year 895. He penetrated as far as Laon with an army composed of Lorrains, Alsacians, and Fleming, but was soon compelled to beat a retreat before the army of king Eudes. On the failure of this great attempt a kind of political reaction took place in the court of Germany, in favour of him, who, up to this event, had been termed a usurper. Eudes was acknowledged king†; and a promise was given that no further assistance should be furnished the pretender. In fact, so long as his opponent lived Charles obtained nothing; but when the death of Eudes renewed the question of a change of dynasty, the *Kaiser*, or emperor, again sided with the descendant of the Frank kings.

"Charles the Simple, received as their king, in 898, by numbers of those who had laboured to exclude him, reigned at first two-and-twenty years without any opposition. It was during this period that he abandoned all his rights to the territory bordering on the mouth of the Seine to the Norman chief Rolf, and conferred upon him the title of duke (A.D. 912). Later still, the duchy of Normandy served to cover the kingdom of France

against the attacks of the German empire, and of its Lorraine or Flemish vassals. The first duke was faithful to the treaty of alliance which he had contracted with Charles the Simple, and supported him, though feebly enough, against Rodbert or Robert, king Eudes' brother, who was elected to the throne in 922. His son, William I., at first pursued the same policy; and when the hereditary monarch was dethroned and imprisoned at Laon, he declared for him against Radulf or Raoul, Robert's brother-in-law, who had been elected and crowned king through hate of the Frank dynasty; but some years afterwards, changing sides, he took the cause of Charles the Simple, and entered into an alliance with king Raoul. In 936, expecting greater advantages from a return to his early track, he lent an energetic assistance to the return of Charles's son, Louis, surnamed d'Outremer (from beyond the sea).

"The new king, to whom the French party, either through exhaustion or from motives of prudence, opposed no competitor, influenced by hereditary inclination to seek friends, and the king contracted a strict alliance with him, first of that name, king of Germany, the most powerful and most ambitious prince of the day. The barons, who entertained a great aversion to the Teutonic influence, were much discontented with this alliance. The representative of this national feeling was Hugh, count of Paris, surnamed the Great from his immense possessions, and who was the most powerful man between the Seine and the Loire; and, as soon as their mutual distrust had brought about a new war between the two parties (A.D. 940), who for fifty years had been arrayed against each other, Hugh the Great, though not assuming the title of king, played against Louis d'Outremer the same part which had been played by Eudes, Robert, and Raoul, against Charles the Simple. His first care was to deprive the opposite faction of the support of the duke of Normandy, and, succeeding in this, he managed to neutralize the effects of the German influence by Norman intervention. The whole strength of Louis and the Frankish party was dashed to pieces, in 945, against the little duchy of Normandy. The king, overcome in a pitched battle, was taken prisoner, together with sixteen of his counts, and confined in the tower of Rouen, from which he was only released to be delivered up to the chiefs of the national party, who imprisoned him at Laon.

"In order to cement the recent alliance between this party and the Normans, Hugh the Great promised his daughter in marriage to their duke. But this confederation of the two Gallic powers nearest to Germany drew down upon them a coalition of the Teutonic powers, the chief of which at this time were king Otho and the count of Flanders. The deliverance of king Louis was the ostensible motive of the war, but the confederates promised themselves results of a very different nature. Their aim was to annihilate the Norman power, by annexing the duchy to the crown of France, on the restoration of their ally, Louis; expecting in return a large accession of territory at the expense of the French kingdom*. They under the leading of the king of Germany, they invaded France in 946. Otho, say the contemporary his-

* Chronic. Dittmar, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 119. Fuit in ocellidus partibus quidam rex ab incolis Karl Sei, id est Solidus, ironice dictus.—Rad. Glaber, l. i. c. 1. ibid. 4. Carolus Hebetem cognominatum.—Chronic. Strozian. ibid. 273. . . . Carolum Simplem.—Chronic. S. Maxent. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 8. Karolus Foltus.—Richard. Pictav. ibid. 22. Karolus Simplex sive Stultus.

† Eudes must not be magnified into the sovereign of a well-defined empire, like Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet after him. His kingdom, or rather his army, was a fluctuating one. He is a partisan-chief, fighting now in the north, now in the south, in Flanders and in Aquitaine.

* Ser. R. Fr. viii. 226.

torians, advanced at the head of thirty-two legions as far as Reims. The national party, which kept a king in prison, and had no king at its head, could not assemble sufficient forces to repulse the invaders. King Louis was restored to liberty, and the confederates advanced even up to the walls of Rouen; but this brilliant campaign was attended by no decisive result. Normandy remained independent, and the liberated monarch had no more friends than before. On the contrary, the miseries brought in the train of invasion were imputed to him; and, soon threatened with a second deposition, he retired beyond the Rhine to implore fresh succour*.

"In the year 948, a council of the German bishops met at Ingelheim, by order of king Otho, in order to take into consideration, among other matters, the griefs of Louis d'Outremer against Hugh the Great and his party. The king of the French appeared as a supplicant before this foreign assembly. After the pope's legate had announced the object for which the synod was convened, he rose from his seat by the side of the king of Germany, and spoke as follows:—'None of you are ignorant that messengers from count Hugh and the other lords of France sought me out in the country beyond the sea to invite me to return to the kingdom which was my paternal inheritance. I was consecrated and crowned by the wishes and amidst the acclamations of all the chiefs, and of the army of France; but, shortly afterwards, count Hugh traitorously got possession of my person, deposed, and imprisoned me for a whole year, and, at last, I only obtained my deliverance by putting in his power the city of Laon, the only city of my crown still faithful to me. If there be any one who maintains that all these misfortunes which have fallen upon me since my accession to the throne, have happened to me through my own fault, I am ready to answer the charge either by submitting to the judgment of the synod, and of the king here present, or in single combat.' As may be imagined, neither pleader nor champion of the opposite party presented himself to submit a national difference to the judgment of the emperor of the land beyond the Rhine; and the council, transferred to Trèves at the instance of Lendulf, the Caesar's chaplain and delegate, pronounced the following sentence:—'By virtue of the apostolical authority, we excommunicate count Hugh, king Louis's enemy, on account of the ills of every kind which he has wrought upon him; until such time as the said count repent and give full satisfaction to the legate of the sovereign pontiff. If he refuse to submit, he will have to proceed to Rome to procure absolution.'

"On the demise of Louis d'Outremer, in the year 954, his son Lothaire succeeded him without any apparent opposition. Two years afterwards count Hugh died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, who was named after him, inherited the countship of Paris, also called the duchy of France. Before his death, his father had recommended him to Rickard or Richard, duke of Normandy, as to the natural defender of his family and of his party†. This party seemed to slumber until the year 980."

This slumber, which M. Thierry forgets to explain, was nothing else than the minority of king Lothaire and of Hugh Capet, duke of France, under the guardianship of their mothers Hedwige and Gerberge, both sisters of the Saxon Otho, king of Germany*. This powerful monarch seems at this time to have governed France through the intermediation of his brother, Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lorraine, and of the Low Countries†. These relations account for the Germanic character which M. Thierry notices in the later Carolingians. Louis d'Outremer, brought up among the Anglo-Saxons, and Lothaire, the son of a Saxon princess, naturally spoke the German tongue. The preponderance of Germany at this period, and the renown of Otho, the conqueror of the Hungarians and master of Italy, will likewise justify the predilection of these princes for the language of the great king of his day. The later Carolingians and first Capetians were not a whit the more warlike for their consanguinity with the Othos. Hugh Capet and his son Robert, princes devoted to the Church, are little calculated to remind one of the adventurous character of Robert the Strong and of Endes, their ancestors, who felt no scruple at waging war with bishops; as, for instance, against the archbishop of Reims‡. But to resume M. Thierry's narrative.

After the death of Otho the Great, "king Lothaire, abandoning himself to the impulse of French feeling, broke with the German powers, and endeavoured to push the frontier of his kingdom as far as the Rhine. Suddenly invading the empire, he sojourned as conqueror in the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But this adventurous expedition, which flattered French vanity, only served to bring the Germans, Almans, Lorrains, Flemings, and Saxons, to the number of sixty thousand, to the heights of Montmartre, where this vast army chanted in chorus one of the verses of the *Te Deum* §. Their general, the emperor Otho, as it often happens, was more successful in invasion than in retreat. Defeated by the French at the passage of the Aisne, he was only enabled to regain the frontiers through the medium of a truce with king Lothaire. According to the Chronicles, this truce, concluded against the will of the French army, revived the quarrel of the two parties, or rather supplied a

* Alberici. Tr. Font. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 66. "Louis d'Outremer married Gerberge, sister of the emperor Otho. Duke Hugh the Great, seeing this, and in order to be even with him, and to counterbalance the credit which Louis had obtained with Otho, took to wife the other sister, Hedwige. From these two sisters sprang the imperial race of Germany, and the royal races of France and England."

† Hedwige and Gerberge both put themselves under Bruno's protection, and he restored peace between his nephews. Frodoard Chronic. ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 211. Vita S. Brunonis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 124.—The two sisters visited Otho when he came to Aix, in 965, and never, says the Chronicles, did they experience the like joy. Chronic. Turon. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 54.

‡ Frodoard, l. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 157. . . . For Odo besieged Reims, committed immense slaughter and plundered the town, and gave up the property of the church of Reims to his followers, insisting upon the plunder of the church.

§ As many priests as possible being brought together, he ordered the *Alliata te martyrum*, &c. to be sung so loudly that Hugo and all the Parisians marvel thereat. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 232.

* Ser. R. Fr. viii. 203.

† Rickardo duci filium nomine Hugonem commendare studuit, ut ejus patrocinio tutus, inimicorum fraudibus non caperetur. Id. ibid. 267.

new pretext for resentments which had not ceased to exist*.

"Threatened, like his father and his grandfather, by the implacable enemies of the Carlovingian race, Lothaire looked towards the Rhine for aid in course of distress. He resigned in favour of the imperial court his conquests in Lorraine, and all the pretensions of France over a part of the kingdom. This, says a contemporary writer, seriously saddened the heart of the lords of France. Nevertheless, they did not betray their discontent in a hostile manner. Instructed by the ill success of attempts reiterated during nearly a hundred years, they would undertake nothing against the reigning dynasty except sure of gaining their end. King Lothaire,—to judge by his conduct, more able and active than his two predecessors†,—took a clear view of the difficulties of his position, and neglected no means of overcoming them. In 983, taking advantage of Otho's death, and of the minority of his son, he suddenly dissolved the peace which he had concluded with the empire, and again invaded Lorraine; an aggression which restored him some of his popularity. Thus, he avoided any open rebellion until the end of his reign. Each day, however, his power diminished. The power which he lost passed into the hands of Hugh—the son of Hugh the Great—count of the isle of France and of Anjou, surnamed in the French of the time *Capet* or *Chapet*. 'Lothaire,' writes one of the most distinguished individuals of the tenth century, 'is king only in name. Hugh, without the title, is king in truth and deed‡.'"

The German princes were deterred by the difficulties of every kind which opposed a fourth restoration of the Carlovingians (A. D. 987), and sent no army to the assistance of Charles, brother of the last king but one, and holding the dukedom of Lorraine of the empire—who aspired to the French throne. Reduced to the poor assistance of his partisans within the kingdom, the utmost of Charles's success was the gaining possession of Laon, where the strength of the place enabled him to sustain a blockade until he was betrayed and given up by one of his own party. Hugh Capet confined him in the tower of Orleans, where he

died. His two sons, Louis and Charles, born in prison, and banished from France after their father's death, found an asylum in Germany, where their connexions and family ties secured them a welcome.

"Although the new king was of a German stock—his want of relationship with the imperial dynasty, and the very obscurity of his origin, which could not be traced beyond the third generation, pointed him out as a candidate to the native race, whose restoration had been preparing since the dismemberment of the empire.

"In our national history, the accession of the third race far exceeds in importance that of the second. Strictly speaking, it constitutes the end of the reign of the Franks, and the substitution of a national monarchy for a government founded on conquest. Henceforward, our history is un-mixed, and we follow and recognise the same people, despite the changes that take place in manners and civilization. This national identity is the foundation on which the dynastic unity has for so many ages rested. The people seem to have had a singular presentiment of this long succession of kings, on the accession of the third race. The report ran that in 981, St. Valery, whose relics Hugh Capet, then count of Paris, had just had translated, appeared to him in a dream, and said—"For what thou hast done, thou and thy descendants shall be kings to the seventh generation—that is, for ever*."

"This popular legend is repeated by all chroniclers without exception, even by those few who, disapproving of the change of dynasty, assert the cause of Hugh to be bad, and accuse him of treason to his lord, and disobedience to the decrees of the Church†. The belief was very generally diffused among the commonalty, that the new reigning family had issued from their own class; nor was its cause injured by this belief, which prevailed for several centuries‡."

The accession of a new dynasty was hardly noticed in the distant provinces§. What matter was it to the lords of Gascony, of Languedoc, and of Provence, to know whether he who bore towards the Seine the title of king, was called Charles or Hugh Capet?

For a long time the monarch will have little more influence than a duke or a mere count. It

* *Pacificatus est Lotharius rex cum Othone rege, Remis civitate, contra voluntatem Hugonis et Hairici, fratris sui, et contra voluntatem exercitus sui.* Ser. R. Fr. viii. 224.

† With regard to this observation of M. Thierry's, we may observe that the Carlovingians did not degenerate to the same extreme as the Merovingians. If Louis the Stammerer were surnamed *Nihil fecit* (Do-Nothing), we must bear in mind that he reigned only eighteen months; and the Annals of Metz boast his mildness and his sense of justice.—Louis III. and Carloman gained a victory over the Northmen (A. D. 879).—Charles the *Sot* concluded an advantageous treaty with them (A. D. 911). He defeated his rival king Robert, and slew him, it is said, with his own hand. (Chronik. Tur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 51.)—Louis d'Outremer evinced a courage and an activity which ought not to have drawn upon him the satirical proverb—"Dominus in convivio, rex in cubiculo," (lord of the feast, and king of the chamber). Mirac. S. Bened. *ibid.* ix. 140.—Finally, as D. Vaissette observes, the youth of Louis *le Faineant* (the Sluggard), the shortness of his reign, and the valour which he displayed at the siege of Reims, did not deserve this surname of the later Merovingians.

‡ Gerberti Epistol. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 387.

* Chronic. Sithien. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 298.

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. v. p. 557.

‡ Raoul, Glaber, monk of Cluny, who died in 1048, contents himself with saying—"Hugh Capet was the son of Hugh the Great, and grandson of Robert the Strong; but I postpone relating his origin, because the higher it is traced the obscurer it becomes"—L. i. c. 2, gp. Ser. R. Fr. x.—Dante subscribes to the popular belief which refers the origin of the Capets to a butcher of Paris:—

"Di me son nati i Filippi, i Luigi,
Per cui novellamente è Francia retta.
Figliuol fui d' un beccaio lo di Parigi,
Quando il regi antichi venner meno,
Tutti fuor ch'han renduto in panni bigi.

Purgatorio, c. xx. v. 49.

§ A monk of Mallezais (Poitou) says in his Chronicle (ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 182) . . . "It was said that king Robert reigned over the Franks."—The duke of Aquitaine, at this time (A. D. 1016) William of Poitiers, recognised the king of Arles as his sovereign. See the Chronicle of Dittmar, l. vii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 132, 133.

is, however, something for him to be the equal of the great vassals, and for monarchy to have descended from the lofty summit of Laon, and to have walked forth free from the guardianship of the archbishop of Reims*. The later Carolingians were often at a loss to make head against the pettiest barons. The Capets are powerful lords, capable of resisting by themselves the count of Anjou or the count of Poitiers. They hold many countships in their own hands. Each accession to the throne is worth a new title to them, as the ransom of royalty, as the indemnification for the crown which they still forbore seizing. Hugh the Great obtains from Louis IV. the duchy of Burgundy, and the title of duke of Aquitaine from Lothaire.

Abased as the later Carolingians were, royalty was but a name—an all-but-forgotten remembrance. Transferred to the Capets, it becomes a hope, a living right, which slumbers, it is true, but which, when needful, will awaken. With the third race, as with the second, royalty was renewed by a family of large proprietors—friendly to the church. Property and the church, the land and God, form the deep foundations on which monarchy will once more rise and flourish.

Arrived at the term of the German sway and accession of French nationality—let us pause a moment. The year 1000 draws nigh—the great and solemn epoch at which the middle ages expected the end of the world to arrive. In truth, the end did come. Let us cast our looks backwards. France has already lived two ages of its life as a nation.

In the first, the races deposited themselves one upon the other, so as to fertilise the Gallic soil with their allusions. Above the Celts are placed the Romans, and, last deposit of all, the Germans—the latest comers into the world. Such are the living elements and materials of society.

In the second age begins the fusion of these races: society seeks to settle down. France would fain become a social world; but the organization of such a world presupposes fixity and order. Fixity—that attachment to soil and to property which cannot be felt so long as the immigrations of new races continue—scarcely exists under the Carolingians, and will only be completely established by the influence of feudalism.

Seemingly, order and unity had been attained by the Romans, and by Charlemagne. But wherefore

were they so evanescent? Because they were altogether material and external, concealing the utter disorder and obstinate discord of heterogeneous elements, that had only been bound together by force. Under the magnificent and deceitful unity of the Roman administration, more or less revived by Charlemagne, were concealed differences of race, of language, and of feeling, want of communication, mutual ignorance, and instinctive antipathies;—"mortua quietiam jungebat corpora vivis, tormenti genus,"—this tyrannical junction of antagonist natures was torture. Its agony may be inferred from the eagerness and violence with which the nations tore themselves from the empire.

Matter tends to dispersion; spirit to unity. Matter, essentially divisible, seeks disunion and discord. Material unity is a contradiction in terms, and, in policy, is tyranny. Spirit alone has the right to effect union. It alone comprehends, embraces, and, to say all in one word—loves. As has been so well put by the metaphysics of Christianity—Unity implies Power, Love, and Spirit.

Unity must begin through the spirit—through the Church. But, to enable it to give unity, the Church herself must become one. In the organization of the Carolingian world, the episcopal aristocracy has utterly failed. It must humble itself, learn subordination, accept the hierarchy, and, to rise from powerlessness to strength, become the pontifical monarchy. Then, amidst the dispersion of material things, will appear the invisible unity of mutual understanding, the only real unity—that of minds and of wills. Then will feudalism, apparently a chaos, contain a substantial and potent harmony, whereas in the pompous deceit of imperial unity lurked anarchy alone.

Waiting the advent of the spirit, and the breath of God from on high—matter is dispersed towards the four quarters of the world. Division is subdivided; the grain of sand seeks to part into atoms. Men abjure, and curse, and refuse to know one another. Each asks, 'Who is my brother?' and becomes fixed by isolating himself. One will perch with the eagle; another will intrench himself behind the torrent. Soon, man no longer knows whether there exist a world beyond his canton, or his valley. He takes root, and strikes into the earth—"pes, modo tam velox, pigris radicibus hæret." But lately, he classified himself, and would be judged by the law peculiar to his race—Burgundian, Lombard, or Gothic. Man was a person, the law personal. Now, man becomes land—the law is territorial. Jurisprudence becomes a matter of geography.

At this stage, nature takes upon herself to regulate the affairs of men. They fight; she divides. At first, she tries her strength, and maps out kingdoms on the empire with bold and free strokes. The basins of the Seine and Loire, those of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhône—here are four kingdoms; they only want names; you can call them, if you so will, the kingdoms of France, of Lorraine, of Burgundy, and of Provence. It is sought to unite them. Far from it; they divide themselves. Rivers and mountains enter their protest against unity. Division triumphs: each point of space asserts its independence. The valley becomes a kingdom; the mountain, a kingdom.

History should obey this movement, disperse

* Charles the Bald, on his accession to the throne, only saw with Hincmar's eyes. "Non solum de rebus ecclesiasticis, etc." (Frodoard, l. iii. c. 18.) It was Hincmar, again, who governed Louis the Stammerer, (Hincmar, epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 254) and who, as he himself boasted, made Louis III. king.—His successor, Fulk, was the protector of Charles the Simple in his minority. He crowned him in the year 893, when he was fourteen years of age, treated in his name with king Arnulph and with Eudes, and at last made him king in 898. (Chron. Sithiens. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 72. Frodoard, l. iv. c. 3.)—After him, Heriveus, in 920, won back to their allegiance the royal vassals who had revolted, and confirmed the wavering monarchy. (Chron. Tur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 50.—Frodoard, l. iv. c. 15.) He came alone, with his retainers, to protect him against the invasion of the Hungarians. (Frodoard, l. iv. c. 14.)—Louis d'Outremer made war on Heribert with archbishop Arnould, to whom he granted the privilege of coining money. (Alberic. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 66.—Frodoard, l. iv. c. 26, sqq.)

himself as well, and trace on every point where they arise all the feudal dynasties. Let us endeavour to disentangle this vast subject, by clearly defining the original characters of the provinces in which these dynasties have come to land. In its historical development, each was clearly modified

by the different influence of its respective soil and climate. Liberty is potent in civilized ages, nature in barbarous ones. In these the accidents of locality are all-powerful as the laws of fate; and mere geography becomes a history.



BOOK THE THIRD.

PICTURE OF FRANCE.



THE history of France begins with the French language. Language is the distinguishing mark of nationality. The earliest monument of our language is the oath dictated by Charles the Bald to his brother, at the treaty of 843*. In the half century following, the different countries of France, up to that time confounded in a vague and obscure unity, assume distinctive characters from the feudal dynasties established in them. Their population, so long floating and unsettled, is fixed and seated. We know where are the respective people of each: and at the same time that they all begin to exist and act apart, they gradually acquire a voice: each has its history, which each relates for itself.

Through the infinite variety of the feudal world, and the multiplicity of objects with which it at first distracts the eye and the attention, France nevertheless stands manifest. For the first time she displays herself under her geographic form. When the wind dissipates the vain and fantastic fog with which the German empire had covered and obscured everything, the country comes out into full light, with all its local differences defined by its mountains and its rivers. The political correspond with the physical divisions. Far from there having been, as is commonly stated, confusion and chaos, all was order—inevitable and fated regularity. Strange†! our eighty-six departments correspond, or very nearly so, with the eighty-six districts of the Capitularies, whence sprang most of the feudal sovereignties; and the revolution which gave the death-blow to feudalism was fain to imitate it.

The true starting point of our history is a political division of France, founded on its natural and physical division. At first, history is altogether geography. It is impossible to describe the feudal or the provincial period (the latter epithet is equally characteristic), without first tracing the peculiarities of the provinces. Nor is it sufficient to define the geographical form of these different countries. They are to be thoroughly illustrated by their fruits alone—I mean by the men and the events of their history. From the point of view where we are about to place ourselves, we shall predict what each of them will do and produce; we shall indi-

cate to them their destiny, and dower them in the cradle.

And first, let us view France in its whole, that we may see how it will divide of itself.

Let us ascend one of the highest summits of the Vosges, or, if you choose, let us seat ourselves on the Jura—our back to the Alps. Could our sight take in an horizon of three hundred leagues, we should distinguish an undulating line, extending from the wood-crowned hills of Luxembourg and of Ardenues to the balloon-shaped hills of the Vosges, and thence along the viny slopes of Burgundy to the volcanic crags of the Cevennes, and to the vast wall of the Pyrenees. This line marks the great water-shed. On its western side descend to the ocean the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne; on the other, the Meuse flows to the north, the Saône and Rhône to the south. In the distance are two continental islands, as it were—Brittany, low and rugged, of quartz and granite only, a huge shoal placed at the angle of France to sustain the shock of the current of the strait; and Auvergne, green and rude, a vast extinct fire, with its forty volcanoes.

The basins of the Rhône and of the Garonne, notwithstanding their importance, are only secondary. In the north alone life exists in the fulness of strength; and in it was wrought the great movement of the nations. In ancient times there set a current of races from Germany into France: the grand political struggle of modern times has lain between France and England. These two nations are placed facing each other, as if to invite to contest. On their most important sides the two countries slope towards each other, or you may say that they form but one valley, of which the Straits of Dover are the bottom. On this side are the Seine and Paris; on that, London and the Thames. But England presents to France that portion of her which is German—keeping behind her the Celts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. France, on the contrary, backed by her Germanic provinces (Lorraine and Alsace), opposes her Celtic front to England. Each country views the other on its most hostile side.

Germany is not opposed to France, but rather lies parallel with her. Like the Meuse and the Scheldt, the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, run into the northern seas. Besides, German France sympathizes with Germany, her parent. As for Roman

* See p. 94.

† Scr. R. Fr. vii. 616, 617. Capitul. anni 853.—See, also, Guizot, Cours de 1823, t. iii. p. 27.

and Iberian France, notwithstanding the splendour of Marseilles and of Bordeaux, she only faces the old world of Africa and of Italy, or else the vague abyss of ocean. From Spain we are severed by the Pyrenees even more completely than she is by the sea from Africa. Rising above the region of rain and of the lower clouds to the *por* of Venusque, and prolonging our view over Spain, we see that there Europe ends. A new world opens ; before us is the blazing sun of Africa ; behind, a fog undulating with a constant wind.

Looking at France in its latitude, its zones are at once discriminated by their products. In the north are the low and rich plains of Belgium and of Flanders, with their fields of flax, hops, and of colewort, and the bitter northern vine. From Reims to the Moselle begins the region of the true vine and of wine; all spirit in Champagne, and good and warm in Burgundy, it grows heavier and duller in Languedoc, to awaken again at Bordeaux. The mulberry and the olive appear at Montauban; but these delicate children of the south are ever exposed to risk in the unequal climate of France*. Longitudinally, the zones

* Arthur Young, in his *Agricultural Tour* through France, says (vol. i. p. 293), "France admits a division into three capital parts, 1st, of vines; 2ndly, of maiz, 3rdly, of olives—which plants give the three districts of, 1st, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2dly, the central, in which maiz is not planted; 3rdly, the south, in which olives, mulberries, and vines, and maiz are all found. The line of separation between vines and no vines, as I observed myself, is at Concy, ten miles to the north of Soissons; at Clermont, in the Beauvoisais; at Beaumont, in Maïson; and Herbignac, near Guerande, in Bretagne." This limitation, though perhaps too rigorous, is, generally speaking, exact.

The following account of the importations by which the vegetable kingdom has been enriched in France, gives a high idea of the infinite variety of soil and of climate that distinguishes our country:—

"Charlemagne's orchard at Paris was considered unique, from its containing apple and pear trees, the walnut, service-trees, and chestnuts. The potato, now the staple food of a large part of our population, was not brought to us from Peru till the close of the sixteenth century. We are indebted to St. Louis for the inodorous ranunculus of the plains of Syria. Ambassadors had to employ their influence to procure France the garden ranunculus. Provins is indebted for her gardens of roses to the traveller Thibault, count of Champagne and of Brice, joining the crusades; Constantinople supplied us with the horse-chestnut at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We long envied Turkey the tulip, of which we now possess nine hundred species, of greater beauty than those of any other country. The elm was hardly known in France before the time of Francis the First; nor the artichoke before the sixteenth century. The mushroom was not planted here till the middle of the fourteenth century. Fontainebleau is indebted for its black-ash to the Arabians, who brought it to the island of Cyprus. We have fetched the acacia from the neighbourhood of Babylon, the cedar from Libanus, the black-ash and the fig from Syria, the China tree from Peru, from Mexico; the orange from the Canaries, the mignonette, from Egypt; Indian-corn, from Guinea; the ricinus or palmu-christi, and the Indian date-plum, from Africa; the passion-flower and the Jerusalem-artichoke, from Brazil; the gourd and the agave, from America; tobacco, from Mexico; anemum, from Madeira; the anemica, from the mountains of Lapland; the yellow daisy, from Siberia; the balsamine, from India; the tuberose, from the island of Ceylon; the barberry and the cauliflower, from the East; horse-radish, from China; rhubarb, from Tartary; black-wheat, from Greece; the phormium-tenax,

are not less distinct. We shall presently see the intimate relations which connect, as in one long belt, the frontier provinces of Ardennes, of Lorraine, of Franche-Comté, and of Dauphiny. The oceanic zone, formed, on the one hand, by Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, and, on the other, by Poitou and Guienne, would float at its immense length, were it not bound tightly round the middle by the hard knot of Brittany.

It has been said, *Paris, Rouen, and Haere, are one city, of which the Seine is the high street.* Betake yourself to the south of this magnificent street, where castles join castles, villages join villages. Pass from the Lower Seine to Calvados, and from Calvados to the Channel—whatever be the richness and fertility of the country, the towns become fewer, arable decreases, pasture increases. The aspect of the country is serious; it soon becomes wild and gloomy. To the lofty castles of Normandy succeed the humble manor-houses of the Bretons. The costume seems to follow the change of architecture. The triumphal bonnet of the women of Caux, which bespeaks so fitly the daughters of the conquerors of England, widens out towards Caen, grows flat at Ville-Dieu, divides and figures in the wind at St. Malo; sometimes like the sails of a mill, at others like those of a ship. On another side, dresses of skins begin at Laval. The increasing density of the forests, the solitude of La Trappe—where the monks lead together a savage life—the expressive names of the towns, Fougères and Remues (both signifying heath or fern), the grey waters of the Mayenne and the Villaine all announce the wildness of the country.

It is here, however, that we wish to begin our study of France. The Celtic province, the eldest-born of the monarchy, claims our first glance. Hence we will pass on to the old rivals of the Celts, the Basques and the Iberians, not less obstinate in their mountains than the Celt in his heaths and marshes. Then we may proceed to the countries blended and confounded by the Roman and German conquests. We shall thus have studied geography in chronological order, and have travelled at once in space and in time.

Brittany, poor and hard, the resistant element of France, extends her fields of quartz and of schistus from the slate-quarries of Châteaulin, near Brest, to the slate-quarries of Angers. This is her extent, geologically speaking. However, from Angers to Rennes, the country is a *debatable* land, a *border* like that between England and Scotland, which early escaped from Brittany. The Breton tongue does not even begin at Rennes, but about Elven, Pontivy, Lorient, and Châteaulaudren. There, as far as Cape Finistère, it is true Brittany—*Bretou* Brittany (*Bretagne bretonnante*), a country which has become altogether foreign from ours, exactly because it has remained too faithful to our primitive condition, the more unlike the French that it is like the Gaul, and which would have slipped from us more than once, had we not held it grasped, as if in a vice, between four French cities of rough and decisive character, Nantes and St. Malo, Rennes and Brest.

And yet this poor old province has saved us

from "An. -" Depping, Description de la France, t. i.
p. 51. See also, De Candolle, Sur la Statistique Végétale de
la France; and Alex. Humboldt's Botanical Geography.

more than once. Often when our country has been held at bay and been at the point of despair, Breton heads and breasts have been found harder than the stranger's sword. When the Northmen were ravaging with impunity our coasts and rivers, the Breton, Nomenot, was the first to resist. The English were repulsed in the fourteenth century by Duguesclin; in the fifteenth, by Richemont; and, in the seventeenth, were chased through every sea by Duguay-Trouin. The wars of religion and those of political liberty present no more purely and innocently glorious names than Lanoue's, and that of Latour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of the republic. The story runs, that it was a native of Nantes who uttered the last exclamation heard at Waterloo—"The guard dies but does not surrender."

The Breton character is that of unteachable resistance, and of blind, obstinate, intrepid opposition—for instance, Moreau, the opponent of Bonaparte. In the history of philosophy and literature, this character is still more plainly evidenced. The Breton, Pelagius, who infused stoicism into Christianity, and was the first churchman who uplifted his voice in behalf of human liberty*, was succeeded by the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. Each of these three gave the impetus to the philosophy of his own age. However, Descartes' disdain of facts, and contempt for history and languages, clearly show that this independent genius, who founded psychology, and doubled the sphere of mathematics, was rather vigorous than comprehensive†.

This spirit of opposition, which is natural to Brittany, manifested itself in the last century and in ours, by two apparently contradictory facts. The same part of Brittany (St. Malo, Dinan, and St. Brieuc) which, in Louis the Fifteenth's day produced the unbelievers Duclos, Maupertuis, and Lamétrie, has given birth in our own time to the poet and to the orator of Catholicism, to Chateaubriand and to La Mennais.

Now, to take a rapid survey of the country.

At its two gates, Bretagne has two forests—the Norman Bocage, and the Vendean Bocage; and two cities—St. Malo and Nantes, the one the city of privateers, the other of Guineamen‡. St. Malo is of singularly ugly and sinister appearance; and there is in it, besides, something fantastical, observable throughout the whole peninsula as well, whether in costume, in pictures, or in monuments§.

* See above, book i. c. 3.

† He saw far, straight before him, without looking to the right or the left; and the first result of that idealism which seemed to give all to man, was, as all know, the annihilation of man in the dream of Malebranche and the pantheism of Spinoza.

‡ I here state two facts. But how much ought to be added to do justice to these two heroic towns, and to pay them the debt due from France!

There are other original features of Nantes, worthy of notice—the uninterfered handing down of businesses from father to son, their slowly and honourably acquired fortunes, their household economy, and the strength of family ties. They are somewhat strict in business, from a desire to meet their engagements. Young folk there have their eye on each other; the morals of Nantes are superior to those of any other sea-port.

§ For instance, in the steeples, either hanging, or fashioned like houses of cards, or rising in stages with heavy balustrades, such as those of Tréguier and Landernau; also, in

It is a small, wealthy, sombre, and melancholy spot—the home of vultures and of ospreys; by turns, as the tide ebbs and flows, a peninsula and an island, and bordered with foul and fetid shoals where the sea-weed rots at will. In the distance, is a coast of white, angular rocks, cut sheer as if with a razor. War is the harvest of St. Malo—they know no more delightful holiday. To feel this, one should have seen them on their black walls with their telescopes, which already brooded over the ocean, when, no long time since, they were filled with hopes of running down the vessels of the Hollander*.

At its other extremity lies Brest, our great military port—planned by Richelieu, created by Louis XIV.; fort, arsenal, and bagnio, cannon and ships, armies and millions, the strength of France amassed at one end of France—and all this in a contracted harbour, where one is pent up and stifled between two mountains, covered with immense buildings. The entrance into the port is like passing into a small boat between two lofty vessels—the heavy masses seem about to close upon and crush you. Your general impression is grand, but painful. You see a prodigious effort of strength, at once a defiance to England and to nature. You every where are conscious of the effort, and so are you of the air of the bagnio, and of the galley-slave's chain. It is precisely at the point on which the sea, escaping from the Straits of Dover, dashes with its utmost fury, that we have pitched our great naval arsenal. Certes, it is well guarded. I saw a thousand cannon there†. All entrance is barred; but, at the same time, the port is not to be left at pleasure. More than one vessel has been lost in Brest channel‡. The whole coast is a grave-yard. Sixty vessels are wrecked on it every winter§. The sea is English at heart. She loves not France, but dashes our ships to pieces, and blocks up our harbours with sand||.

Nothing can be more sinister and formidable than the coast of Brest; it is the extreme limit, the point, the prow of the old world. Here the two enemies—land and sea, man and nature, are face to face. When the sea madly lashes herself into fury, you should see what monstrous waves she hurls on point St. Matthew, fifty, sixty, eighty feet high. The spray is flung as far as the church,

the tortuous cathedral of Quimper, whose choir runs the wrong way with regard to the nave, and in the triple church of Vannes, &c. . . . St. Malo has no cathedral, notwithstanding its fine legends; respecting which, see the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sac. i. and D. Morice, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne, t. i.

* I happened to be at St. Malo in the month of September, 1831.

(It is to be hoped that if Europe be ever mad enough to plunge again into war, it will not be base enough to countenance privateering. The merit of directing attention to this point is due to the *Spectator* newspaper.) TRANSLATOR.

† In the arsenal, and not reckoning those in the batteries.

‡ For instance, the *Républicain*, a 120 gun ship, in 1793.

§ This number, which I give on the report of natives of the place, is, perhaps, exaggerated. Altogether, about eighty-eight vessels are yearly lost on our western coasts, between Dunkirk and St. Jean de Luz. Discours de M. Arago, Monteur, March 25, 1833.

|| Dieppe, Havre, Rochelle, Cette, &c.

where mothers and sisters are at prayers *. And even in those moments of truce, when the sea is silent, who has passed along this funeral coast without exclaiming or feeling — *Tristis usque ad mortem!* (the shadow of death is here!)

'Tis that there is here what is worse than shoal or tempest. Nature is fierce, man is fierce; and they seem to understand each other. As soon as the sea casts a hapless vessel on the coast, man, woman, and child, hurry to the shore, to fall on their quarry. Hope not to stay these wolves. They plunder at their ease under the fire of the coast-guard †. It would be something if they always waited for shipwreck, but it is asserted that they often cause it. Often, it is said, a cow, led about with a lighted lantern at its horns, has lured vessels on the rocks. God alone knows the night-scenes that then take place! A man has been known to gnaw off a finger with his teeth, in order to get at a ring on the finger of a drowned woman ‡.

On this coast, man is hard. The accursed son of creation, a true Cain, wherefore should he spare Abel? Nature spares not him. Does the wave spare him, when in the fearful nights of winter he roams the shoals to gather the floating sea-weed which is to fertilise his sterile field—when the billow which bears the plant so often carries off the man? Does it spare him when he tremblingly glides beneath Cape Raz, by the red rocks, where the hell of *Plogoff* yearns for its prey; or along *Dead-man's Bay*, whose currents have for so many centuries swept corpses with them? The Breton proverb says, "None pass the Raz without hurt or a fright;" another, "Help me, great God, at Cape Raz,—my ship is so small, and the sea is so great §!"

Here, nature expires; humanity becomes mournful and cold. There is no poetry, little religion, and Christianity dates but from yesterday. Michel Noblet was the apostle of Batz in 1648 ¶. In the islands of Sein, Batz, and Ushant, the wedding festival itself is sad and severe. The very senses seem dead; and there is no love, nor shame, nor jealousy. The girls unblushingly make the marriage proposals ¶. Woman labours there harder

than man, and in the Ushant isles, she is taller and stronger. She tills the land, whilst the man remains seated in his boat, rocked and cradled by the sea, his rough nurse. The animals also degenerate, and seem to change their nature. Horses and rabbits are wonderfully diminutive in these islands.

Let us seat ourselves on this formidable Cape Raz, upon this overhanging rock, three hundred feet above the sea, and whence we descry seven leagues of coast-line. This is, in some sort, the sanctuary of the Celtic world. The dot you discern beyond *Dead-man's Bay* is the island of Sein, a desolate, treeless, and all but unsheltered sand-bank, the abode of some poor and compassionate families, who yearly save the shipwrecked mariners. This island was the abode of the sacred virgins who gave the Celts fine weather or shipwreck. There they celebrated their gloomy and murderous orgies; and the seamen heard with terror, far off at sea, the clash of barbaric cymbals *. This island is the traditional birth-place of Myrddyn, the Merlin of the middle age. His tomb is on the other side of Brittany, in the forest of Broceliande, under the fatal stone where his Vyvyan has enchanted him. All these rocks around us are towns which have been swallowed up—this is Douar-nenez, that is, the Breton Sodom; those two ravens you see, ever flying heavily on the shore, are the souls of king Grallo and his daughter; and those shrill whistlings, which one would take for the voice of the tempest, are the *crieries*, the ghosts of the shipwrecked clamouring for burial †.

At Lanvan, near Brest, there rises, as if to mark the limit of the continent, a large unheaven stone. From this spot as far as Lorient, and from Lorient again as far as Quiberon and Carnac, you cannot walk along the southern coast of Brittany without meeting at every step one of those shapeless monuments which are called druidical. You often descry them from the road on *landes* covered with briars and thistles. They consist of huge low stones, placed upright, and often a little rounded at top; or else of a stone laid flat on three or four standing stones. Whether we see in them altars, tombs, or mere memorials of events, these monuments are exceedingly imposing. Yet is the impression they make a saddening one, there being something singularly repulsive and rude in their effect. They seem to be the first essays in art of a hand already intelligent, but as hard and as little human as the rock which it has fashioned. Neither inscription nor sign is visible on them, if we except some marks under those stones of *Luc Maria Ker* that have been thrown down, so indistinct as to induce a belief that they are merely accidental ‡. Question the people of the country, and they will briefly reply that they are the houses of the *Torri-*

islands for thirty-five generations. Solinus (c. 22), asserts that the king of the Hebrides takes no wives of his own, but makes free with those of his subjects.

* See above, book ii. c. 2.

† Cambray, t. ii. p. 255-264.

‡ See the plates in M. De Fréminville's work, and in the *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales de la France* by M. Caumont, Secretary to the Antiquarian Society of Normandy, and who was the first to illustrate this branch of national Archaeology with an intelligent and enlightened criticism.

Goélans, goélans,
Ramez-nous nos maris, nos amans.

(Barks, barks, bring us back our husbands, our lovers.)—Apparently, the burden of a local song. TRANSLATOR.

† The fact is vouched for by the coast-guard themselves.—The Bretons seem to consider the *bris* (wreck) as a sort of alluvial right. This terrible right of the *bris* was, as is well-known, one of the most lucrative of the feudal privileges. The viscount de León, alluding to a reef, said "I have a stone there more precious than those which enrich a king's crown."

‡ I give the tradition of the country, without guaranteeing it. It is needless to add, that the remains of these barbarous customs are daily disappearing.

§ Voyage de Cambray, t. ii. p. 241—257.

¶ Id. t. i. p. 109. I give my authority. The other facts, for which I am indebted to this agreeable work, have been confirmed to me by natives.

¶ Id. t. ii. p. 77.—Toland's Letters, p. 2, 3. In the Hebrides, and other islands, the man took the woman on trial for a year, when if she did not suit him he resigned her to another (Martins' Hebrides.) No very long time since, the peasant who wished to marry applied for a wife to the lord of Barra,—the lords of which had reigned over these

gans, the *Courils*, wanton dwarfs, who at night, bar your *rpai*, and force you to dance with them until you die of fatigue. In other parts they are *fairies*, who, descending from the mountains, spinning, have brought away these rocks in their aprons*. Those scattered rocks are a whole wedding-party petrified. One solitary stone, near Morlaix, bears witness to the miserable fate of a peasant, who was swallowed up by the moon† for blasphemy.

Never shall I forget the day on which I set out, early in the morning, from Auray, the sacred city of the Chouans, to visit the great druidical monuments of Loc Maria Ker, and of Carnac, which are some leagues distant. The first of these villages lies at the mouth of the filthy and fetid river of the Auray, with its islands of *Morbihan*, outnumbering the days of the year, and looks across a small bay to the fatal shore of Quiberon. There was a fog, such as envelopes these coasts one-half of the year. Sorry bridges lead across the marshes; at one point you meet with the low and sombre manor-house, with its long avenue of oaks—a feature religiously preserved in Brittany; at another, you encounter a peasant, who passes without looking at you, but he has scanned you askance with his night-bird eye,—a look which explains their famous war-cry, and the name of *Chouans* (owls), given them by the *blues*‡. There are no houses on the road-side; the peasants return nightly to their villages. On every side are vast *landes*, sadly set off by purple heath and gorse; the cultivated fields are white with buck-wheat. The eye is rather distressed than refreshed by this summer snow, and those dull and faded-looking colours—resembling *Ophelia's* coronet of straw and flowers. As you proceed to Carnac, the country saddens. The plains are all rock, with a few black sheep browsing on the flint. In the midst of

this multitude of stones, many of which stand upright of themselves, the lines of Carnac inspire no astonishment; although there are several hundred stones still standing, the highest of which is fourteen feet*.

Morbihan is sombre to look at, sombre in its traditions—a country of old feuds, of pilgrimages, and of civil war—a land of flint, and a race of granite. There, all is lasting; even time passes more slowly than elsewhere. The priests there wield great power. Yet is it a mistake to suppose the people of the West, the Bretons and Vendéans, to be deeply religious. In several cantons, the saint who turns a deaf ear to prayers runs the risk of a severe scourging†. In Brittany, as in Ireland, the Catholic religion is dear to men as the symbol of their nationality, and the influence of religion is in a large degree an affair of politics. An Irish priest who should favour the English party would soon be expelled his country‡. No church, in the middle ages, continued longer independent of Rome than those of Ireland and of Brittany. For a long time the latter endeavoured to withdraw itself from the primacy of Tours—opposing to it that of *Dôle*.

The nobles, as well as the priests, are dear to Brittany and La Vendée, as defenders of old ideas and customs. No wide gulf separated the innumerable and poor nobility of Brittany from the labouring class. Some of the feelings of clanship prevailed there too. Numerous peasant families considered themselves noble; some traced their descent to Arthur and the fairy Morgana, and are said to have stuck their swords in the ground to mark the limits of their fields. They would sit down covered before their lord, to mark their independence. In several parts of the province serfhood was unknown. The *domaniers* and *quevassiers*, however hard their condition might be, were personally free, though the land was in bondage. They would stand up in presence of the haughtiest Rohan§, and say, in their solemn manner—*Me zo deuzar armorig*—I, too, am a Breton; A profound reflection has recently been made with regard to Vendée, and it is applicable to Brittany as well—“*The people are at heart republicans*!”—social, not political republicanism, is here meant.

We need not be surprised that the Celtic race, the most obstinate of the ancient world, made some efforts in later times to prolong its nationality, just as it defended it in the middle ages. It required the Plantagenets to become, by two marriages, kings of England, and dukes of Normandy and of

* In Mr. O'Higgins's magnificent work (*Celtic Druids*, 4to, 1829) the dimensions are greatly exaggerated. He makes one of the principal stones of Carnac four-and-twenty feet high.

† According to Cambry, in La Cornouaille.—The Chouans have even been known to beat their chiefs, and then obey them the moment after. I pledge myself to the truth of this.

‡ See *Sheil's Sketches*.

§ The pretensions of this family, which is descended from the Mac Tiern of Leon, are well known. In the sixteenth century the Rohans took this motto, which may serve as an index to their history—“*Doi je ne suis, prince ne daigne, Rohan jeteu s,*” (King I'm not, prince I scorn to be, Rohan I am.)

¶ As stated in his evidence by captain Galleran, at the Nantes assizes, October, 1832.

* This is the form taken by the legend in Anjou. Translated into the beautiful provinces of the Loire, it there assumes a soft and winning character, yet not without grandeur in the midst of its simplicity.

† This star ever shines malignantly on the Celts. To avert its maleficent influence, they say to it—“Thou hast found us well, leave us well.” On the moon's rising, they fall on their knees, and repeat a *Pater* and an *Ave* (Cambry, t. iii. p. 35). In many places they call her “our Lady.” Some take off their caps on first seeing the evening star. (Cambry, t. i. p. 193.)—They also venerate lakes and fountains, and bring them on certain days bread and butter. (Cambry, t. iii. p. 35.—See Depping, t. i. p. 76.)—As late as the year 1788, they solemnly sang at Lesneven on New Year's Day—*GUY-NA-NE*. (Cambry, t. ii. p. 26.)—In Anjou, children used to ask for their New Year's gifts by saying, *MA GUILLANEU* (Bodin, *Recherches sur Saumur*); and in the Department of Haute-Guienne, by crying *GUY-NE-LEU*.—“Dr. Henry says that within twenty or thirty years, when a party in Orkney agreed to marry, they went to the temple of the moon, which was semi-circular, and there the woman fell on her knees and invoked Woden.” (Logan, vol. ii. p. 360.)—According to M. Champollion-Figeac, the sun's *fête* is still celebrated in a village of Dauphiné. (Sur les *Dialectes du Dauphiné*, p. 11.)—In the environs of Saumur, on Trinity-day, the people used to go out to see three *suns* rise.—On St. John's day, they went to see the rising sun dance. (Bodin, as quoted above.)—The people of Anjou used to call the sun *Lord*, and the moon *Lady*. (Id. *Recherches sur l'Anjou*, t. i. p. 86.)

‡ (The name given to the Republicans, from their uniform.) TRANSLATOR.

Aquitaine, before they could subject Brittany to Anjou, an event which did not take place till the twelfth century, when Brittany, to escape them, threw herself into the arms of France, but only after the French and English parties, the Blois and the Montforts, had carried on the war for a century longer. After the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Louis VII. had united the province to the kingdom, and Anne had written on the castle of Nantes * the old device on the castle of the Bourbons—*Qui qu'en grogne, tel est mon plaisir* (Let who will grumble, such is my will)—there began the legal struggle of the states, of the parliament of Rennes, its defence of the common law of the country against the Roman †, and the war between provincial rights and monarchical centralization. Sternly coerced by Louis XIV. ‡, the struggle recommenced in his successor's reign; and La Chalotais, in his dungeon in Brest, wrote with a tooth-pick his courageous plea against the Jesuits.

Resistance is now dying away, and Brittany is being gradually absorbed into France. Its language, undermined by the constant infiltration of the French tongue, recedes step by step §. Even the talent for poetic improvisation, which has endured so long among the Celts of Ireland and of Scotland, and which is not altogether lost among the Bretons, is become rare and unusual. Formerly, when a girl was sought in marriage, the *bazalan* || would sing stanzas of his own composition, to which she would respond; but this has now degenerated into a set form, learnt by rote ¶. The attempts, rather bold than successful, which have been made by some of the natives to revive, by instruction, the nationality of their country, have only been received with laughter. I have myself seen at T * * * *, Le Brigant's learned friend, the aged M. D. (known here only by the name of M. Système). The poor solitary old man, sunk in an old arm-chair, with five or six thousand volumes scattered round, childless, and without a relative to care for him, was dying of fever, with an Irish grammar on one side, and a Hebrew one on the other. He rallied so as to repeat to me some stanzas in the Breton tongue, of emphatic and monotonous rhythm, which, however, was not without its charm. It touched me to the heart to see this representative of Celtic nationality—this dying champion of a dying language and dying poetry **.

* Daru, Histoire de Bretagne, t. ii.

† This point will be noticed hereafter.

‡ See Madame de Sévigné's Letters from September to December, inclusive, for the year 1675. Great numbers were broken on the wheel, hung, or sent to the galleys. She mentions those things with a carelessness which is painful.

§ According to M^{re} de Romieu, sub-prefect of Quimperlé, one may measure how many leagues the Breton tongue loses in a given number of years. See this gentleman's ingenious articles in the *Revue de Paris*.

|| The *bazalan* was the person deputed to ask girls in marriage, and was, usually, a tailor, who presented himself with one stocking blue, the other white.

¶ I give this and several other facts on the authority of M. le Lédan, bookseller, of Morlaix, and a celebrated antiquarian. Other details I am indebted for to various natives of the country, and, among others, to M. de R jun, who belongs to one of the most distinguished families in Brest. I place implicit confidence in the veracity of this heroic young man.

** See Appendix.

We may trace the Celtic world along the Loire, as far as the geological limits of Brittany to the slate quarries of Angers; or else, to the great druidical monument at Saumur, the most important, perhaps, of all that still exist; or else, to Tours, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Brittany in the middle ages.

Nantes is a semi-Bordeaux, less showy and more staid—a mixture of colonial opulence and Breton sobriety—standing civilized in the midst of two scenes of savage atrocity, carrying on commerce in the midst of two civil wars *, and thrown where it stands as if to break off all communication. The great Loire runs through it, sweeping with its eddies between Brittany and La Vendée—the river of the *Nogades*. "What a torrent," wrote Carrier, drunk with the poetry of his crime; "what a revolutionary torrent is this Loire!"

It was at St. Florent, at the very spot marked by the column in honour of the Vendean, Bonchamps, that in the ninth century the Breton Noménoë, the conqueror of the Northmen, had reared his own statue; which faced Anjou, faced France, that he looked upon as his prey †. But the day was Anjou's. Its more disciplinable population was under the sway of the great feudal barons; whilst Brittany, with its innumerable petty nobility, could carry on no great war, nor effect any great conquest. The black city of Angers bears, not alone on its vast castle, and its Devil's Tower, but on its very cathedral, this feudal impress. The church of St. Maurice is crowded, not with saints, but with knights armed cap-a-pee—and in its halting spires, the one charged with sculpture, the other plain, is typified the unfulfilled destiny of Anjou. Despite its fine situation on the triple stream of the Maine, and close to the Loire—where one can distinguish by their colour the waters flowing from four provinces, Angers is now asleep. It is enough for it to have united for awhile, under its Plantagenets, England, Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, and, at a later period, under the good René and his sons, to have possessed, contended for, or, at the least, claimed the thrones of Naples, of Arragon, of Jerusalem, and of Provence, whilst his daughter Margaret supported the red against the white rose, and Lancaster against York. And here slumber, likewise, to the murmurings of the Loire, the cities of Saumur and of Tours—the one, the capital of Protestantism—the other, that of Catholicism ‡ in France—Saumur, the little kingdom of the Calvinist preachers and of the aged Duplessis Mornay, in opposition to whom their good friend, Henri IV., built La Flèche for the Jesuits. The castle of Mornay and its vast *dolmen* §, will always render Saumur of historical import. And important historically, though in a different way, is

* (Those of the League and of the Revolution? The barbarous acts alluded to, seem to be the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the *Nogades*.) TRANSITION.

† D. Morice, Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne, t. i. p. 278. Charles the Bald, in his turn, had one of himself erected with the face towards Brittany.

‡ At least, during the Merovingian era.

§ It is a kind of artificial grotto, forty feet long, ten wide, and eight high, formed of eleven huge stones. This dolmen, which lies in a valley, seems to answer to another reared on a hill. I have often noticed this peculiarity in druidical monuments, for instance, at Carnac.

the good city of Tours, with its tomb of St. Martin—the ancient asylum, the ancient oracle, the Delphi of France, where the Merovingians came to consult the lots*—the great and lucrative resort of pilgrims, for the possession of which the counts of Blois and of Anjou splintered so many lances. Mans, Angers, and the whole of Brittany, were included in the see of the archbishopric of Tours. The Capets, and the dukes of Burgundy and of Brittany, and the count of Flanders, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the archbishops of Mentz, of Cologne, and of Compostella were its canons. Money was coined here, as well as at Paris; and here were early manufactured the silks, the precious tissues, and, if it must be owned, the sweetmeats and *rillettes*, for which Tours and Reims—cities of priests and of sensuality—have been equally famous. But the trade of Tours has been injured by Paris, Lyons, and Nantes. Something may be ascribed, too, to the influence of the mild sun and softening Loire: labour seems unnatural in the idle climate of Tours, of Blois, and of Chinon, in the country of Rabelais, and near the tomb of Agnes Sorel. Chenonceaux, Chambord, Montbazou, Langeais, and Loches—all favoured by our kings or their mistresses, have their several castles seated on the Loire. It is the country of laughter, and of the *far niente*. The verdure is fresh in August as in May—fruits succeed fruits, trees succeed trees. Look into the river from the bank—the opposite bank seems hung in air, so faithfully is the sky reflected by the water. The sand glistens at the bottom; then comes the willow, bending down to drink of the stream; next you see the poplar, the aspen, and the walnut, and then islands floating in the midst of islands, and beyond, tufted trees, gently waving to and fro, and saluting each other. A soft and sensual country! the very spot to give birth to the idea of making woman queen of the monasteries, and of living under her in a voluptuous obedience, a compound of love and of holiness. And never was abbey so splendid as that of Fontevault†. Five of its churches still remain. More than one king desired to be buried there. Even the fierce Richard Cœur-de-Lion willed the nuns his heart, thinking, that murderous and parricidal as it was, it would win repose in woman's gentle hand, and sheltered by the prayers of virgins.

To find on this Loire something less soft and more severe, you must proceed up it to the angle by which it sweeps round towards the Seine, as far as the serious Orleans—in the middle ages, the city of legists, afterwards Calvinistical, then Jansenist, and now a manufacturing town. But I defer for the present speaking of the centre of France, in order to hurry to the South. I have spoken of the Celts of Brittany, and would now proceed to the Iberians, to the Pyrenees.

Poitou, which we meet with on the other side of the Loire, facing Brittany and Anjou, is a country composed of very different but still distinct elements. Three distinct races occupy three distinct belts of

land, stretching from north to south; and hence the apparent contradictions presented by the history of this province. In the sixteenth century, Poitou is the centre of Calvinism, recruits the armies of Coligni, and attempts to found a protestant republic. In our own time, Poitou originated the Catholic and royalist opposition of la Vendée. The natives of the coast figure in the former attempt; those of the Vendean Bocage in the latter. Both, however, may be referred to the same principle, of which republican Calvinism and royalist catholicism have been but the form—an indomitable feeling of opposition to the central government.

Poitou is the battle-field of the South and of the North. It was near Poitiers that Clovis defeated the Goths, that Charles-Martel repulsed the Saracens, and that the Anglo-Gascon army of the Black Prince took king John prisoner. Blending the Roman with the common law, giving her legists to the North and her troubadours to the South, Poitou is like its own Melusine*, a compound of different natures, half-woman, half-serpent. The myth could have originated only in a mixed country—in a country of mules † and of vapours ‡.

This mixed and contradictory character has hindered Poitou from ever bringing anything to a conclusion; but it began everything. The old Roman city of Poitiers, now so deserted, was, with Arles and Lyons, the first Christian school of Gaul. St. Hilary shared the battles of St. Athanasius, in defence of the divinity of Jesus Christ. In some respects, Poitiers was the cradle of our monarchy as well as of Christianity. From her cathedral shone during the night the column of fire which guided Clovis against the Goths. The king of France was abbot of St. Hilary of Poitiers, as well as of St. Martin of Tours. The latter church, however, less literary, but better situated, more popular, and more fertile in miracles, prevailed over her elder sister. The last light of Latin poetry had shone at Poitiers in the person of Fortunatus, and the aurora of modern literature dawned there in the twelfth century—William VII. is the first troubadour. This William, excommunicated for having run away with the viscountess of Châtelleraut, led, it is said, a hundred thousand men to the holy land§, but he likewise took with him a crowd of his mistresses||. It is of him that an old author says, "*He was a good troubadour, a good knight, and he travelled a long time over the world, deceiving the ladies.*" Poitou would seem to have been at this period a country of witty libertines and of freethinkers. Gilbert de la Porée, born at Poitiers, and afterwards its bishop, who

* See Appendix.

† The mules of Poitou are highly esteemed throughout Auvergne, Provence, Languedoc, and even in Spain. Statist. de la Vendée, by La Bretonnière—The birth of a mule is hailed with more joy than that of a son.—In the district of Mirabeau, a stallion ass will fetch as much as 3000 francs. Dupin, Statist. des Deux-Sèvres. (Dupin was prefect of the Department).

‡ The apothecaries buy numbers in Poitou.—Formerly, Poitiers exported its vipers as far as Venice. La Bretonnière, Dupin.

§ He reached Antioch with six men.

|| The bishop of Angoulême said to him, "reform"—the count replied, "When you shall comb your hair." The bishop was bald.

* See, above, book ii c. 1.

† Recherches de Bodin.—Genoude, Voyage en Anjou et Vendée, 1821. At this date, the remains of the abbey consisted of three cloisters, supported by columns and pilasters, of five large churches, and several statues; among others, that of Henry II. There was no trace of the tomb of his son, Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

was Abelard's colleague in the school of Chartres, taught with the same boldness, was, like him, attacked by St. Bernard, like him, retracted, but did not persist in his relapses like the Breton logician. Poitevin philosophy is born and dies with Gilbert.

The political power of Poitou had no better fate. It began in the ninth century with the struggle maintained against Charles the Bald by Aymon, father of Renaud, count of Gascony, and brother of Turpin, count of Angoulême*. This family claimed its descent from the two famous heroes of romance, St. William of Toulouse, and Gérard of Roussillon, count of Burgundy. It was, indeed, great and powerful; and for some time found itself at the head of the south. They took the title of dukes of Aquitaine, but had too difficult a game to play with the people of Brittany and of Anjou, who pressed them on the north. The Angevins took from them part of Touraine, Saumur, Loudun, and turned them by seizing on Saintes. However, the counts of Poitou exhausted themselves in strenuous efforts to establish in the south, and especially over Auvergne and Toulouse, their great title of dukes of Aquitaine. They spent their substance in distant expeditions to Spain and Jerusalem. Showy and lavish, these knightly troubadours were often embroiled with the Church; their light and violent manners giving rise to adulteries and domestic tragedies, which have been a world's talk. It was not the first time that a countess of Poitiers had assassinated her rival, when the jealous Elinor of Guyenne forced fair Rosamond to swallow poison in the labyrinth where her husband had concealed her.

Elinor's sons, Henry, Richard Cœur de Lion, and John, never knew whether they were Poitevins or English, Angevins or Normans. This internal strife of two contradictory natures is figured in their fluctuating and stormy career. Henry III., John's son, was governed by Poitevin favourites. The civil wars to which this gave rise in England are well known. Once united with the monarchy, Poitou, both of the *marsh* and of the plain, followed the general movement of France. Fontenai supplied her with great legists, with the Tiraqueaus, the Beslys, the Brissons; and many a skilful courtier (Thouars, Mortemar, Meilleraie, Mauléon, &c.) issued from the nobility of Poitou. The greatest politician and the most popular writer of France belong to eastern Poitou—Richelieu and Voltaire. The last, who was born at Paris, sprang from a family belonging to Parthenay†.

But we have not seen the whole of the province. From the plateau of the Deux Sèvres descend the two rivers so named, the one running towards Nantes, the other towards Niort and Rochelle. The two excentric districts which they traverse, stand aloof from France. The lower, a petty Holland‡, spreading itself out in marshes and canals,

faces only the ocean and Rochelle. Originally, the *white city**, like the black city.—Rochelle, like St. Malo,—was an asylum opened by the Church, for the Jews, the serfs, the *coliberts* of Poitou. The pope equally protected both† against the barons, and, freed as they were from tithe and tribute, they rapidly increased. A swarm of adventurers issuing from their nameless populace, opened up the seas as merchants or as pirates: others opened up the court, and placed at the service of their monarchs their democratic genius and hatred of the barons. Without going so far back as to the serf Leudaster, of the island of Rhé, whose curious story has been preserved to us by Gregory of Tours, we may cite the famous cardinal de Sion, who got the Swiss to take up arms for Julius II., and the chancery clerks Olivier, Baluc, and Doriote—the first, under Charles IX., the two last under Louis XI., who loved to make use of these intriguers—saying that he would lodge them afterwards in an iron cage.

For a moment, Rochelle thought to become an Amsterdam, of which Coligni would have been the William of Orange. All know the two famous sieges it supported against Charles IX. and Richelieu, its numberless heroic efforts, its endurance, and the poniard which the mayor laid on the table of the Hôtel-de-Ville for his heart who should speak of surrender. Yet were its brave inhabitants constrained to yield when England, betraying the Protestant cause and her own interest, suffered Richelieu to block up their port. The remains of the immense dyke constructed for this purpose, are still distinguishable at low tide. Shut out from the sea, the amphibious city drooped and languished; and, to muzzle her the better, Louis XIV. founded Rochefort, a stone's throw from Rochelle—the port of the monarch, by the side of the port of the people.

There was, however, a part of Poitou which had scarcely figured in history, which was but little known, and knew not itself. It was revealed by the Vendean war. The principal and the earliest scene of this fearful war, which kindled a conflagration throughout the whole West, was the basin of the Sèvre-Nantaise, the sombre hills with which it is surrounded, and the entire Vendean Bocage. This said Vendée, which has fourteen rivers, and not one navigable one‡,—a country

order to leap over the ditches and canals.—The *wet marsh*, beyond the dykes, is all the winter under water. La Bretonnière.—Noirmoutiers is twelve feet below the sea level, and artificial dykes occur throughout a tract eleven thousand toises in length.—The Dutch drained the *marsh of Little Poitou* by a canal, called the *Dutchmen's girdle* (Ceinture des Hollandais). Statistique des Pêchets et Chaulaires. See, also, the Description de la Vendée par M. Cavoteau, 1818.

* This name was given to Rochelle by the English from the reflection of the light on its rocks and downs. See L'Histoire de la Rochelle, par le père Arcère, de l'Oratoire, 2 tom. 4to.—For the *coliberts*, caqueux, cagots, gésitains, &c., see Appendix.

† For the history of St. Malo, consult Darnu, Hist. de Bretagne, t. ii. 177, for that of Rochelle. Father Arcère's work mentioned in the preceding note.—Raymond Perraud, a native of Rochelle, who became bishop and cardinal, obtained for the Rochellais, in 1502, bulls prohibiting their being tried by any foreign tribunal.

‡ See the Statist. du Depart. de la Vienne, par le Préfet Cochon. an. x.—As early as 1537, it was proposed to render the Vienne navigable as far as Limoges, and then to con-

* Singular enough, the names of the heroes and of the famous author of the Chronicle figure on the same page.

† According to M de Genoude, there are still some of the family of Arouet in the village of St. Loup, near this town.

‡ The southern marsh is wholly a work of art. The difficulty to be overcome was not so much the tides, as the overflows of the Sèvre.—The dykes are often threatened with destruction.—The *cabaniers* (the occupiers of farms called *cabanes*) walk with leaping-poles twelve feet long in

lost in its woods and hedges—despite all that has been said, was neither more religious nor more loyal than many other frontier provinces*; but it clung to its habits. These had been but little disturbed by the ancient monarchy, with its imperfect centralization; but the revolution sought to uproot them, and to bring over the province at once to national unity. Precipitate, and violent, and startling by the sudden and hostile light it threw upon every thing, it scared these children of the night. The peasants stood up, heroes. It is a fact, that Cathelineau, the carrier (*coûtier*), was kneading his bread† when he heard the republican proclamation read. He just washed his hands, and shouldered his gun. Each did the same, and marched straight against the *blues*: and the struggle was not man to man, in woods, and in darkness, as with the Chouans in Brittany—but in masses, and in the open plain. Nearly a hundred thousand men were present at the siege of Nantes. The war of Brittany is as a warlike ballad of the Scottish border; that of La Vendée, an Iliad.

Proceeding towards the south, we shall pass the sombre city of Saintes, with its beautiful plains—the battle-fields of Taillebourg and Jarnac—the grottoes of the Charente, and its vines in the salt-marshes. We must rapidly traverse the Limousin—that lofty, cold, rainy‡ country, where so many rivers take their rise. Its beautiful granite hills, like semi-globes, and its vast chestnut forests, maintain an honest, but heavy race, timid, and awkward through their indecision; as if bearing the stamp of the sufferings inflicted on their country by the long struggle for its possession between England and France. Quite different with Lower Limousin—the lively and quick-witted character of the Southern is already very striking there; and the names of the Segurs, St. Aulaire, Noailles,

Ventadours, Pompadours, and especially of the Turennes, will serve to characterize the genius of the men here,—to indicate their attachment to the central power, and the profit to which they put it. That extraordinary personage, cardinal Dubois, came from Brives-la-Gaillarde.

The mountains of Upper Limousin ramify with those of Auvergne, which, in their turn, join the Cevennes. Auvergne is formed by the valley of the Allier, over which towers, on the west, the mass of the Mont-Dor, which rises between the Pic or the Puy-de-Dôme and the group of the Cantal. It is a vast extinct fire—the ashes now almost every where covered by a rude and strong vegetation*. The walnut strikes root in the basaltic rock, and the corn sprouts out of the pumice†. Nor are the internal fires so far extinguished, but that smoke still rises in one of the valleys; and the *étouffis* of Mont-Dor‡ remind one of Solfaterra and the Grotto del Cane. Built of lava, the towns (Clermont, St. Flour, &c.) have a black, heavy look; but the country is beautiful, whether you traverse the vast and solitary meadows of the Cantal and the Mont-Dor, to the monotonous sound of the waterfalls, or gaze upon the fertile Limagne and on the Puy-de-Dôme, that pretty *thimble* seven hundred toises high, and which is alternately veiled and unveiled by the clouds which love it, and can neither fly it nor remain with it. In fact, Auvergne is buffeted by a constant but shifting wind§, whose currents whirl and chafe with the ever-changing direction of its mountain valleys. With a southern sky, the country is cold; you freeze on lava; and the inhabitants of the mountain district bury themselves all the winter in their stables||, and surround themselves with a warm and thick atmosphere. Laden, like the Limousins, with Heaven knows how many thick and heavy garments, they may be considered a southern race¶, shivering in the bleak north wind, and pinched and stiffened by a foreign clime. Their wine is rough, their cheese bitter**—like the rude herbage from which it is produced. They sell, too, their lava, their pumice-stones, the pebbles of the district††, and the common fruits of the country, which are taken down the Allier in boats. Red

nect it with the Corrèze, which falls into the Dordogne: it would have communicated with Bordeaux and Paris by the Loire, but the Vienne has too many rocks to allow of such an undertaking.—The Clain might be rendered navigable as far as Poitiers, so as to continue the navigation of the Vienne; but Châtelleraut opposes it through jealousy of the former city—Were the Charente made navigable up to Clivrai, and united to the Clain by a canal, the line would furnish a communication, in time of war, between Rochefort, the Loire, and Paris.—See the description of Upper Vienne, by Texier; and La Bretonnière's Vendée.

* I have already noticed captain Galleran's remarkable observation.—Genoudeau, Voyage en Vendée, 1821, observes, "The peasants still say, 'In the reign of M. Henri' (de Larochejaquelin)."—They named such Vendéans as were republicans *patauds* (curs). Speaking good French, they called *le porter noblat* (speaking like a nobleman).—The priests had scarcely any property in La Vendée. The whole of the national forests, according to La Bretonnière (p. 6), belonged to the count d'Artois, or the emigrant nobles; only one, of a hundred hectares in extent, belonged to the clergy.

† Mémoires de Madame Larochejaquelin—According to the evidence of M. d'Elbée, the real cause of the Vendean insurrection was the levy of 300,000 men, ordered by the republic. The Vendéans hate military service, which removes them from their homes. When a contingent was required for Louis the Eighteenth's guard not a single volunteer offered. Cavoleau, Description de la Vendée, 1818.

‡ Piganol de la Force, xi.—Boulainvilliers.—There is a proverb, "Limousin will never die of drought." Haute-Vienne, par Texier (prefect of the department in 1808), p. 8.

* Texier-Olivier, pp. 44, 96, &c.

† The products both of the soil and of manufactures are rude and common, but abundant. De Pradt, Voyage Agonom. p. 108.—North of St. Flour, the ground is covered with a thick layer of pumice-stones, but is not the less productive. Id. p. 147.

‡ See Legrand d'Aussy, Voyage en Auvergne.

§ De Pradt, p. 74.

|| In winter they live in the stable, and rise at eight or nine o'clock. (Legrand d'Aussy, p. 283.) For various characteristic details, see the Mémoires de M. le Comte de Montlosier, t. i. The elegant picture of Puy-de-Dôme by M. Duché, the curious Researches of M. Gonod into the Antiquities of Auvergne, and the work of the good octogenarian curé, Delarbre, may also be advantageously consulted.

¶ In Limagne there is an ugly race, apparently of southern extraction. From Brioude up to the source of the Allier, they look like crétins or Spanish mendicants. De Pradt, p. 70.

** The bitterness of the cheese may either be owing to the making, or to the coarseness and rankness of the grass. They never lay down fresh grasses. De Pradt, p. 177.

†† As late as 1784, the Spaniards came to buy the pebbles (or common jewellery) of Auvergne. Legrand d'Aussy, p. 217.

—eminently the barbarian colour—is that which they prefer: they like rough red wine, red cattle*. Rather laborious than industrious, they still often till the deep and strong soils of their plains with the small plough of the south, which scarcely scratches the surface†. Their yearly emigration from the mountains is thrown away; they bring back some money, but few ideas.

And yet there is real strength in the men of this race—a rough sap, sour perhaps, but full of life as the herbage of the Cantal. Age has no effect upon it. See the green old age of their old men, of the Dulaures, and the De Pradts—and the octogenarian Montlosier, who directs and superintends his workmen and all around him, who plants and who builds, and who, on the spur of the moment, could write a new book against the clergy (*parti-prêtre*), or in favour of feudalism,—at once the friend and the enemy of the middle-ages‡.

This inconsequent and contradictory character, observable in other provinces of our middle zone, reaches its apogée in Auvergne. There sprang up those great legists§, the logicians of the Gallican party, who never knew whether they were for or against the pope—the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, a doubtful catholic||; the Arnands; the severe Domat, that Jansenist Papinian, who endeavoured to bound the law by Christianity, and his friend Pascal, the only man of the seventeenth century who felt the religious crisis going on between Montaigne's day and that of Voltaire, and in the struggles of whose conscience the battle of doubt and faith is so singularly depicted.

We might enter the great valley of the south by Rouergue, a province signalized by a rude hap¶; and which, indeed, under its sombre chestnut-trees, is but one enormous heap of coal, iron, copper, and lead. Its coal-mines** have been for ages on fire for several leagues; a fire, however, unconnected with any thing volcanic. Exposed to every vicissitude of cold and heat by the variety of its

aspects and of its climates, splintered by precipices, and cut up by two torrents, the Tarn and the Aveyron, the wild Cevennes need not envy it. But I prefer entering by Cahors. Here, nature is clad in vines. You meet with the mulberry before you reach Montauban. "The prospect before you, which contains a semicircle of an hundred miles diameter, has an oceanic vastness, in which the eye loses itself; an almost boundless scene of cultivation; an animated but confused mass of infinitely varied parts—melting gradually into the distant obscure, from which emerges the amazing frame of the Pyrenees, rearing their silvered heads far above the clouds*." The ox, yoked by his horns, plunges the fertile valley—the vine throws her tendrils round the elm. If you draw to the left, towards the mountains, you descry there the goat hanging on the arid hill-side, and the mule, laden with oil, following the midway track. Southwards there bursts a storm, and the country becomes a lake: in an hour, the whole has dried up before the thirsty sun. In the evening, you reach some large and melancholy city; Toulouse, if you like. The sonorous accent which strikes your ear would lead you to fancy yourself in Italy; but the houses, built partly of wood, partly of brick, and the abrupt accost and bold and lively demeanour of the people soon remind you that you are in France. The upper classes, at least, are French: the lower present quite a different physiognomy, and are, perhaps, Spanish or Moorish. You are in the ancient city of Toulouse, so great under its counts, which, through its parliament, became the monarch and tyrant of the south†, whose hot and heady legists bore to Boniface VIII. the buffet of Philip the Fair, for which they made but too frequent atonement at the cost of the heretics—burning four hundred in less than a century, and who, at a later period, becoming the instruments of Richelieu's revenge, condemned Montmorency, and beheaded him in their beautiful hall, stained with‡ red. The Toulousans made it their boast that they had the capitol of Rome, and the grotto dei morti of Naples§—in which corpses remain for centuries without undergoing putrefaction. The city archives were kept in the capitol, in an iron chest, like those of the Roman flamens; and the motto on the walls of the Gascon senate-house was, *Videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*||.

Toulouse is the central point of the great southern basin. Here or near it meet the waters of the Pyrenees, and of the Cevennes, the Tarn, and the Garonne, to fall with their united streams into the ocean—the Garonne receiving the whole. The

* De Pradt, p. 74.

† The *araire*, a small plough unequal to strong soils, is used in the country beyond the Loire. Throughout the entire south the carts and all agricultural implements are of the smallest and poorest description. Arthur Young speaks with indignation of the small plough, that scratched the land and belied its fertility. De Pradt, p. 85.

‡ I trust this distinguished individual will not be offended at a critical remark which applies to all the great men of his country.

§ Domat, of Clermont; the Laguesles, of Vic-le-Comte; Duprat, and Barillon his secretary, of Issouire; l'Hôpital, of Aigueperse; Anne Dubourg, of Riom; Pierre Lizet, first president of the parliament of Paris, in the sixteenth century; the Du Vair, of Aurillac, &c.

|| See in the *Mém. de d'Aubigné*, the secret part the chancellor acted in the conspiracy of Amboise. There was a proverb—"God keep us from the chancellor's mass, the admiral's tooth-pick, and the constable's paternosters."

¶ Rouergue, I believe, is the first French province which paid a tax to the king (Louis VII.), on the condition of his putting a stop to private wars. See the *Glossaire de Laurière*, t. i. p. 164, at the word *Commun de Paiz*, and the Decretal of Alexander III. on the first canon of the council of Clermont, published by Marca.—For an account of Rouergue, see Peuchet and Chaulaire, *Statistique de l'Aveyron*, and particularly M. Montell's excellent work.

** According to M. Blavier (*Minéralogie de l'Aveyron*, p. 15), more than two-thirds of this department contain coal.

* Young, *Agricultural Tour in France*, vol. i. p. 20.

† And this supremacy seems now to be revived, at least as regards literature. Various periodicals that have recently started up here, and particularly the *Revue du Midi*, exemplify the spirit and power which characterized the genius of the ancient Languedocians and the language of *Oc* (one of the dialects of the troubadours which prevailed in Provence).

‡ It was so in the last century, according to Piganol de la Force, *Description de la France*.

§ Bodies have been preserved in it for five centuries Millin, *Voyage dans le Midi de la France*, t. iv. p. 452. Piganol de la Force, &c.

|| "Let the consuls see to the safety of the republic." The form by which the Roman senate gave the consuls extraordinary powers in critical circumstances.

sinuous and quivering rivers of Limousin and of Auvergne, flow northwards past Périgueux and Bergerac; whilst the Lot, the Viaz, the Aveyron, and the Tarn, after making several more or less abrupt turns, run from the east and the Cévennes, by Rodez and Alby. The north supplies rivers; the south, torrents. The Arriège descends from the Pyrenees; and the Garonne, already swollen by the Gers and the Baize, makes a beautiful curve to the north-west, which the Adour imitates on a smaller scale towards the south. Toulouse separates, or nearly so, Languedoc from Guyenne: provinces which, lying in the same latitude, are yet widely different. The Garonne passes through the antique Toulouse, through the old Roman and Gothic Languedoc, and constantly increasing its flood, opens to the sea, like a sea, beyond Bordeaux. This last-named town, long the capital of English France, and long English at heart, turns, on account of its commercial interests, towards England, the ocean, and America. Here the Garonne, which we may now call the Gironde, is twice the width of the Thames at London.

Rich and beautiful as is this vale of the Garonne, we cannot linger there; the distant summits of the Pyrenees are too powerful an attraction. But the road is a serious obstacle. Whether you pass through Nérac, the sombre signiory of the Albrets, or proceed along the coast, you have before you a sea of *landes*, only varied by cork-tree woods, vast *pinadas*—a lonely and a cheerless route, with no other sign of life than the flocks of black sheep*, that annually migrate from the Pyrenees to the *landes*, leaving the mountains for the plain under the charge of shepherds of the *landes*, and going northward in search of the warmth. The wandering life of the shepherds is one of the picturesque characteristics of the south. You meet them scaling the Cévennes and the Pyrenees from the plains of Languedoc, and ascending the mountains of Gap and Barcelonnette†, from Crau in Provence. This nomad race, carrying their all with them, with the stars as the sole companions of their eternal solitude, half astronomers, half astrologers, bring the life of Asia, the life of Lot and of Abraham, into the heart of our western world. But, in France, the husbandmen fear their passage,

and confine them to narrow routes*. It is in the Apennines, in the plains of Apulia, and in the Campagna of Rome, that they roam with all the freedom of the ancient world; whilst in Spain they are kings, and lay waste the whole country with impunity. Protected by the all-powerful company of the *Mesta*, which employs from forty to sixty thousand shepherds†, the triumphant merinos devour the country from Estremadura to Navarre and Arragon. The Spanish shepherd, wilder than ours, wrapped up in his sheepskin, and with his *abaco* of rough cowhide fastened on his feet and legs with string, resembles one of his own shaggy flock‡.

At last we see the formidable barrier of Spain in all its grandeur. It is not, like the Alps, a complicated system of peaks and valleys, but one immense wall, lowered at either end §. Every other passage is inaccessible to carriages, and even to mules and man himself, for six or eight months of the year. Two distinct people who, in reality, are neither Spanish nor French—the Basques on the west, and on the east the Catalans and people of Roussillon||—are the porters of the two worlds. The portals are theirs, to open and to shut. Irritable and capricious, and tired of the constant passage of the nations, they open to Abder-Rahman, and shut to Roland. Many are the graves between Roncesvalles and the Seu of Urgel.

It is not the historian's province to describe and explain the Pyrenees. We must look to the science of Cuvier and of Elie de Beaumont, for the narrative of this ante-historic history. They were present—not I—when nature suddenly produced her amazing geologic epopée, when the burning mass of the globe elevated the axis of the Pyrenees, when the mountains were split asunder, and the earth, in the tortures of Titanic travail, reared against the sky the black and bald *Maldetta*. However, a consoling hand gradually covered the wounds of the mountain with those green meadows, that eclipse the Alpine¶. The peaks levelled and

* Five toises in breadth. See the preceding note.

† A Year in Spain, by an American, 1832. In the sixteenth century the troops of the *Mesta* amounted to about seven million head of sheep. They fell to two millions and a half at the beginning of the seventeenth, increased to about four millions at its close, and now number nearly five million head—about half the cattle in Spain.—The shepherds are more dreaded than the banditti, and they unscrupulously abuse the right of dragging any citizen before the tribunal of the association, whose decisions are always in their favour. The *Mesta* employs *alcaldes*, *entradores*, and *achagueros*, who harass and oppress the farmers in the name of the association.

‡ Description des Pyrénées, par Dralet, Conservateur des eaux et forêts, 1813, t. i. p. 242.

§ The Basque word, *murua*, signifies both wall and Pyrenees. W. de Humboldt, Recherches sur la Langue des Basques.

|| Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 29.—“Roussillon is, in fact, a part of Spain. The inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs. The towns must be excepted, which are for the most part filled with foreigners. The fishermen on the coast have a Moorish cast of countenance.”—The central district of the Pyrenees, the country of Foix (Arriège) is quite French, both in disposition and language: few or no Catalan words are preserved.

¶ Ramond, Voyage au Mont Perdu, p. 54. “... these greenswards of the loftier mountains, compared with which there is something odious and false even in the verdure of

* Millin, t. iv. p. 317. — Black sheep are also found in Roussillon and in Brittany (Arthur Young, Agricultural Tour, &c. vol. i. p. 415, 418). The bulls of Camargue are not unfrequently black.

† Young (vol. i. p. 422) says, “There is in Provence as regular an emigration of sheep as in Spain; the march is across the province, from the Crau to the mountains of Gap and of Barcelonnette; not regulated by any other written laws than some arrêtés of the parliament to limit their roads to five toises of breadth; if they do any damage beyond that, it is paid for. The Barcelonnette mountains are the best; they are covered with fine turf, *gazonnés superbement*. . . . M. Darluc—(Hist. Nat. de la Provence, 1782, p. 303, 324, 329)—asserts that their number is a million, and that they travel in flocks of 10,000 to 40,000, and are twenty to thirty days on the journey.”—“The sheep leave the lower Cévennes and the plains of Languedoc about the end of Floreal (April), and reach the mountains of Lozère and Margéride, where they stay the whole summer, returning to Lower Languedoc by the time the frost sets in.” Statistique de la Lozère, par M. Jerphanion, préfet of the département, an. x. p. 31.—The flocks are brought from the Pyrenees to winter as far as the *landes* of Bordeaux. La-boulinière, t. i. p. 245.

rounded themselves into beautiful towers; whilst smaller masses were put forth to break the abruptness of the declivities, to take off from their steepness, and to form, on the French side, that colossal staircase, each step of which is a mountain*.

Let us then scale, not the Vignemale, not the Mont-Perdu†, but only the *por* of Pailhères, the watershed of the two seas; and let us ascend between Bagnères and Barèges, between the beautiful and the sublime‡. Here you will comprehend the fantastic beauty of the Pyrenees—their strange, incompatible sites, brought together as by some freak of fairy hands§; their magic atmosphere, which alternately brings every object close to you, and removes it to a distance§—and these foaming *gaves* of soft green hue, and their emerald meadows. To this scene of loveliness succeeds the wild horror of the loftier mountains, concealing themselves behind it, like a monster behind a mask portraying a lovely maiden. Nevertheless, we must persist, and boldly penetrate the gave of Pau by yon gloomy pass, threading those heaps of massy blocks, three or four thousand cubic feet in contents, then by the sharp rocks, everlasting snows, and windings of the gave, buffeted from one rock to another, till we reach the prodigious Circus with its towers soaring to the sky. At its foot rise twelve springs to feed the gave, which groans under *bridges of snow*, and yet falls thirteen hundred feet—the loftiest waterfall of the ancient world¶.

the lower valleys.”—Laboulinière, t. i. p. 220, “The waters of the Pyrenees are pure, and of a beautiful *watery green* (vert d’eau).”—Dralet, p. 205, “When the streams from the Pyrenees overflow, they do not deposit an injurious muddy sediment like those of the Alps; on the contrary,” &c.

* Dralet, t. i. p. 5.—Ramond, “In the south, the descent is precipitous and sudden—the precipice sinking from a thousand to eleven hundred metres, and its base being the summit of the highest mountains in this part of Spain, which, however, soon degenerate into low rounded hills, beyond which appears the wide perspective of the Arragonese plains. On the north the primitive mountains are closely packed together, so as to form a belt more than four myriamètres thick . . . this belt consists of seven or eight rows, which gradually decrease in height.” This description, which has been contradicted by M. Laboulinière, is confirmed by M. Elie de Beaumont. The granitic axis of the Pyrenees is on the French side.

† The great poet of the Pyrenees, M. Ramond, searched for Mont-Perdu for ten years. “Some,” he says, “asserted that the boldest hunter in the country had only reached its top by the aid of the devil, who led him up to it by seventeen steps,” p. 28. Mont-Perdu is the loftiest of the French Pyrenees, Vignemale of the Spanish. *Ibid.* p. 261.

‡ It was between these two valleys, on the plateau called the *Hourquette de Cinq Ours*, that the aged astronomer Plantade breathed his last, with his quadrant by his side, exclaiming, “Great God! how beautiful this is!”

§ Ramond, p. 169. “Scarcely do you plant your foot on the cornice than the decorations change, and the margin of the terrace cuts off all communication between two incompatible sites. From this line, which you cannot touch without leaving one or the other, and which you cannot cross without entirely losing sight of one of them, it seems impossible that they should both be real; and were they not brought in juxta position by the chain of Mont-Perdu, which slightly does away with the contrast, one would be tempted to consider either the view you lose, or that you gain, a vision.”

¶ Laboulinière, t. iii. p. 12.

¶ It is one thousand two hundred and seventy feet

Here France ends. The *por* of Gavarnic, which you see above you, that tempestuous pass, where, as they say, the son waits not for his father*, is the gate of Spain. This boundary of the two worlds is one wide field of historic poetry. Hence may be desecrated, could vision reach so far, Toulouse on the one hand, on the other, Saragossa. This mountain embrasure, three hundred feet in length, was opened by Roland, with two strokes of his good sword Durandal†; and is the symbol of that enduring strife between France and Spain, which is, indeed, no other than the struggle between Europe and Africa. Roland perished, but France conquered. Compare the two sides of the mountain range: how superior is ours‡! The Spanish slope, facing the south, is abrupt, wild, and arid: the French trends away with a gentle fall, is better clothed with wood, and rejoices in beautiful meadows, which supply Spain with cattle. Barcelona, rich in vineyards and pastures, is obliged to buy our flocks and our wines, and lives on our oxen§. On the one side of the range are a fine sky, a lovely climate, and want; on the other, fogs and rain, but intelligence, wealth, and freedom. Pass the frontier, contrast our splendid highways and their rugged paths||; or simply look at those strangers

(French) high. For a full description, see Dralet, t. i. p. 108, sqq.

* Dralet, t. ii. p. 217.

† Millin, v. 538.—Dralet.—Laboulinière, t. i. p. 195, &c.

‡ The Ebro flows eastwards, to Barcelona; the Garonne westwards, to Toulouse and Bordeaux; whilst the canal of Charles V. answers to that of Louis XIV.; these are the only points of similarity.

§ Dralet, t. ii. p. 137. “Spain, being exposed to a constant evaporation, has few pastures rich enough to fatten horned cattle upon; and as asses and mules are satisfied with poorer food than horses and oxen, the Spaniards use them both for tillage and carrying. Our border departments, and the ancient province of Poitou, import these animals into Spain in large numbers. We also supply the northern provinces of Spain, and particularly Catalonia and Biscay, with cattle for the shambles. The city of Barcelona alone contracts with French salesmen for a daily supply of five hundred sheep, two hundred lambs, thirty oxen, and fifty spayed goats, besides taking yearly more than six thousand swine, which leave our southern departments every autumn. For these importations we receive, year by year, two millions eight hundred thousand francs from Barcelona; and our imports into the other towns of Catalonia realize a like sum. Catalonia pays in piastres, quadruples, oil, cork-wood, and corks.” Since *Dralet* wrote (1812) considerable changes must have taken place.

|| Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 29. “Leave Jonquières . . . come to a most noble road which the king of Spain is making, it begins at the pillars that mark the boundaries of the two monarchies, joining with the French road; it is admirably executed. Here take leave of Spain, and re-enter France: the contrast is striking. When one crosses the sea from Dover to Calais, the preparation and circumstance of a naval passage lead the mind by some gradation to a change; but here, without going through a town, a barrier, or even a wall, you enter a new world. From the natural and miserable roads of Catalonia, you tread at once on a noble causeway, made with all the solidity and magnificence that distinguishes the highways of France. Instead of beds of torments, you have well-built bridges; and from a country, wild, desert, and poor, we found ourselves in the midst of cultivation and improvement.”

(“Every other circumstance,” adds Young, “spoke the same language, and told us by signs not to be mistaken, that some great and operating cause worked an effect too clear to be misunderstood. The more one sees, the more

who have come to drink the waters of Cauterets, covering their rags with the dignity of the cloak; sombre, and scorning all comparison with others. Great and heroic nation, fear not our insulting your misery!

To see all the races and costumes of the Pyrenees, you must go to the fairs of Tarbes, which are frequented by nearly ten thousand persons, and whither the whole country flocks for twenty leagues round. Here you often see, at one and the same time, the white cap of Bigorre, the brown one of Foix, the red one of Roussillon, and, sometimes, the large flat hat of Arragon, the round hat of Navarre, and the peaked cap of Biscay*. Hither comes the Basque voiturier, with his long waggon drawn by three horses, wearing the Bearnese *berret* †; but you will easily tell the Bearnese from the Basque—the sprightly handsome little man of the plain, ready of tongue, and of hand as well—from the son of the mountain, with his rapid stride and huge limbs, a skilful farmer, and proud of the family whose name he bears ‡. To find men

I believe we shall be led to think that there is but one all-powerful cause that instigates mankind, and that is government! Others form exceptions, and give shades of differences and distinction, but this acts with permanent and universal force. The present instance is remarkable; for Roussillon is in fact a part of Spain; the inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs—but they are under a French government." Further on he remarks—"The traffic of the way demands no such exertions: one-third of the breadth is beaten, one-third rough, and one-third covered with weeds." Again—"Women without stockings and without shoes; but if their feet are poorly clad, they have a *superb* consolation in walking upon magnificent causeways. . . . The roads of Languedoc are splendid and superb, and if I could free my mind of the recollection of the unjust taxation which pays for them, I should travel with admiration." . . . The truth is, these splendid roads were made by *corvées*, or the forced labour of the farmers and peasants, or else by an assessment which eased lands held by noble tenure of the burthen, and threw it on those held by a plebeian right) TRANSLATOR.

* Id. *ibid.* p. 22. "Meet Highlanders, who put me in mind of those of Scotland; saw them first at Montauban: they have round flat caps, and loose breeches. 'Pipers, blue bonnets, and oatmeal, are found,' says Sir James Stuart, 'in Catalonia, Auvergne, and Swabia, as well as in Lochaber.'"—However, independently of the difference of race and habits, there is another essential difference between the mountaineers of Scotland and those of the Pyrenees; which is, that the latter are richer, and, in some respects, more polished than the races by which they are surrounded.

† ("Which in my *barret* cap I'll wear,
Perhaps in jeopardy of war,
When gayer crests may dance afar.")

Lady of the Lake. TRANSLATOR.

‡ Ibarce de Bidassout, Cantabres et Basques, 1825, 8vo. "The Basques, who, together with their pastures, have preserved the means of improving their land, and who can feed swine in large numbers in their oak forests, live in plenty and abundance; whilst throughout the greater part of the Pyrenees," &c.—Laboulinière, t. iii. p. 416—

Bearnese
Faus et courtes.
Bigordan
Pir que can—

(The Bearnese is false and courteous, the Bigordan worse than a dog); so runs the proverb. The Bigordan has the advantage as regards frankness and plain uprightness.—"There are very few points of resemblance between these two races. The Bearnese, forced by the snows to descend with his flocks into the plain, polishes there, and

like the Basque, you must search among the Celts of Brittany*, of Scotland, or of Ireland. The Basque, eldest of the Celtic races, immovably fixed in the corner of the Pyrenees, has seen all the nations pass in review before him—Carthaginians, Celts, Romans, Goths, and Sarmatians. He regards with pity our recent genealogies. A Montmorency said to one of them—"Do you know that we date a thousand years back?" "We," was the rejoinder, "have left off dating †."

The Basques were momentary masters of Aquitaine, to which they have bequeathed in memorial of them the name of Gascony. Driven back to Spanish ground in the ninth century, they founded there the kingdom of Navarre, and in two centuries occupied all the Christian thrones of Spain—Galicia, the Asturias and Leon, Arragon and Castile. But the Spanish crusade bearing southwards, the Navarrese, cut off from the theatre of European glory, gradually lost every thing. Their last king, Sancho, the *Shut-up*, who died of a cancer, is the true symbol of the destiny of his people. Shut-up, in point of fact, in its mountains, by powerful nations, and eaten into, if I may so express myself, by the progress of Spain and of France, Navarre even implored the aid of the muslimans of Africa, and, at last, sought refuge in the arms of France. Sancho gave the death-blow to his kingdom by bequeathing it to his son-in-law, Thibault, count of Champagne—a Roland, breaking his Durandal to save it from the enemy. The house of Barcelona, the root of the kings of Arragon and of the counts of Foix, seized upon Navarre and consigned it—but for a moment—to the Albrechts, the Bourbons, who lost it in order to gain France. However, through a grandson of Louis XIV., a descendant of Henri Quatre, the Basque race has recovered not alone Navarre, but the whole of Spain; and thus was verified the mysterious inscription on the castle of Coaraze, where Henry IV. was brought up—*Lo que a de ser no puede faltar* (that which must be, cannot fail to be ‡). Our kings have styled themselves kings of France and Navarre—a title happily significant of the origin of the French people as well as of that of their sovereigns,

loses his natural rudeness. Turning crafty, dissembling, but inquisitive withal, he nevertheless preserves his haughtiness and love of independence. . . . The Bearnese is variable and vindictive, as well as keen-witted; but, through fear of disgrace, and of the pecuniary damage, has recourse to law for his revenge. It is the same with the other people of the Pyrenees, from Bearn to the Mediterranean; all are more or less litigious, and nowhere do lawyers more abound than in Bigorre, Comminges, Couserans, in the county of Foix, and in Roussillon—all lying along this mountain chain." Dralet, t. i. p. 170.

* (Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 85. "Far-day at Landevoisier, which gave me an opportunity of seeing numbers of Bas Bretons collected, as well as their cattle. The men dress in great trowsers like breeches, many with naked legs, and most with wooden shoes, strong marked features like the Welsh, with countenances a mixture of half energy, half-laziness; their persons stout, broad, and square. The women furrowed without age by labour, to the utter extinction of all softness of sex. The eye discovers them at first glance to be a people absolutely distinct from the French. Wonderful that they should be found so, with distinct language, manners, dress, &c., after having been settled here 1300 years.") TRANSLATOR.

† Ibarce de Bidassout.

‡ Laboulinière, t. i. p. 2. 8.

The old and the pure races, the Celts and the Basques, Brittany and Navarre, had to yield to the mixed races—the frontiers had to give way to the centre, nature to civilization. The Pyrenees present in every direction the image of this decay of the ancient world. The remains of antiquity have disappeared, those of the middle ages are crumbling away. Those mouldering castles, those towers of the Moors, those bones of Templars which are preserved at Gavarnie*, image most significantly an expiring world. Singular to say, the existence of the very mountain seems at stake. Its bared summits attest its unsoundness†. Not in vain has it been battered by so many storms—whose wild work has been aided by the havoc of man at its base. Daily does he lay bare that thick girdle of forests, which covered the nakedness of his mother earth. The soil, retained by the grasses on the slopes and ledges, being washed away by the rains, the rock is left bare; and splintered and exfoliated by heat and frost, and undermined by the melting away of the snows, is carried away by avalanches. Instead of rich pasture, there remains a dry and ripened soil. The labourer, who has expelled the shepherd, gains nothing by his usurpation. The waters which gently trickled down the valley across the turf and the forests, now rush down in torrents, and cover his fields with ruins of his own making‡. Numerous hamlets in the upper valleys have been deserted for want of firewood; and their inhabitants have fallen back on France, in consequence of their own devastations§.

As early as 1763, the alarm was raised, and a law was passed that each inhabitant should plant yearly one tree in the royal forests, and two in the lands of his commune. Foresters also were appointed. In 1679, in 1756, and later still, new regulations attested the alarm occasioned by the progress of the evil. But at the Revolution every barrier was thrown down; and the impoverished people unanimously began the work of destruction. Fire and spade in hand, they scaled even to the eagles' nests; and, let down by ropes, cultivated the depths of the abyss. Trees were sacrificed to the slightest want, and two firs would be cut down to make one pair of sabots||. At the same time, the smaller cattle increasing in large numbers, infested the woods, injuring trees, shrubs, and the tender shoots, and devouring the hope of the future. The goat especially—of all animals, the property of him who has nothing—an adventurous creature that lives on the domain common to all, a levelling quadruped, was the instrument of this revolutionary invasion, and the Terror of the

desert. His war against these nibbling animals was not the least of Bonaparte's labours, and in 1813, the goats were not a tenth of the number they had been in the year X*; but he could not entirely put a stop to their war on nature.

The whole of this South, beautiful as it is, is, nevertheless, a country of ruins, compared with the north. Let us haste through the fantastic landscapes of St. Bertrand de Comminges and of Foix—towns which one might suppose to have been tossed down at random by fairy hands—and through our little Spanish France, Roussillon, with its green meadows, black sheep, and Catalan romanzas, so sweet to gather in the evening from the lips of the maidens of the country†—and, descending into stony Languedoc, pursue its hills, but faintly shaded by the olive, to the monotonous notes of the cicada. Here are no navigable rivers, and the canal which unites the two seas‡ has not sufficed to supply the want; but salt ponds, and salt marshes as well, where the salicorne grows§, abound; whilst its countless hot springs of bitumen and asphalt make it another Judea||. The rabbis of the Jewish schools of Narbonne might have fancied themselves in their own land—even the Asiatic leprosy was not wanting to complete the illusion: recent cases of this disease have occurred at Carcassonne¶.

The cause is to be found in the fact that, notwithstanding the western Cers, to which Augustus reared an altar, the hot and leaden wind of Africa weighs heavily on the country. Sore legs will not heal at Narbonne**. Most of the sombre towns of this region have sites of surpassing loveliness, whilst around them are unhealthy plains—for instance, Albi, Lodève, Agde the black††, seated close to its crater, and Montpellier, the heiress of the ancient Maguelone, whose ruins are by its side—Montpellier, which looks at will on the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps themselves, has close to her and under her an unhealthy soil, covered with flowers, all aromatic, all highly medicinal; a city of medicine, perfumes, and verdigris‡‡.

* Id. t. i. p. 83.

† M. Barberet, professor of History in the College Louis-le-Grand, is preparing for publication a collection of the historic romances of Roussillon and Catalonia. M. Tatu, likewise, has in hand a great work on the antiquities of the latter country. The literary conquest of the South, begun by the venerable Raynouard, is thus going on.

‡ I shall have occasion to notice this great monument of the reign of Louis XIV. in another place.

§ Trouvé, Statistique du Département de l'Aude, p. 507.

|| It is imported from Narbonne for the glass manufacturers of Venice.

¶ Depping, Description de la France, t. i. p. 280.

¶ Trouvé, p. 346.

** Id. p. 347. According to the same author, it is the same with sores in the head at Bordeaux.—The Cers and the Autan prevail by turns in Languedoc. The Cers (*cyrcb*, the Welsh for impetuosity) is the west wind—violent, but healthy.—Senec. Quæst. Natural. l. iii. c. 11. "The Cereus . . . infests Gaul, and though it shakes down buildings, the natives return thanksgiving to it, since they owe to it the healthiness of their climate. Whilst the divine Augustus was in Gaul, he vowed and built a temple to it."—The Autan is the south-east or African wind, heavy and stagnating.

†† The proverb says—"Agde, the black, the robber's den." It is built of lava. Lodève is likewise black. Millin, t. iv. p. 361. ‡‡ Millin, t. iv. p. 323. Montpellier is celebrated for its distilleries and manufacture of perfumes. The discovery of

* Dralet.

† Laboulinière, t. i. p. 232.—Several species of animals have disappeared from the Pyrenees. Dralet, t. i. p. 51. The wild cat is rarely met with there; and, according to Buffon, the stag disappeared two centuries since.

‡ Dralet, t. i. p. 197; t. ii. p. 220. Dralet wrote in 1813.

§ Id. t. ii. p. 105. The inhabitants went even into Spain to pilfer wood.—Cutting but which protects it from the snows, subjects the offender to a heavy fine.—Diodorus Siculus had said long since (lib. ii.)—"Pyrenees comes from the Greek *pur* (fire), because, in former times, the woods were fired by the shepherds."—"There is no forest but what has been purposely set on fire, on various occasions, by the inhabitants, in order to convert the woodland into arable or pasture." Procès-verbal du 6 Mai, 1670.

|| Dralet, t. ii. p. 74.

An aged land is this Languedoc. You meet here ruins upon ruins—the Camisards upon the Albigeuses, the Saracens upon the Goths, under these, the Romans, then the Iberians. The walls of Narbonne are built with tombs, statues, and inscriptions*. The amphitheatre of Nîmes is pierced with Gothic embrasures, crowned with Saracen battlements, blackened by the fires of Charles Martel. But it is the oldest who have left the most—the Romans have dug the deepest furrow; witness their *maison carrée*, their triple bridge over the Gard, their vast canal which the largest vessels could navigate †.

The Roman law is another ruin; as imposing, though in a different fashion. To it, and to the old franchises arising out of it, Languedoc was indebted for the exception she offered to the feudal maxim—no land without its lord ‡. Here, the presumption was always in favour of liberty. Feudalism could only gain a footing under cover of the crusades—as an auxiliary of the Church, as a *familiar* of the Inquisition. Simon de Montfort founded here four hundred and thirty-four fiefs §: but this feudal colony, governed by the *custom of Paris*, only served to prepare the republican spirit of the province for monarchical centralization. A land of political liberty and of religious servitude, more fanatical than devout, Languedoc has always cherished a vigorous spirit of opposition. The Catholics even had their Protestantism here, under the form of Jansenism. To this day, at Alet, they rake the tomb of Pavillon, in order to drink the ashes that are a charm for fever ||. Since the days of Vigilantius and of Felix of Urgel, the Pyrenees have never been without heretics. The most obstinate of sceptics, and most undoubting believer in doubt—Bayle, was a native of Carlat. The Cheniers ¶—those rival brothers, whose rivalry did not, however, as is commonly supposed, lead to fratricide—were from Limoux. Need I name in

the list the player of Carcassonne, the sanguinary *bel-esprit*, Fabre d'Eglantine? At least, one cannot deny the attributes of vivacity and energy to the Languedocians—a murderous energy, a tragic vivacity. Placed at the angle of the South—which it seems to bind and unite—Languedoc has frequently suffered from the struggles between jarring races and religions. Elsewhere, I shall have to speak of the frightful catastrophe of the thirteenth century; but, even at this day, a traditional hatred exists between the inhabitants of Nîmes, and those of the mountain of Nîmes, which, it is true, has now but little to do with religion, and may[§] be likened to the feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Poverty-stricken and rude as the Cevennes are, it is not surprising that at the point where they come in contact with the rich region of the plain, the shock should be one of violence and of envious fury. The history of Nîmes is but that of a battle of raging bulls.

The strong and hard genius of Languedoc has not been sufficiently distinguished from the quick-witted levity of Guyenne, and the hot-headed petulance of Provence; yet is there the same difference between Languedoc and Guyenne, as between the men of the Mountain and the Girondists, between Fabre and Barnave, between the smoky wine of Lunel and claret. Belief is strong and intolérant in Languedoc, often, indeed, to atrocity—so is disbelief. Guyenne, on the contrary, the country of Montaigne and of Montesquieu, has floated betwixt belief and doubt; Fénelon, the most religious of its celebrated men, was almost a heretic. Things grow worse as we advance towards Gascony—the land of poor devils, exceedingly noble, and exceedingly beggarly; joyous and reckless rogues, not a man of whom but would have said, like their Henri IV.—“Paris is well worth a mass” (*Paris vaut bien une messe*), or, as he wrote to Gabrielle, just before he abjured his faith—“I am going to take the desperate leap” (*Je vais faire le saut périlleux* *). Such men risk all to succeed, and do succeed. The Armagnacs allied themselves with the Valois—the Albrets, blending with the Bourbons, at last gave kings to France.

In some respects, the genius of Provence is more analogous with the Gascon than with the Languedocian; and it is by no means uncommon for the people of the same zone to be similarly alternated—for instance, Austria, which is further from Suabia than from Bavaria, is more akin to it in feeling and character. The provinces of Languedoc and of Provence, both of which lie along the Rhône, and are similarly intersected by corresponding rivers and torrents (as the Gard, which answers to the Durance, and the Var to the Hérault), form of themselves the whole of our Mediterranean coast; which has in both its ponds, its marshes, and its extinct volcanoes. But Languedoc is a complete system—a ridge of mountains or hills with their two falls; whence flow the rivers of Guyenne and Auvergne. Provence rests upon the Alps—but neither the Alps, nor the sources of her great rivers are her's. She is only a prolongation, or

brandy is ascribed to Arnaud de Villeneuve, who founded the perfume manufactories of this town, p. 324.—Formerly, Montpellier had the monopoly of verdigris, its cellars being supposed to be exclusively fitted for it.

* Millin, t. iv. p. 383. The walls of Narbonne were repaired in Francis the First's time, and were covered with fragments of ancient monuments. The engineer who directed the repairs had the inscriptions let into the walls, and the remains of bas-reliefs placed over the gates and arches—so that the walls are an immense museum of limbs, heads, hands, trunks, weapons, and mottoes, flung there at random and in indescribable confusion. Nearly a million of inscriptions are there, almost entire, but which, from the width of the fosse, can only be decyphered with the aid of a glass.—On the walls of Arles are numerous remains of sculpture, formerly belonging to an ancient theatre. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 259.

† Trouvé, p. 271. The canal was a hundred paces wide, two thousand long, and thirty deep.

‡ Caseneuve, *Traité du Franc-aleu en Languedoc*.

§ I have been assured that in 1814 many families of the emigrants were taxed with their descent from Simon de Montfort's companions—See further on the history of the crusade against the Albigeuses.

This chapter completes the picture of Languedoc, as the first chapter of the first book began that of Gascony, by describing the Iberians, the ancestors of the Basques.

|| Trouvé, p. 258.—See Appendix.

¶ The two Cheniers were born at Constantinople, where their father was consul-general; but their family belonged to Limoux, and their ancestors had long been inspectors of the mines of Languedoc and Roussillon.

* A Gascon proverb says—“Every good Gascon may contradict himself thrice (*Tout bon Gascon qu'il pot riprendre qu'il très ceps*). In many of the southern departments it is thought shameful not to go to mass, but pitiful to attend confession. The truth of this has been warranted to me, especially as regards the department of Gers.

§ (Id. *ibid.* 297. "At Pomponin, between Montauban and Toulouse, I was witness to such a shower of rain as never fell in Britain, in that rich vale the corn, before the storm, made a noble appearance, but ^{the} imagination can hardly picture a more entire destruction than it poured over the whole; the finest wheat was not only beaten flat to the ground, but streams of liquid mud covered it in many places, in a manner that made all expectation of recovery hopeless. These hasty and violent showers, which are of little consequence to a traveller, or to the residence of a gentleman, are dreadful scourges to the farmer, and immense drawbacks from the mass of national products.")

cannot believe this river to be only a river; but sees wrath* in its violence, and recognises the convulsions of a monster in its devouring eddies. It is the *drac*, the *tarasque*, a kind of tortoise-dragon; whose effigy is vociferously paraded about on certain festivals†, and is borne to the church dashing against all in its way. Except there be an arm broken, at the least, the festival is considered a failure.

The Rhône, furious as a bull maddening at the sight of red, dashes against its Delta, the Camargue, the island of bulls and of fine pastures. The *Ferrade*, is the high festival of the island. The bullocks are driven with goads into the centre of a circle, formed of waggons filled with spectators, in order to be marked—and as the animals are thrown down in turns by some active and vigorous youth, and held on the ground, the red-hot marking iron is presented to the chosen lady, who steps from the wagon, and imprints it on the hide of the foaming beast‡.

Such is the genius of lower Provence, violent, noisy, barbarous, but not ungraceful. Here are the indefatigable dancers of the Moresco, with bells at their knees§, and of the sword-dance, the *bauchuber*||, as it is called by their neighbours of Gap, and which is danced by parties of nine, eleven, or thirteen. At Riez, they yearly enact the *bravade* of the Saracens¶. The land of soldiers, of the *Agricolais*, Baux, and Crillons, the land of fearless sailors—this gulf of Lyons is a rough school. Witness the Bailly de Suffren, and that renegade who died, Capitain Pasha, in 1706 **: witness Paul the cabin-boy (he was never known by any other name) to whom a washerwoman gave birth at sea, who became admiral, and feasted Louis XIV. on board his ship. But not for all this did he forget his old

comrades; and it was his wish to be buried with the poor, to whom he bequeathed all his property.

There is nothing surprising in finding this spirit of equality in this country of republics, in the midst of Greek cities and Roman municipalities. Even in the rural districts, bondage never pressed as heavily as in the rest of France. The peasants wrought their liberty for themselves, and were the conquerors of the Moors. They alone could till the steep hill-side, and confine the torrent within its bed. The intelligent hands of freemen alone could subdue such a land.

And in literature, and philosophy as well, Provence took a free and bold flight. The grand protest of the Breton Pelagius in behalf of liberty was hailed and supported in Provence by Faustus, by Cassian, and by the noble school of Lerins, the glory of the fifth century. When the Breton Descartes freed philosophy from theological influences, Gassendi, the Provençal, was attempting the same revolution in the name of sensualism; whilst, in the last century, Maupertuis and Lamettrie, the atheists of St. Malo, were assembled with the Provençal atheist, D'Argens, at the court of Frederick.

Not without reason is the literature of the south in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries termed the Provençal, displaying, as it did, all the quick and graceful play of the Provençal genius. Provence is the land of fine speakers; copious, impassioned, at least in style, and, at will, obstinate fashionists of language. It has given us Massillon, Mascaron, Fléchier, Marmy—orators and rhetoricians. But Provence, in its every phase, municipal, parliamentary, and noble, popular and rhetorical—the whole invested with the magnificence of southern insolence—was concentrated in Mirabeau; in whom were joined the massy neck of the bull, and the impetuous strength of the Rhône.

How is it that this country did not conquer and rule France? It conquered Italy in the thirteenth century. How is it now so dull; with the exception of Marseilles, that is, of the sea! Besides the unhealthy coasts, and expiring towns, like Fréjus*, in every direction I see ruins only. I allude not to the beautiful remains of antiquity, to the Roman bridges and aqueducts, and the arches of St. Remi and of Orange, with numerous other monuments. In the mind of the people, and their tenacity to old customs†, which impart to them so original and

* Traces of the sanguinary worship of Mithra are visible all along the Rhône. Taurobollic altars exist at Arles, Tain, Valence, and St. Andéol. At Bâtie-Mont-Saléon, buried by the formation of a lake, and laid open in 1804, a Mithriac group was discovered.—A Mithriac altar, dedicated to Hadrian, was dug up at Fourvières; and there is one at Lyons, dedicated to Septimius Severus. Millin, *passim*.

† On St. Martha's day, the monster is led chained to the church, by a young girl, and is killed by having holy water thrown upon him. Millin, t. iii. p. 452. A similar festival is, I think, observed in Spain.—The *Isère* is surnamed the *serpent*, as the *Drac* is the *dragon*—both threaten Grenoble:—

“Le serpent et le dragon
Mettront Grenoble en savon.”

—A dragon, called the *grauvill*, is promenaded round Metz during Ember week, and the bakers and pastry-cooks place on its tongue small loaves and cakes. It represents a monster from which the city was delivered by its bishop, St. Clement.—At Rouen it is a mannikin of wicker-work—the *gargouille*—that is carried about. Formerly, they used to stuff sucking pigs down its throat. St. Romain had delivered Rouen from this monster, which lurked in the Seine, as St. Marcel delivered Paris from the monster of the Bièvre, &c.

‡ Millin, t. iv. *An ox and a little St. John the Baptist are led round Marseilles three days before Corpus Christi day. Nurses make their nurslings kiss the ox's muzzle to cure them in teething. Papon, t. i.

§ Millin, t. iii. p. 360.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ Millin, t. ii. p. 54. In the Pyrenees it is Renaud, mounted on his good horse Bayard, who delivers a damsel from the hand of infidels. Laboulinière, t. iii. p. 404.

** Papon, t. i. p. 265.—See Appendix.

* “This town daily becomes more deserted, and, in half a century, the neighbouring communes have lost nineteenth of their population.” Fauchet, *an. ix. loc. cit.*

† In its pretty Moresco dances, in the *romérages* of its burghs, in the keeping up of the *bûche calendaire*, in eating *pois-chiches* at certain festivals, and in numerous other customs.

The feast of the patron-saint of each village is called *Romma-Fagi*, and, by corruption, *Romerage*, because of its frequently coming on just as the lord of the village was journeying, or was about to journey to Rome. (?) Millin, t. iii. p. 346.

At Christmas they burn the *caligneau* or *calendeau*, a large log of oak, which they sprinkle with wine and oil. They used to cry out as they put it on the fire, *Calene ven, tout ben ven*. (Calend's come, all is well.) It was the office of the head of the family to set fire to the log: the fire was called *caco fuech* (the friend's fire). Millin, t. iii. p. 336.—The same custom is met with in Dauphiny. They call Christmas-day *Chalendes*; and *chalenda*, the large log of wood which they put on the fire on Christmas-eve, and which is left there till it is entirely burnt. Directly it is

antique a physiognomy—it is there I find ruins. They are a race who cast no serious look on the past, and yet preserve its traces *. Every nation having made their way through them, they ought, one would think, to have forgotten more: but no, they cling to their recollections. In various respects, Provence, like Italy, belongs to antiquity.

Cross the melancholy mouths of the Rhône, blocked up with sand, and as marshy as those of the Nile and of the Po. Ascend to Arles. This old metropolis of Christianity in the south, numbered a hundred thousand inhabitants in the time of the Romans; it has now but a fifth part of that number, and is rich only in the dead and in sepulchres †. It was long the common tomb—the necropolis of Gaul; and to rest in its Elysian fields (the *Alis-camps*) was considered happiness. Those who dwelt on the banks of the river were, it is said, accustomed, even as late as the twelfth century, to place the bodies of their deceased friends, and a piece of money, in a cask covered with pitch, and to commit them to the stream to be borne to the sacred spot—where they were faithfully interred ‡. Nevertheless, the town has constantly declined. Lyons soon deprived it of the primacy of Gaul; the kingdom of Burgundy, of which it was the capital, has passed away quickly and obscurely; and its great families are extinct.

When, leaving the coast and the pastures of Arles, and ascending the hills of Avignon, one ascends the mountains continuous to the Alps, the ruin of Provence is accounted for. It is an excentric country, with its great towns on its frontiers only, and these, too, chiefly foreign colonies.

placed on the hearth, they pour a glass of wine upon it, making the sign of the cross, and this is what they call *battisa lo chaldal*. From this moment the log is sacred, and cannot be sat upon without some punishment following the offence—the itch, at the least. Champollion-Figeac, p. 124.

(The Yule-log of merry England will suggest itself to the reader, and the days when

"A Christmas gambol oft would cheer
The poor man's heart through half the year")

TRANSLATOR.

The custom of eating *pois-chiches* (chick or dwarf-peas) on certain festivals, is found not only at Marseilles, but in Italy and in Spain, at Genoa and Montpellier. The people of the latter town believe that when Jesus Christ entered Jerusalem, he traversed a *sesteron* (a field of dwarf-peas), and that it is in memory of this custom of eating *sesse* (dwarf-peas) has been handed down.—The Athenians used also to eat them at the Panepsia. Millin, t. iii. p. 339.

* The procession of the good king René at Aix is a satire on fable, history, and the Bible. Millin, t. ii. p. 299. The duke d'Urbino (René's unfortunate general) and his duchess used to be paraded in it, mounted on asses. There was a soul, too, which two devils wrangled for; a cartoon of *frux*, or prancing horses; king Herod, the queen of Sheba, the temple of Solomon, and, at the end of a stick, the star of the wise men of the East, with figures of death, the *abbé de la jeunesse* covered with powder and ribbands, &c. &c.

† As where old Arli sees the stagnant flood,

Long sepulchres deform the fun'ral field.

Dante, *Inferno*, c. ix.

Among other remarkable bas-reliefs found on the tombs of Arles is one bearing the monogram of Christ, in a crown of oak, and carried in the air by an eagle—a beautiful symbol of Constantine's victory.—Charles IX. sent here for some sarcophagi of porphyry, which were lost in the Rhône, and have never been recovered. Millin, t. iii. p. 504.

‡ La Lauziere, *Hist. d'Arles*, t. i. p. 306.

The truly Provençal part was the least powerful. The counts of Toulouse managed to make themselves masters of the Rhône, the Catalans seized the coast and the ports; to the Baux, the indigenes of Provence, who had formerly delivered the country from the Moors, there remained Forcalquier and Sisteron, that is, the interior. Thus the states of the south fell to pieces until the arrival of the French, who overthrew Toulouse, drove back the Catalans into Spain, united the Provençals, and led them on to the conquest of Naples. Here closed the destinies of Provence. She reposed with Naples, under the same master. Rome lent her pope to Avignon, and dissoluteness and wealth abounded. Since the time of the Albigenses, religion had been on the decline in this region: it was annihilated by the presence of the popes. At the same time, the ancient municipal franchises of the south fell into neglect, and were forgotten. Roman liberty and the religion of Rome, republicanism and Christianity, expired at one and the same period. Avignon was the scene of this decrepitude. Believe it not then that it was for Laura alone, Petrarch watered the springs of Vaucluse with his tears. Italy also was his Laura, and Provence, and the whole of that antique South which was daily expiring *.

Provence, in its imperfect destiny and incomplete form, is to me as a troubadour's song, a sonnet of Petrarch's—there is in it more impulse than depth. The African vegetation of its coasts is soon checked by the icy wind of the Alps. The Rhône hastens to the sea, and reaches it not. Pasturage gives place to arid hills, poorly adorned with myrtle and lavender, perfumed and sterile.

The South seems to linger and bewail its fate in the melancholy of Vaucluse, and in the unspeakable and sublime sadness of Sainte-Baume, whose height surveys the Alps and the Cevennes, Languedoc and Provence, and, beyond these, the Mediterranean. And I, too, could weep like Petrarch, on quitting this lovely region.

DAUPHINY, FRANCHE-COMTE, &c.

But I must make my way to the north, through the firs of the Jura and the oaks of the Vosges and of the Ardennes, to the discoloured plains of Berry and Champagne. The provinces that we have just traversed, isolated by their very originality, cannot make up the unity of France. More flexible and docile elements are required—men more amenable

* I know not which is the most affecting, the poet's lamentation over the fate of Italy, or his grief at having lost Laura. I cannot refrain from quoting the admirable sonnet in which the poor old poet at last confesses that he has only pursued a shadow—

"I feel, I breathe it once more, 'tis the air of past times. They are there, the sweet hills, where was born the beautiful light, which, so long as Heaven permitted, filled my eyes with joy and desire, and now swells them with tears

"O fragile hope! O foolish thoughts! . . . the grass is widowed, and the waves are troubled. The nest which she occupied is cold and empty; that nest where I should have wished to live and die.

"I had hoped to find some rest after so many fatigues, in sweetly tracking her, and to have been soothed by those lovely eyes which have consumed my heart.

"Cruel, ungrateful servitude! I burnt as long as the object of my fires lasted, and I now wander weeping over her ashes."

Sonnet CCLXXXIX.

to discipline, and more capable of forming one compact body to shield northern France from great invasions by sea and land, from the Germans and the English. The serried populations of the centre, the Norman and Picard battalions, and the deep and massy legions of Lorraine and Alsace, are not more than sufficient for the end.

The Provençals call the men of Dauphiny, the *Franciaux*. In fact, Dauphiny belongs to the true France, the France of the north. Despite its latitude, this province is northern. Here begins that zone of rude countries and energetic men which covers the eastern flank of France—first, Dauphiny, like a fortress to the windward of the Alps; then, the marsh of la Bresse; then back to back, Franche-Comté and Lorraine, cemented by the Vosges, which bestow the Moselle on the last, on the first, the Saône and the Doubs. A vigorous genius of resistance and opposition, is the characteristic of these provinces; giving rise to inconveniences, perhaps, within, but our safeguard against the foreigner. To science they have contributed men of a severe and analytic cast of mind—Mably, and his brother, Condillac, are from Grenoble; D'Alembert belongs to Dauphiny by the mother's side; Lalande, the astronomer, and Bichat, the great anatomist, are from Bourg-en-Bresse*.

Reasoning and selfish† as they are in other respects, war is the grand lever of the thoughts and feelings of these men of the frontier, commanding their whole moral being and elevating it into poetry. Speak of passing the Alps, or of crossing the Rhine, and you will find that Dauphiny has yet her Bayards, and Lorraine her Neys and Faberts. On this frontier line are heroic cities, whose families have been accustomed to lay down their lives for their country from generation to generation‡. The women have hardly been less sparing of themselves than the men§. Throughout the whole of this zone, from Dauphiny to Ardennes, the women display an Amazonian grace and courage, which you would vainly seek for elsewhere. Cold, serious, elaborate in their dress||, impressing both strangers

and their own families with feelings of respect, they live in the midst of a race of soldiers, whom they know how to awe. Themselves, widows and daughters of soldiers, they are familiar with war, and know what it is to die and to suffer; but, brave and resigned, they do not the less freely commit those dearest to them to its chances: at need, they would go themselves. It was not Lorraine alone which saved France by a woman's hand. In Dauphiny, Margot de Lay defended Martélmart, and Philis la Tour-du-Pin la Chazce barred the frontier against the duke of Savoy (A. D. 1692). The virile genius of the women of Dauphiny has often exercised irresistible power over men; as, for instance, the famous Madame Tencin, D'Alembert's mother, and that washerwoman of Grenoble, who married husband after husband, until she at last married the king of Poland, and who forms the theme of the popular ballads, together with Melusina and the fairy of Sassenage*.

There is a frank and lively simplicity, a mountaineer grace, in the manners of the people of Dauphiny, which charms one at first sight. As you ascend towards the Alps, you meet with all the honesty of the Savoyard†, the same kindness, but with less gentleness. Men, here, must love one another perforce—for nature, seemingly, loves them but little‡. Life had need to be softened by the good hearts and good sense of the people, exposed as they are on bleak mountain ridges that front the north, or living in the depths of those gloomy shafts down which sweeps the accursed Alpine wind. Granaries are supported by the communes, to remedy the deficiencies of bad harvests. The widow's house will be built by her neighbours, and her wants attended to before they think of their own§. These mountains send forth yearly a swarm not only of masons, water-carriers, wagoners, and chimney-sweepers, like the annual emigrations from the Limousin, Auvergne, Jura, and Savoy—but numbers of pedestrian teachers||, who start each winter from the hills of Gap and Embrun. They

* The same critical spirit is observable in Franche-Comté—for instance, Guillaume de St. Amour, the opponent of the mysticism of the mendicant orders, the grammarian d'Olivet, &c. Did we wish to name some of the most distinguished of our contemporaries, we should mention MM. Charles Nodier, Jouffroy, and Droz. M. Cuvier was from Montbelliard, but the character of his genius was modified by a German education.

† Singular traces of the old litigious spirit of the Dauphinese still remain in their provincial dialect. "The wealthier proprietors speak very tolerable French, but interlard it with ancient law-terms, which the bar dares not yet entirely disuse. Previously to the Revolution, after a youth had been a year or two in an attorney's office, occupied in making fair copies of subpoenas and judge's orders, his education was considered to be finished, and he returned to the plough." Champollion-Figeac, *Patois du Dauphiné*, p. 67.

‡ Within a period of twenty years, five or six hundred officers and soldiers who had won the cross of the Legion of Honour (*militaires décorés*), and almost all of whom died on the field of battle, came from the little town of Sarrelouis alone, with a population of scarcely five thousand. I have mislaid my authority for this, but believe that I am correct as to the figures.

§ The rich and showy armour of the princesses of the house of Bouillon is preserved in the *Musée d'Artillerie*.

|| This is obvious to every eye in Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and the Ardennes.

* See *Les Montagnardes*, by Barginet, of Grenoble. Whatever remarks this fervid writer may provoke, one cannot but read with interest his romances written in prison, and annotated by a schoolmaster of the province.—See, also, *La Faye de Sassenage*, par J. Millet—containing the adventures of Claudine Mignot, called *la belle Lhauda*, wife of Ambérieux, treasurer of Dauphiny, of the marquis de l'Hôpital, and of Casimir III. king of Poland.—Louis Serment, the philosopher of Grenoble, died in 1692, aged thirty.—See Appendix.

† This simplicity and these almost patriarchal manners, are largely owing to the preservation of ancient traditions. The old man is the object of respect and the centre of the family, and the same farm is often in the hands of two or three generations at the same time. The servants eat at the same table with their masters.—On the 1st of November (which is the *misde* of Brittany) a table of eggs and boiled corn is laid out for the dead—a plate to each of the family deceased. (Barginet, *Les Montagnardes*, vol. iii.) According to M. Champollion, the festival of the sun is still kept in one village.—The Celtic *brayes* (wide trousers) are met with in Dauphiny as well as in Brittany.

‡ In spite of the poverty of the country, the good sense of the people preserves them from every hazardous enterprise.

§ When a widow or an orphan suffers any loss of cattle, &c., they club to make it up.

|| Out of four thousand four hundred emigrants, seven hundred were teachers. Peuchet, &c.

proceed through Grenoble, to disperse themselves over the Lyonnais and the opposite side of the Rhône; and are welcome guests, teaching the children, and aiding in the labours of the farm. In the plains of Dauphiny, the peasant—less virtuous and modest than the mountaineer—often figures as a *bel esprit*, writing verses, and satirical verses, too.

Feudalism never pressed as heavily on Dauphiny as on the rest of France. The barons, ever at feud with Savoy*, were bound by interest to keep fair with their retainers; and the *vaissaux* were rather petty nobles, almost independent†, than vassals bound to suit and service. At an early date, property admitted of subdivision to any extent; and thus the French revolution was unbloody at Grenoble: it had been anticipated‡. Not that the people are gentle or easily ruled§; but that familiar with democratic practices, their passions were unexcited. So far is the division of property carried, that a house of ten rooms will have ten owners||. Bonaparte knew Grenoble well, when he selected it for his first stage on his return from Elba¶: he sought to restore the empire through the republic.

At Grenoble, as at Lyons, Besançon, Metz, and throughout the north, the independent spirit of trade was less the offspring of Roman municipal privileges, although the contrary has been affirmed, than of the protection afforded by the Church; or, rather, they both happened to be in unison, the bishop,—at least up to the ninth century,—having been alike in name and fact the true *defensor civitatis*. That cross, which rises on the Great Chartreuse into the region of storms and snow, was the beacon of liberty. Bishop Izarn drove the Saracens out of Normandy in 965; and even up to 1044, the date at which the counts of Albon assumed the title of Dauphins, Grenoble, say the Chronicles, “had always been a freehold of the

bishops.” It was by despoiling the bishops that the Poitevin counts of Die and of Valence began to extend their power, supported one while by the Germans, at another by the heretics of Languedoc*.

Besançon†, like Grenoble, was another ecclesiastical republic, under its archbishop, who was a prince of the empire, and under its nobly-born chapter‡. But, here, the constant war between Franche-Comté and Germany, made the yoke of feudalism heavier. The long wall of the Jura, with its two gates—the pass of Joux and that of Pierre-Pertuis—and the windings of the Doubs as well, constituted a strong barrier§; yet, nevertheless, Frederick Barbarossa established his descendants here for a century. It was with serfs of the Church, at St. Claude, and, also, in the poor town of Nantua, on the opposite side of the mountain, that the trade and industry of these provinces took their beginning. Attached to the soil, they at first cut rosaries for sale in Spain and Italy: now that they are free, they cover the highways of France with carriers and pedlars.

Even under its bishop, Metz was free, like Liege and Lyons; and had its *Eschevin* and council of thirteen, as well as Strasburg. The three ecclesiastical cities, Metz, Toul, and Verdun||, which form a triangle between the great Meuse¶ and the

* At first the Vaudois, afterwards the Protestants. In the department of Drôme alone are about thirty four thousand Calvinists. (Peuchet et Chaulaire, Statistique, &c.) The fierce struggle of the Baron des Adrets and De Montbrun (during the League) will occur to the reader.—The most celebrated of the Protestants of Dauphiny was Isaac Casaubon, son of the minister of Bordeaux sur le Ronbion, who was born in 1559. He lies in Westminster Abbey.

† The ancient device of Besançon was *Plût à Dieu* (If God will). At Salins there was inscribed over the gate of one of the forts where the salt pits were, the motto of Philip the Good, *Autre n'a'ray* (Noother shall have). Several buildings at Dijon bore the motto of Philip the Bold, *Mout me tarde* (I long). The celebrated diplomatist Granville, chancellor to Charles the Fifth, was a native of Besançon. He died in 1564.

‡ At the abbey of St. Claude as well, which was erected into a bishopric in 1741, the monks were obliged to prove their nobility up to their great great-grandfather, both on the father's and mother's side. The canons had to prove sixteen quarters, eight on each side.

§ Peuchet et Chaulaire, Statistique du Jura. Franche-Comté is the best wooded district in France. There are no fewer than thirty forests on the Saône, the Doubs, and the Lougnon.—There are many gun-manufactories here. Horses and oxen are plentiful, sheep scarce, and the wool is bad.

|| On the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the three bishoprics (*les Trois-Évêchés*), and of Lorraine in general, consult M. Turgot's *Description Exacte et Fidèle du Pays Meusien*, &c., among the manuscripts of the public library of Metz.—The three bishops were princes of the Holy Empire.—The countship of Crémance and barony of Fenestrange were two freeholds of the empire.

¶ Ausonius has devoted a poem to the praises of the Moselle:—

“Salve amnis laudate agris, laudate colonis,
Dignata imperio debent cui mœnia Belgæ;
Amnis odorifero jugs vitea consite Baccho,
Consite gramineas amnis viridissimè ripas:

Salve, magna parens frugumque virûmque, Mosella.”

(Hail, river, welcome to the soil, and lauded by the farmer, to whom the Belgæ are indebted for their city's being thought worthy of empire. O river, with thy viny slopes planted with odoriferous wine. O river, whose grassy banks are of verdant green; hail, thou Moselle, great mother of corn and of men.) The city alluded to, is Trèves.

* These wars gave great *éclat* to the nobility of Dauphiny. They were called the flower of gentility (*l'écartele des gentilshommes*). Savoy is the country of Bayard, and of that Lesdiguières who was king of Dauphiny under Henri IV. The first has left a deep impression here—and the phrase *prouesse de Terrail* (as brave as Bayard) was as proverbial as *loyauté de Salvaing*, or *noblesse de Sassenage* (as loyal as Salvaing, as noble as Sassenage).—Near the valley of Graisivandian is the territory of Royans, the Vale of Chivalry (*la Vallée Chevaleresque*).

† The noble performed homage standing; the bourgeois on his knees, and kissing the back of his lord's hand; the plebeian also on his knees, but he was only allowed to kiss his lord's thumb. See Salvaing, *Usage des Fiefs*.—In like manner, at Metz, the *maître échevin* (head bailiff) addressed the king standing.

‡ During the Reign of Terror, the workmen preserved order with admirable courage and humanity; just as Michel Lando, the wool-comber, did at Florence, in the insurrection of the Ciompi.

§ *Reconquête de Grenoble* (to wait on you out as they do at Grenoble) was a common saying for—kicked out, or being driven off with showers of stones. (Les Montagnards, t. i. p. 37.) In Languedoc they had a saying, *Cœurit de Mouspelièr, convida à l'excaut*; that is, *invitation de Montpellier, invitation sur l'excalibur* (a Montpellier invitation, a kick down stairs). (?) Millin, t. v. p. 328.

|| Perrin Dulac, *Description de l'Isère*. (Grenoble, 1806, t. i. p. 207.)

¶ He alighted at an inn kept by an old soldier, who had one day given him an orange in the Egyptian campaign.

lesser (the Moselle, *Mosula*), constituted a neuter ground—an island, an asylum for fugitive slaves. The very Jews proscribed every where else, were sheltered in Metz. It was the French border, between us and the empire. On this side there was no natural barrier between France and Germany, as in Dauphiny and Franche-Comté. The beautiful balloon-shaped hills of the Vosges, and the chain of Alsace itself, were favourable to war by their gentle and peaceful undulations. Lorraine—that Austrasian soil, strewed with monuments of the Carolingians*, with its twelve great and illustrious houses, its hundred and twenty peers, and its sovereign abbey of Remiremont, where Charlemagne and his son held their great autumn hunts, and where the sword was borne before the abbesst—was the German empire in miniature. Here, Germany was every where confusedly mingled with France, and the whole country was frontier. Here, too, sprang up, in the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle, and in the forests of the Vosges, a wandering and indeterminate race, themselves unconscious of their origin, living on the world at large, on noble and on priest, who alternately took them into their service. Metz was the city of these, and of all who had no other—a city of mixed races, if ever there were one. To reduce to one common system the contradictory customs of this Babel, ever proved an abortive effort.

The French tongue ceases in Lorraine, and I will not go beyond it. I refrain from crossing the mountain chain, and gazing on Alsace. The German world is dangerous ground for me—for it has a lotos-tree, all powerful to induce oblivion of one's native land. Were I once to look on thee, divine spire of Strassburg,—were I to descry my heroic Rhine, I might be tempted to follow its current charmed by its legends†, and wander towards

* The tomb of Louis the Débonnaire and the manuscript of the Annals of Metz (date, A.D. 894) used to be shown at Metz.—The bees, so often mentioned in the Capitularies, and which supplied Metz with its famous mead, used, before the Revolution, to be reared by the curés and hermits; they are now much neglected. In the last half century the quantity of honey yearly collected has decreased by one-half. Peuchet et Chaulaire, Statistique de la Meurthe.

† Piganol de la Force, xiii. The abbess exercised half the jurisdiction of the city, and, together with her chapter, nominated deputies to the states of Lorraine.—The female dean and sacristan had each four livings in her gift. The *sonzier*, or stewardess, held joint jurisdiction with the abbess over Valdaïj (val-de-joux), which consisted of nineteen villages: all the bees swarmed there were her right. The abbey had a grand provost, a grand and petty chancellor, a grand *sonzier*, &c.—To be *dame de Remiremont*, it was necessary for the proposed abbess to prove her nobility, on both sides, for two hundred years back.—To be canoness, or *demoiselle*, at Epinal, the candidate had to prove herself noble for four descents, both by father and mother.

‡ In the seventh century lived a duke of Lorraine, who longed for a son. He had only a blind daughter, whom he ordered to be exposed to perish. Years after, he had a son, who brought back his daughter to the old duke, who, from his solitary life in the castle of Hohenbourg, had become stern and morose. At first he repulsed her, but at length yielding, he founded a convent for her, which was called after her, the convent of St. Odile. From the height on which it is seated you see Baden and Germany. Kings performed pilgrimage here from all quarters of the world—the emperor Charles IV., Richard Cœur-de-Lion, a king of Denmark, a king of Cyprus, a pope . . . here withdrew

the red cathedral of Mentz, towards that of Cologne, and so to the ocean; or perchance I should be stayed, enchanted, on the solemn boundary of the two empires, by the ruins of some Roman camp, or of some church, once the cynosure of pilgrims—or else by the convent of that nobly-born nun, who passed three hundred years in listening to the birds of the forest*.

No, I stop at the limit of the two tongues, in Lorraine, at the point of contact of the two races, at the *Chêne des Partisans*† (the trysting oak?) which is still shown in the Vosges. The struggle between France and the empire, between heroic stratagem‡ and brutal strength, was early typified in that of the German Swintibald and the Frank Regnier (Rainier, Reiner, Renard?) the ancestor of the counts of Hainault. The war of the Wolf and the Fox is the great legend of northern France, the theme of *fabliaux*, and of the popular poems. The last of these § was written in the fifteenth century by a grocer of Troyes. For two hundred and fifty years, the dukes of Lorraine were Alsatian by descent, creatures of the emperors, and who, last century, became emperors themselves. They were almost always at war with the bishop and the republic of Metz||, with Champagne, and with France; but, through the marriage of one of them in 1255, with a daughter of the count of Champagne's, becoming French on the mother's side, they lent a vigorous support to France against the English—against the English party in Flanders and Brittany. They fought for France, to death or to captivity, at Courtray, Cassel, Crécy, and at Auray. A poor peasant girl, Joan of Arc, born on the frontiers of Lorraine and Champagne, did more—she awakened national consciousness; in her appeared, for the first time, the great image of the people, under a pure and original form. Through her, Lorraine was attached to France. The very duke, who had for a moment forgotten his king, and

the widows of Charlemagne and of Charles the Fat—At Winstein, to the north of the Lower Rhine, the devil keeps watch over precious treasures concealed in a castle hewn out of the rock.—Between Haguenau and Wissembourg a fiery vision rises out of the *pechelbrunner* (pitch fountain),—'tis the *black huntsman*, the spectre of an ancient lord who expiates his tyranny, &c.—The musical and child-like genius of Germany begins with its poetic legends. The minstrels of Alsace used to hold regular assemblies. The lord of Rapolstein used to style himself *king of the violins*. The violinists of Alsace held of a superior: those of Upper Alsace were bound to present themselves at Rapolstein,—those of Lower Alsace at Bischweiler.

* A pendant to this beautiful legend, in which the ecstasy produced by harmony prolongs life for centuries, is the story of the woman who, in Louis the Débonnaire's reign, heard the organ for the first time, and died of ravishment. Thus, in the German legends, music gives life; and death.

† In the arrondissement of Neufchâtel; this tree is seventeen feet in diameter. Depping, t. ii.

‡ Guill. Britonis Philipp. l. x.

Qui (Lotharingi) cum simplicibus soleant sermonibus uti, Non tamen in factis ita delirare videtur. (equivalent to—"Simple as their speech may be, their acts are not.") The writer alludes to Lothaire and the French.)

§ See the notices of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale, at the end of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

|| Marshal Fabert, Custines, and the bold and unfortunate Pilâtre des Rosiers, who was the first to ascend in a balloon, were born at Metz. The Ancillons were driven from it by the edict of Nantes.

trailed the royal pennons at the tail of his horse, married his daughter, nevertheless, to a prince of the blood, to the count de Bar, René of Anjou. A younger branch of this family gave leaders to the Catholic party, in the person of the Guises, against the Calvinists, the allies of England and of Holland.

Descending by the Ardennes from Lorraine into the Low Countries, the Meuse changes its character from the agricultural and industrious to the warlike. Verdun, Stenay, Sedan, Mézières, Givet, Maestricht, and numerous fortified places, command its course, and are covered by it. The whole country is wooded, as if to mask it either in defence or attack from the approaches of Belgium. The great forest of Ardennes, the *deep* (ar duinn), stretching out on every side, is rather vast than imposing. You meet with villages, burghs, and pastures, and fancy yourself out of the forest—but they are only so many openings in it. The woods commence again, an humble and monotonous ocean of dwarfish oaks, whose uniform undulations you descry from time to time, from the summit of some hill. Formerly, the forest was much more continuous. The hunters could range, without ever losing the shade, from Germany, from Luxembourg to Picardy, and from St. Hubert to Notre-Dame de Liesse.

From the mysteries of the Druids down to the wars of the wild boar of Ardennes, in the fifteenth century, and from the miraculous stag whose apparition converted St. Hubert, down to the fair Iseult and her lover—whom her husband surprised asleep on the mossy bank, but so beautiful, so discreet, and with the large sword between them in token of their slumbering apart, that he withdrew without disturbing them—how many a history has been enacted under these shades, and how many a tale could be told by these oaks, laden with mistletoe, would they but tell it!

The Trou du Han, beyond Givet, where formerly none durst enter, deserves a visit; as well as the solitudes of Layfour and the black rocks of the Dame de Meuse, the table of the enchanter Maugis, and the ineffaceable print left in the rock by the foot of Renaud's horse. The four sons of Aymon are the burden of traditionary tales at Château-Renaud as at Usez, in the Ardennes as well as in Languedoc. I still seem to see the spinner, who, whilst at work, holds on her knee the precious volume of the *Bible bleue*—the hereditary book of the house, worn, and blackened with use during many a nightly vigil*.

This sombre land of Ardennes is not naturally connected with Champagne. It belongs to the bishopric of Metz, the basin of the Meuse, and the ancient kingdom of Austrasia. As soon as you are past the white and colourless champagnes, which extend from Reims to Rethel, Champagne is ended. The woods begin, and, with the woods, the pastures and small sheep of Ardennes. The chalk has disappeared; the dull red of tiles gives place to the sombre sheen of slate; and the houses are roughcast with steel filings. Manufactories of arms, tanneries, and slate-quarries, do not much enliven the appear-

ance of a country; but the inhabitants strike the eye as a marked race. There is intelligence, sobriety, economy about them; a dryness of look in their countenance, but with sharp, well-cut features. This dry and staid character is not peculiar to that little Geneva—Sedan—but prevails throughout the country, which is not rich, and has, besides, the enemy at its threshold; circumstances calculated to engender thoughtfulness. The people are serious, and of a critical habit of mind; not uncommon among those who feel themselves superior to their fortunes.

THE WINE-COUNTRIES.

Beyond this rude and heroic zone of Dauphiny, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Ardennes, there stretches another as distinguished by its amenities, and more fertile in the products of thought—that of the provinces of the Lyonnais, Burgundy, and Champagne, a vinous, joyous zone, fraught with poetry, eloquence, and elegant and ingenious literature. Unlike the rest, these provinces had not to sustain the unceasing shock of foreign invasion. Better sheltered, they had leisure to cultivate the delicate flower of civilization.

And first, close to Dauphiny, rises the large and amiable city of Lyons, eminently sociable in its character, and uniting men as it does rivers*. This angle of the Rhône and Saône† appears ever to have been a sacred spot. The Segusi of Lyons were clients of the Druidical nation of the *Ædii*; and, here, sixty tribes of Gaul united in raising an altar to Augustus, and Caligula founded those contests of eloquence, where the vanquished was thrown into the Rhône, except he preferred effacing his oration with his tongue‡. In place of this, a custom arose of throwing victims into the river, according to an old Celtic and German usage; and, the *arc merveillex* (the marvellous arch), whence the bulls were precipitated, is still pointed out in St. Nizier's bridge.

The famous table of bronze on which may still be read the speech of Claudius, on behalf of the admission of the Gauls into the senate, is the earliest of our national antiquities, and the sign of our initiation into the civilized world. Another, and a far holier initiation, has its monument alike in the catacombs of St. Irenæus, the crypt of St. Pothinus, and in Fourvières—the hill of pilgrims. Lyons

* The boundary line between France and the empire was formed by the Saône as far as the Rhône, and then by the latter to the sea. Lyons, lying for the most part on the left bank of the Saône, was an imperial city; but the counts of Lyons held the faubourgs of St. Just and St. Irenæus of France.

† Seneca—

"Vidi duobus imminens fluvius jugum,
Quod Phœbus ortu semper obverso videt.
Ubi Rhodanus ingens amne præ-rapido fluit,
Ararque dubitans quo suus cursus agat,
Tacitus quiescit alui ripas vadis."

(I have seen the height hanging over the two rivers, always viewed by the rising sun, where the huge Rhône flows in headlong current, and the Arar (the Saône) with hesitating course, silently washes the banks with its quiet waters.)

‡ Sueton. in C. Caligula.—Juvenal, l. 48.—

"Palliat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem rictor dicturus aram."

(Turns pale as one who has trod with naked heel on a snake, or is about to recite his rhetorical discourse at the altar of Lyons.)

* There you read how the good Renaud played many a trick on Charlemagne, and how, after all, he made a happy end, having humbly turned knight-mason (*chevalier maçon*), and borne on his back enormous blocks for the building of the holy church of Cologne.—See Appendix.

was the seat of the Roman government, and, subsequently, the see of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the four *Lyonnaises* (Lyons, Tours, Sens, and Rouen), that is, for the whole of Celtic Gaul. During the fearful vicissitudes of the first centuries of the middle ages, this great ecclesiastical city opened her bosom to a crowd of fugitives, and was peopled by the general depopulation, just as Constantinople gradually concentrated the whole Greek empire, as it gave way before the Arabs or the Turks. Its inhabitants had neither fields nor land, only their arms and the Rhône: thus it turned to trade and commerce. It was a manufacturing city even under the Romans. Epitaphs are still extant—"To the memory of a glass-maker, born in Africa," an inhabitant of Lyons*; "To the memory of a veteran who served in the legions, a paper-maker†." An industrious swarm‡, shut in between the rocks and the river, and heaped up in the sombre streets that open upon its banks, under a clime of rain and constant fog, they had, nevertheless, their moral and their poetic side. It was thus with our master Adam, the cabinet-maker of Nevers—with the *meistersanger* of Nuremberg and Frankfort—coopers, locksmiths, and blacksmiths—and so, in our day, with the tinner of Nuremberg. In their darkling cities they dreamed of that nature which they did not see, and of that glorious sun which was denied them; and they hammered out in their black stithies idylls on fields, birds, and flowers. Poetic inspiration at Lyons has not been nature, but love; and more than one young shopwoman, seated in the

dim light of the back shop, has composed, like Louise Labbé and Pernette Guillet, verses full of sadness and of passion—which were not for their husbands*. The love of God, and a voluptuous mysticism, were, it must be owned, traits of the Lyonnese character. The church of Lyons was founded by the *desired* (ἡθοδιώγ, St. Pothinus†); and it was at Lyons, at a later period, that St. Martin, the *desired*, established his school‡. Our Balanche was born there§; and the author of the *Imitation*, Jean Gerson, chose it as the spot in which to close his earthly pilgrimage||.

It seems strange and contradictory that mysticism should have originated in large manufacturing and dissolute cities, such as Lyons and Strasbourg now are. The reason is, that no where else does man's heart so yearn for heaven. Where all the grosser pleasures are at one's call, there satiety soon begins. The sedentary life, too, of the artisan, seated at his trade, favours this internal ferment of the soul. The silk-weaver in the humid obscurity of the streets of Lyons, and the weavers of Artois and of Flanders in their gloomy cellars, shut out from the world, have created a world for themselves, a moral paradise of sweet dreams and visions; to indemnify themselves for the nature of which they were deprived, they gave themselves God. No class of men gave more victims to the fires and faggots of the middle ages. The Vandois of Arras had their martyrs, as well as those of Lyons. The latter, disciples of the manufacturer, Valdo—Vandois, or poor men of Lyons, as they were called—endeavoured to restore the customs of primitive Christianity. They set an affecting example of brotherhood; nor did this union of hearts depend uniformly on conformity of religious belief. Contracts exist, of times long subsequent to the Vandois, by which two friends adopt each other for heirs, and covenant to share life and fortune¶.

The genius of Lyons is more moral, more sentimental at least, than that of Provence. Lyons may be said to belong to the north. It forms one of the centres of the south, without being southern, and which the south rejects. On the other hand, France long denied Lyons as a stranger to her; being loth to recognize the ecclesiastical primacy of an imperial city. Notwithstanding its fine position on two rivers, and between so many provinces, Lyons has never been able to extend itself. Behind,

• D. M.
ET MEMORIE ETÆRNE JUL.
I. ALEXANDRI NACIONE APRI. CIVI
CARTHAGINIFNSI. OMNI OPTIMO OPIF
CI ARTIS VITÆRIE QUI VIX ANOS LXX. . . .
(Sacred to the manes and lasting memory of Julius Alexander, born in Africa, a citizen of Carthage, an excellent man, a glass-maker, who was aged seventy years. . . .)

† D. M.
ET. MEMORIE. ETÆRN
VITALINI. FELICIS. VEP. LEG
M. HOMINI. SAPIENTISSIM
ET FIDELISSIMO NEGOTIA
RI LUGDUNENSI. ARTIS. C
TARIÆ. QUI. VIXIT. ANNIS
VIII. M. V. D. X. NATUS EST D
MARTIS. DIE. MARTIS. PROF
TUS. DIE. MARTIS. MISSIONE
PERCEPIT. DIE. MARTIS DEF
NCTUS. EST. FACIENDUM. C
VITALIN FELICISSIMUS. FI
US. ET. IULIANICE. CON
VN. ET. SUB. ASCIA. DEDE
CAVERNAT.

(Sacred to the manes and lasting memory of Vitalinus Felix, a veteran of the legion . . . of Minerva, a very prudent man, who carried on the manufacture of paper with great repute for probity, who died, aged . . . eight years, five months, and ten days. He was born on a Tuesday, set out on his first campaign on a Tuesday, obtained his discharge on a Tuesday, and died on a Tuesday. . . . His son, Vitalinus Felicissimus, and his wife, Julia Nice, erected this monument and dedicated it beneath Ascia.)—Millin. t. i. p. 457 508

† Elsewhere I shall treat of the present state of the manufactures of Lyons. The state of this town is one of the gravest and most melancholy subjects of modern history, and embraces all the great questions of policy and political economy. To speak of Lyons under this point of view here, would be to draw a picture of the world in order to describe a town.

* For these, as for many other persons (and things) indicated in this rapid survey of the country, see Appendix.

† See the martyrdom of St. Pothinus, in Eusebius, l. i. c. 5.

‡ He was born at Amboise in 1743.—In 1147, a Polish bishop introduced the ceremonies of the church of Lyons into a church of his own building. Crommerus, l. vi. ap. Duchesne, Anciennes Villes de France.—It is no very long time since service was performed at Lyons without organ, books, or any musical instruments, as in the first ages of Christianity.

§ As were MM. Ampère, Degerando, Camille Jordan, and de Séguenour. Their families at least are Lyonnese.

|| In 1429.—St. Remi or Remigius, of Lyons, espoused the cause of Gotteschalk, and the doctrine of grace, against Joannes Erigena.—According to Du Boulay, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was first taught at Lyons.—In the reign of Louis XIII., one individual, Denis de Marquemont, founded fifteen religious houses at Lyons.

¶ When the contract was drawn up, the adopted brothers sent each other garlands of flowers and golden hearts.

lay the two Burgundies—that is to say, French feudalism and the feudalism of the empire; facing it—the Cevennes, and its rivals, Vienne and Grenoble.

Proceeding to the north from Lyons, you have to choose between Châlons and Autun. The Lyonesse Segusii were a colony from the latter city*. Autun, the old Druidical city†, had thrown out Lyons at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône, at the apex of that great Celtic triangle, whose base was the ocean from the Seine to the Loire. Autun and Lyons, the mother and the daughter, have enjoyed very different destinies. The daughter, seated on the great high road of the nations, beautiful, amiable, and of easy access, has constantly prospered and increased. The mother, elastic and severe, has remained solitarily on her torrent-stream of Arroux, in the depth of her mysterious forests, among her crystals and her lava‡. It was she who invited the Romans into Gaul, and their first care was to raise up Lyons against her. In vain did Autun renounce her sacred name of Bibracte for that of Augustodunum, and, afterwards, for that of Flaviv; in vain did she resign her divinity§, and become more and more Roman||. She went on but from decay to decay. All the great wars of Gaul were decided in her vicinity, and were decided against her¶. She did not even

* Gallia Christiana, t. iv. In a diploma, dated 1189, Philip Augustus acknowledges that on the vacancy of either see, Lyons and Autun have reciprocally the right of regality and jurisdiction over each other.—The bishop of Autun was of right president of the states of Burgundy.—The reader will remember the relations between St. Léger, the famous bishop of Autun, and the bishop of Lyons.

† On the arms of Autun were, first, the Druidical serpent (see b. i. c. 2), and then, the hog—the animal reared in the Celtic forests. Rosny, p. 209.—By the privileges of Autun, the head of the military and judicial administration was termed *Fierg* (Vergobret—See l. i. c. 2). Courtépée, Description de la Bourgogne, t. iii. p. 491.

‡ Between Autun and St. Prix a muddy lava is met with. The abbé Soulaive discovered a volcano at Drevin, five leagues east of Autun. Mémoires de l'Académie de Dijon, 1783.—The grotto of Argental is celebrated for its beautiful crystallizations. Millin, t. i. p. 343.—Silver, copper, and iron, are also found in the neighbourhood. Rosny, p. 281.

§ Inscription found at Autun—

DEE BIBRACTI
P. CAPRILLI PACATUS
I II ———— a I VIR AUGUSTA.
V. S. L. M.

Millin, t. i. p. 337.

¶ The aristocracy seem to have given themselves up wholly to Rome, whilst the Druidical and popular party sought to recover their independence. "The prudent government of Autun," says Tacitus, "suppressed the revolt of the fanatic bands of Marius, a Boian sprung from the dregs of the people, and who gave himself out for a god, and the liberator of Gaul." (Annal. l. ii. c. 61.) The revolt of Sacrovir has been described in the first book.—The Bagaude twice sacked Autun, when the Mæonian schools, which the Greek Eumenes reopened under the patronage of Constantius Chlorus, were closed.—Francis the First visited Autun in 1521, and named it "his French Rome." According to Eumenes, it had already been called the sister of Rome. See R. Fr. i. 712, 716, 717.

¶ Autun was almost ruined by Aurelian at the period of his victory over Tetricus, who had had medals struck there.—It was sacked by the Germans A. D. 280, by the Bagaude in Diocletian's time, by Attila in 451, by the Saracens in 732, and by the Normans in 886 and 895. The Hungarians were bought off in 924. Histoire d'Autun, par Joseph de Rosny, 1802.

preserve her famous schools: all she retained was her austere genius; and up to modern times her sons have been statesmen and legists—as the chancellor Rolin, the Montholons, the Jeannins, and numerous others. This grave cast of mind is widely spread westwards and northwards. The Dupins are from Clamecy; whilst Theodore de Beza, the orator of Calvinism, and mouth-piece of Calvin, is from Vézelay.

There is none of the amenity of Burgundy in the dry and sombre districts of Autun and Morvan. To know the true Burgundy, the Burgundy of cheering smiles and of the grape, you must ascend the Saône by Châlons, then turn, through the Côte d'Or, to the plateau of Dijon, and follow the current towards Auxerre—a goodly land, where vine-leaves adorn the arms of the cities*, where all are brothers or cousins, a land of hearty livers and of merry Christmases†. No province had greater or richer abbeys, or which ramified into more new and distant foundations—as the abbey of St. Benigne at Dijon; that of Cluny, near Maçon, and the monastery of Cîteaux, close to Châlons. Such was the splendour of these monasteries, that Cluny once extended her hospitality to a pope, and a king of France, and the numerous princes in their suites, without the monks being at all inconvenienced by lodging so large a train. Cîteaux was on a still larger scale, or at least was more fertile in her offshoots. She is the mother of Clairvaux, the mother of St. Bernard. Her abbot, the abbot of abbots, was, in 1491, recognized as chief of their order by three thousand two hundred and fifty-two monasteries. It was the monks of Cîteaux, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, founded the military orders of Spain, and preached the crusade against the Albigenes, as St. Bernard had the second crusade to Jerusalem. Burgundy is the land of orators; of lofty and solemn eloquence. From the upper part of the province, from the district which gives rise to the Seine—from Dijon and from Montbar—issued the voices which have most resounded through France, those of St. Bernard, of Bossuet, and of Buffon. But the amiable sentimentality characteristic of Burgundy, is observable in other quarters—more graceful in the north, more brilliant in the south. Not far from Semur were born the good Madame de Chantal, and her granddaughter, Madame de Sévigné; at Maçon, Lamartine, the poet of the religious and lonely mind‡; and at Charolles, Edgar Quinet, the poet of history and of humanity§.

* See the arms of Dijon and of Beaune.—A bas relief at Dijon represents the triumphs each holding a goblet. This is a local trait.—The cultivation of the vine, of such high antiquity here, has singularly influenced the character of its history, by increasing the number of the lower classes. This district was the principal scene of the war of the Bagaude.—In 1630 there was a revolt of the vine dressers, who chose for their leader an old soldier, whom they called king Marhas.

† See the curious Recueil de la Monnoye.—Piron (born in 1640, died in 1727) was from Dijon.—The Fête des Fous was celebrated at Auxerre till 1407.—The monks played at ball (*pelota*) in the nave of the cathedral, till 1538. The youngest canon furnished the ball, and gave it to the dean as soon as the game was over, they danced and feasted. Millin, t. i.

‡ The author of *Ahasuerus*, born at Bourg, was brought up at Charolles.

§ Nor should we forget the picturesque and mystic little

France has no more ductile element than Burgundy, or more capable of harmonizing the north with the south. Its counts or dukes, who sprang from two branches of the Capets, gave, in the twelfth century, kings to the monarchies of Spain; and, at a later period, to Franche-Comté, Flanders, and the whole of the low countries, but, despite English aid, they were unable to descend the valley of the Seine, or settle in the plains of the centre. The great duke of Burgundy failed before the poor king of Bourges*, of Orléans, and of Reims; and the commons of France by whom he had at first been supported, gradually rallied against the oppressors of the commons of Flanders.

The destiny of France was not to be consummated in Burgundy. This feudal province was unable to impart to her the monarchical and democratic form to which she tended. The genius of France had to descend into the pale plains of the centre, to abjure pride and inflation, nay, the very form of oratory, in order to bear her last, most exquisite, and most French of fruits. Burgundy seems still to be allied to its wines; the spirit of Beaune and of Maçon mounts to the head like that of Rhénish. Burgundian eloquence trenches on the rhetorical; and the amplitude of its literary style is not ill typified in the exuberant charms of the women of Vermonanton and Auxerre. Flesh and blood reign here: inflation, as well, and vulgar sentimentality; in proof, I need only cite Crébillon, Longepierre, and Sedaine. Something more sombre and severe is required to constitute the core of France.

'Tis a sad fall to step from Burgundy into Champagne, and to leave its smiling slopes for low and chalky plains. Not to speak of the desert of Champagne-Pouilleuse (the lousy), the country is almost universally flat, pale, and of a chillingly prosaic aspect. The cattle are sorry; the plants and minerals present no variety. Dull rivers drag their chalky streams between banks poorly shaded by young or stunted poplars. The houses, young too, and frail at their birth, endeavour to protect their fragile existence, by hooding themselves under as many slates as possible, or, at least, poor wooden slates: but beneath this false slating and its paint, washed off by the rain, the chalk betrays itself, pale, dirty, and misery stricken.

Such houses cannot make fine cities. Châlons looks hardly more lively than the plains around it. Troyes is almost as ugly as it is industrious †. The striking width of the streets of Reims makes its low houses appear lower still, and creates a gloomy impression—Reims, formerly the city of citizens and of priests, and twin sister of Tours, a sugarish city, with a tinge of devotion, manufacturing rosaries and gingerbread, excellent common cloth, an excellent small wine, and the seat both of fairs and of pilgrimages.

town of Paray-le-Monial, which gave birth to the devotion of Sacré-Cœur, and where Madame de Chantal died. A religious spirit certainly broods over the country of the translator of the *Symbolic* and of the author of *Solitude*—MM. Guignaut and Dargaud.

* The name given to Charles VII.

† The old walls of Troyes were built with ruins of Roman monuments, cornices, capitals, stones covered with inscriptions, &c., like those of Arles and Narbonne.

"La grande ville de Bar-sur-Saône"

A fait très-abled Troye en Champagne."

Froissart.

These cities, essentially democratic and anti-feudal, have been the principal stay of the monarchy. The Coutume de Troyes, which consecrated the principle of equality of inheritance, early divided and annihilated the power of the nobility. A barony, by the constant subdivision flowing from this principle, might be distributed into fifty or a hundred parts, by the fourth generation; and the impoverished nobles endeavoured to recover themselves by marrying their daughters to rich plebeians. The same coutume declares that rank goes by the mother's side (*que le centre anoblit**). This illusory precaution did not hinder the offspring of unequal marriages from finding themselves considered little more than plebeians; nor did the noblesse gain by this addition of ennobled plebeians. At length, they discarded false shame, and betook themselves to commerce.

The misfortune was, that this commerce was neither elevated by its objects nor by the materials with which it dealt. It was not a distant, adventurous, heroic commerce, like that of the Catalans or of the Genoese. The commerce of Troyes and of Reims did not consist in furnishing the means and appliances of luxury; nor had these cities illustrious corporations, in whose halls, like those of the Great and Small Arts at Florence, statesmen, such as the Medicis, trafficked in the noble products of the east and of the north, in silks, furs, and precious stones. The trade of Champagne was thoroughly plebeian. Thread, coarse stuffs, cotton caps, and leather ‡, were the staple of the fairs of Troyes, which were frequented by dealers from every part of Europe—(our tanners of the faubourg St. Marceau, were originally a colony from Troyes). These common products, essential, however, to all, constituted the wealth of the country. The nobles seated themselves with a good grace at the counter, and showed due attention to the clown. The crowds of strangers that flocked to their fairs were so great as to prevent inquiry into the genealogy of purchasers, or wrangling on points of etiquette—hence, the gradual growth of equality. The great count of Champagne himself, at one time king of Jerusalem, at another of Navarre, fit and the goodwill of these traders exceedingly convenient. It is true that the barons bore him a grudge for this ‡,

• This custom of rank's going with the mother is met with in other parts of France, even under the first race. (See Beaumanoir.) Charles V. (by a decree dated November 15th, 1370,) subjected those noble by the mother's side to the law of freehold. On the occasion of the second drawing up of the Coutume de Chaumont, those who were noble by the father's side entered their protest against this—and Louis XII. left the question undecided.—The Coutume de Troyes consecrated equality of division between the children, whence the decay of the nobility. For instance, John, lord of Dampierre and viscount of Troyes, left at his death several children, who divided the countship among them. Through successive divisions, Eustache de Confans came into possession of a third, which he bestowed on a chapter of monks; and another third was divided into four parts, and each part 'nto twelve shares, which went to various families and to the city's and the royal domains.

† Urban IV. was the son of a cordwainer of Troyes. He founded the church of St. Urban there, and had tapestry hung up in it, with a likeness of his father making shoes.

‡ So did the priests as well. The counts of Champagne protected St. Bernard, but they likewise protected his rival, Abelard. The Paraclete, founded by him, lay on the Ardusson, between Nogent and Pont-sur-Seine.

and treated him as if he were himself a trader—witness the brutal insult of the soft cheese which Robert of Artois had thrown in his face.

This precocious degradation of feudalism and these grotesque transformations of knights into shopkeepers, must have not a little contributed to give zest and point to the wit of the natives, and to have inspired them with that turn for ironical and shrewd simplicity, which, for what reason I know not, is called *naïveté**, in our *fabliaux*. Champagne was the land of good stories, of droll anecdotes of the noble knight, the simple and unsuspicious husband, of Monsieur, the parson, and his servant lass. The genius for tale-telling which prevails in Champagne and in Flanders, expanded into long poems and fine histories. Chrétien de Troyes, and Guyot de Provins†, begin the list of our romance poets. The great lords of the country wrote their own actions—witness Villehardouin, Joinville, and the cardinal of Retz, who have themselves narrated to us the history of the Crusades and of the Fronde. History and satire are the vocation of the Champenois. Whilst count Thibaut had his poems painted on the walls of his palace of Provins, surrounded by roses from the East, the grocers of Troyes scrawled on their counters the allegorical and satirical histories of Renard and Isengrim. The most pungent pamphlet in our language—the satire of Menippée—is mostly due to some lawyers of this city‡.

* The ancient type of the peasant of the north of France is the honest Jacques, who, however, at last, raised the *Jacquerie*. The same personage, considered in his simplicity and mildness of character, is called Jeannot, when he falls into infantile despair, and becomes *rigueur*, he takes the name of Jocrisse. Enlisted by the Revolution, he loses his simplicity very strikingly, although under the Restoration he is again termed Jean-Jean—These different names do not designate local folles, like those of Arlequin, Pantaloon, and Polichinello, in Italy.—The names commonly borne by valets in the aristocratic France of the old régime were names of provinces—as Lorraine, Picard, and, particularly, La Brie and Champagne. The Champenois, indeed, is the most tractable of all the provincials, although his apparent simplicity conceals great shrewdness and irony.

† Whom they will persist in calling Kiot de Provence, after the orthography of the German, Wolfram von Eschenbach. This ingenious correction is due to the young and learned M. Michel, who has already thrown so much light on the literary antiquities of France.

‡ Passerat and Pitouh.—The jeering spirit of the north of France displays itself in the popular *fiées*. In Champagne and other parts we find the *roi de l'année* (a citizen chosen to deliver two prisoners, &c.), the *roi de l'éteuf*—king of the ball—(Dupin, Deux-Sèvres); the *roi des Arbalétriers*, with his knights (Cambry, Oise, &c.); the *roi des gulfes*—king of the poor—even in 1770 (Almanach d'Artois, 1770); the *roi des rosiers*—king of the roses, or king of the gardeners—still kept up in Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, &c.—At Paris, the *fiée des sous-diacres*, or *duners-solis*—tipsy priests—who elected a bishop of unreason, offered him incense of burnt leather, sang obscene songs, and turned the altar into a table.—At Evreux, on the first of May, St. Vital's-day, was the *fête des cornards*—cuckolds' holiday—when they crowned each other with leaves: the priests wore their surplices the wrong side outwards, and threw bran in each other's eyes—the bell ringers pelted each other with *casse-muscaux*—hard biscuits.—At Beauvais a girl and child were promenaded round the town, taken to mass, and the burthen of the chorus was *hi-han!*—At Reims, the canons promenaded in two files, each dragging a herring, and stepping on the herring dragged by the one before him.—At Bouchain was the *fête du prévôt des*

Here, in this naive and biting Champagne terminates the long line which we have traced from Languedoc and Provence, through Lyons and Burgundy. In this viny and literary zone, the mind of man has gone on increasing in distinctness and sobriety of thought. We have signalized three stages of this progress—the fire and intellectual intoxication of the south, the eloquence and rhetoric of Burgundy*, and the grace and irony of Champagne. This is the last and most delicate fruit which France has borne. On these white plains and hungry slopes ripens the light wine of the north, full of caprice† and sudden sallies. Scarcely does it owe any thing to the soil; it is the child of labour and of society‡. And here also grew that trifling thing§, profound nevertheless, and at once ironical and dreamy, that discovered, and exhausted the domain of fable.

The river of the Low Countries and the river of France—the Meuse and the Seine—together with the Marne, the acolyte of the latter, flow negligently through the flat plains of Champagne, but swelling as they flow, in order to meet the sea with the greater dignity. The land, too, rises gradually into hills, in the island of France, in Normandy, and in Picardy. France becomes more majestic. She will not meet England, face to face, with lowered head; but arrays herself with forests and

étourdis—of the captain of the careless; at Châlons-sur-Saône, the *fiée de la charité*—the feast of charity, or the fool's cap company, and of the *confiserie de l'aloquin*—the brotherhood of beef eaters!—At Dijon, the procession of the *mère folle*—mother madcap—At Harfleur, on Shrove Tuesday, the *fête de la scie*—the saw fête (a saw figures in the arms of the president Cossé Brissac). The magistrates kiss the teeth of the saw. Two monks carry the *baton frieux* (uprights of the saw). Then the *baton frieux* is taken to a husband, who beats his wife. The *Chevalerie d'Honfleur* has existed since the conquest of William.

* Diderot was born on the hill of Langres—the point of transition between Burgundy and Champagne. He combines the characteristics of both.

† This must be understood not only of the wine, but of the vine. The soil of the vineyards seems to follow no settled law, and the natives assert that out of a vineyard of three acres, the soil of which appears to be exactly the same throughout, only the centre strip will yield first rate wine.

‡ An estate, which laid down in wheat, would give employment to only five or six families; laid down in vines, will require five or six hundred hands, men, women, and children. The attention which the manufacture of the wine itself requires is well known. Bourgeois-Jersaint, *Statistique de la Marne*, p. 81.—More Champagne is drunk abroad (in Russia, England, and Germany,) than in France. We give the preference to Burgundy. The reason is, that, after so many troubles and scenes of agitation, we no longer want to sharpen our intellects by stimulating the nerves, but rather to strengthen our bodies.

§ La Fontaine says of himself—

“Je suis chose légère, et vole à tout sujet,

Je vais de fleur en fleur, et d'objet en objet.

A beaucoup de plaisir, je mêle un peu de gloire,

J'irais plus haut peut-être au temple de mémoire,

Si dans un genre seul j'avais usé mes jours:

Mais quoi! je suis volage, en vers comme en amours.”

(I am a trifling thing, and fly to whatever takes my fancy, from flower to flower, from object to object. Given mostly to pleasure, I have my dreams of glory, and perhaps should obtain a higher niche in the temple of Fame, had I devoted myself to one walk of poetry alone. But why talk of it! I am as fickle in verse as in love.)

“The poet,” says Plato, “is a light and sacred thing.”

proud cities, swells her rivers, throws out in broad sweeps her magnificent plains, and confronts her rival with that other England—Flanders and Normandy*.

Immense is the rivalry of these opposite shores which hate, yet resemble each other. On both sides the characteristics of the people are hardness, greed, and sobriety and travail of mind. Antique Normandy looks askance at her triumphant daughter, who smiles upon her in fulness of insolence from her lofty cliffs. Yet the rolls still exist on which are read the names of those Normans who conquered England. Does not England, too, date the commencement of her rise from the Conquest? To whom does she owe whatever of art she has to boast of? Did the monuments of which she is so proud exist before the Conquest? What are the wondrous cathedrals of England, but an exaggerated imitation of Norman architecture†? How great was the change operated in the men themselves, and in the Saxon race, by this interfusion of French blood? The warlike and litigious spirit, foreign from the Anglo-Saxons, which made England, after the Conquest, a nation of warriors and of scribes, is the purely Norman spirit. This acerbity of character is common to both sides of the straits. Caen, the city of wisdom, preserves the great monument of the Anglo-Norman system of finance, the accounts of the Conqueror's exchequer. Normandy has nothing to envy others for, and keeps up its good customs. It is common for the head of a family, on his return from his day's labour on his farm, to recreate himself by explaining to his attentive little ones, some article or other of the *code civil*‡.

The native of Lorraine or of Dauphiny cannot keep pace with the Norman in his passion for the law. The Breton character, harder and more negative, is less greedy and grasping. Brittany is resistance; Normandy, conquest; in our day, the conquest over nature, the conquest of agriculture and manufactures. This ambitious and conquering genius generally makes its way by fixity of purpose, though often by daring, and by sudden impulse, an impulse soaring at times to the sublime—as exemplified in the numerous heroic seamen§ Normandy has produced, and in the great Corneille. Twice has French literature taken her upward flight from Normandy, whilst philosophy was aroused from her slumbers by Brittany. The old

poem of Rou or Rollo* appeared in the twelfth century together with Abelard; and in the seventeenth, Corneille arose simultaneously with Descartes. Yet, why I know not, the Norman genius has been denied idealism, in the largest and most creative sense of the faculty. It soars high, but falls quickly. It falls in the meagre precision of Malherbe, in the dryness of Mézai, and in the ingenious researches of La Bruyère and Fontenelle. The very heroes of the great Corneille, whenever they cease to be sublime, sink into insipid special pleaders, rejoicing in the subtleties of a vain and sterile dialectic.

Assuredly, the genius of our stout and worthy Flanders is neither subtle nor sterile, but positive and real, and resting on a solid foundation—*soliditas fundatum ossibus intus*. On its fat and plenteous plains, teeming with manure, with canals, and with a gross and exuberant vegetation, grass, men, and animals wax emulously fat and large, as if they had nothing to do but thrive. The ox and the horse swell out to elephantine size. Woman grows apace with man, and is often the better of the two. This large-built race, however, with all its bulk, is flaccid, and strong rather than robust, though of immensely muscular power. The Herculeses of our fairs are often natives of the department of the north.

The prolific power of the Belg of Ireland is common to the Belgians of Flanders and of the Low Countries. Men swarmed, like insects after a storm, in the thick ooze of those rich plains, in those vast and sombre marts of trade, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges. 'Twas tempting fate to set foot on those ant-hills, whence would spring at a touch—pikes lowered—swarms of men by fifteen, twenty, or thirty thousand at a time, stout, well-fed, well-clothed, and well-armed. The feudal cavalry of the times found fighting with such masses no child's play.

And were these worthy Flemings in the wrong to be so proud? Fat and gross† as they were, they thoroughly understood their own business. None were better acquainted with commerce, trade, and agriculture. No people were more distinguished by good sense, or comprehended more thoroughly the positive and the real. Perhaps no people of the middle-ages more thoroughly seized the spirit of the time, or knew better both how to act and how to narrate. At this date, Champagne and Flanders were the only countries which could compete with Italy in historians. In Froissart, Flanders has her Villani, and in Comines her Machiavel‡—we may add to these her emperor historians of Constantinople. Her authors of fabliaux are historians as well; at least, in all that concerns public manners.

These had little in them to edify; were sensual and gross. And the further we proceed northwards in this fat Flanders, and under its mild and moist climate, the softer does the country become,

* See, the excellent edition by M. Auguste Prévost, of Rouen, one of our most distinguished antiquaries.

† Instances of the Belgic grossness or coarseness may be met with at every turn. Take note at Brussels of the little statue of the *Manneken-pis*—"the oldest citizen of the town"—which is supplied with a new dress on great holidays.

‡ For example—Gaguin of Douai, Oudegherst of Lille, and many others.

* Dibdin, in his Bibliographical Tour, remarks that near Coutances in particular, both people and landscape are strikingly English.

† Dr. Milner alone gives the superiority to the English cathedrals, and ascribes the origin of the ogive to English architects. See M. de Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, t. ii.

‡ "Do you see that small field?" one day said to me M. D., ex-president of one of the tribunals of Lower Normandy; "should it pass into the hands of four brothers to-morrow, it would be at once intersected by four hedges; so essential is it here that property should be distinctly defined."—The Normans are so given to the study of eloquence, says an author of the twelfth century, that one may hear even the little children declaiming like orators. . . . "quasi rhetores attendas" Gaufrid. Malaterra. l. i. c. 3.

§ M. Estancelin's publication, and l'Histoire des Villes de France, par M. Vitet. Dieppe, t. ii.—It seems that the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Dieppoise before the Portuguese, but that, through anxiety to keep the discovery secret, they lost the glory of it

sensuality is more in the ascendant, and nature becomes more powerful*. History and narrative no longer satisfy the want of reality, and the requisitions of the sense. The arts of design are called in to aid. Sculpture dates in France from Michel-Angelo's famous pupil, John of Bologna. Architecture, also, starts up afresh; no longer soberly and severely Norman, sharpened into ogives, and aspiring to the heavens, like a verse of Corneille's, but rich and full and largely ample. The ogive bends into soft curves, and voluptuous roundings. The curve sometimes sinks and narrows, at others swells and arches out. Round and undulating in its every ornament, the charming tower of Antwerp rises taperingly by easy gradations, like a gigantic *corbeille* †, braided with the rushes of the Scheldt.

Kept in as scrupulous order as the inside of Flemish houses, these Low Country churches dazzle the sight with their joint cleanliness and richness, with the splendour of their ornaments of brass, and their profusion of black and white marbles. They are cleaner than the Italian churches, and no less coquettish. Flanders is a prosaic Lombardy ‡—to which the sun and the grape are wanting. It has another want, which is at once forced on one's notice by the innumerable figures carved in wood, that one meets at every step on the ground-floor of these cathedrals—an economic species of sculpture, which does not compensate for the want of the marble people of the cities of Italy §. Above these churches, from the summit of their towers, sound the uniform and well-arranged chimes, the delight and pride of the Flemish community. The same air, repeated for centuries, from hour to hour, has satisfied the musical wants of generation after generation of artisans, who have been born and who have died on their work-bench ||.

But music and architecture are still too abstract. Sounds and forms are not sufficient. Colours are required, true and lively colours, living representations of the flesh and senses—pictures of rude and hearty festivals, in which red-faced men and white-faced women drink, smoke, and dance heavily ¶;

* See the Customs of the Countship of Flanders, translated by Legrand, Cambrai, 1719, vol. i.—Custom of Ghent, p. 119, rub. 26: "Niemandt en sal bastaerdi weesen van de moeder" . . . No one shall be a bastard by the mother's side, but shall succeed to her property along with the legitimate children, though not to the father's: a proof that they were not excluded on any religious or moral account from succeeding the father, but from doubts as to the paternity. In this custom we meet with community of goods, equal division of inheritance, &c.

† (*Corbeille* is the basket containing the bride's jewellery, dresses, shawls, &c., displayed at all weddings of consequence in France.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ We meet here with a predilection for the swan, which, according to Virgil, was the ornament of the Minicius and of the other rivers of Lombardy. Amiens, at the threshold of the ancient Belgium (that little Venice, as Louis XIV. called it), kept the king's swans on the Somme. The swan is a common sign of Flemish inns.

§ The cathedral of Milan alone is adorned with five thousand statues and small figures: so I have been assured by M. Franchetti, the author of the description of this wonderful church.

|| It is but fair to state that this musical instinct has led to great things here, particularly among the Walloons. Grétry comes from Liege.

¶ See in the Louvre the picture, styled in the catalogue

pictures, as well, of cruel tortures, of indecent and horrible-looking martyrs; of enormous, fresh, fat, and scandalously-beautiful Virgin Marys. Beyond the Scheldt, in the midst of gloomy marshes, of deep waters, and under the lofty dykes of Holland, begins the sombre and serious style of painting. Rembrandt and Gerard Dow paint, where Erasmus and Grotius* write. But in Flanders, in wealth and sensual Antwerp, the rapid pencil of Rubens will create the Bacchannalia of the art. The very mysteries of religion will be travestied † in his idolatrous paintings, which yet seem quivering with the fire and brute force of genius ‡. This extraordinary man, though born at Cologne, had none of the idealism of Germany. Selavonic blood ran in his veins; and reared in all the passionate temperament of the Belgians, he deified nature in his pictures, like a barbarian.

This frontier country of European races and tongues § is the great scene of the conquests, both of life and of death. Men here start up quickly, multiply unto the stifling of one another ||, and are

Fête Flamande (a Flemish Holyday). It is the expression of the most licentious and sensual bacchanalism.

* To my mind, Belgic genius, as far as regards the Flemish part of Belgium, reaches its highest pitch in Rubens; and, as regards the Walloon part, in Grétry. Spontaneousness prevails in Belgium; reflection in Holland. Thinkers have loved the last. Here Descartes came to defy the human *Ego*; and Spinoza, to institute the apotheosis of nature. However, the philosophy peculiar to Holland is that practical philosophy which applies itself to the political relations of nations, as exemplified in Grotius.—On comparing Germany with the Low Countries, we shall find Austr'a to be to Belgium what Prussia is to Holland; only, the latter is less energetic, its energies seeming to be sunk in its habitual calm and taciturn character. The pavilions in Holland may be seen taking tea in the streets, three or four times a day. Amongst this class, says a traveller, you will neither meet with a thief to rob you, nor a guide to direct you the way.

† In a picture by his pupil, Vandyke, is an ass on its knees before the host. See Forster's Travels in Germany and Flanders.

‡ His family was from Styria. The most impetuous of the European family he at either extreme; on the east, the Slaves of Poland, Illyria, Styria, &c.: on the west, the Celts of Ireland, Scotland, &c.

§ Dutch Flanders consists of places ceded by the treaty of 1648, and by the *Barrier Treaty* (1715); a name full of significance.—The March, or Marquisate of Antwerp, created by Otto II., was bestowed by Henri IV. on the bravest man of the empire, on Godfrey of Bouillon.—A fosse was dug, in 980, at Sas de Gand, by orders of Otto, to mark the boundary between the empire and France.—At Louvain, says a traveller, the language is German, the manners Dutch, and the cookery French.—Together with the idiom of Germany begin the astronomical names of places, as *Al-out, Out-ende*. In France, as is the case in all Celtic nations, the names are borrowed from the earth, as Lille, *l'île* (the island).

|| Previously to the emigration of the weavers into England, about 1382, Louvain contained fifty thousand weavers. Forster, vol. i. p. 364.—At Ypres (the *banlieue* of course included) there were two hundred thousand in 1832.—In 1380, "the inhabitants of Ghent sallied forth with three armies." Oudegherst, *Chronique de Flandre*, folio 301.—This moist country is, in many parts, as unhealthy as it is fertile. To signify a man of pallid complexion, they say, "he is like an Ypres corpse."—Belgium, however, has suffered less from the natural inconveniences, than from the political revolutions of its soil. Bruges was ruined by the revolt of 1492; Ghent, by that of 1540; Antwerp, by the treaty of 1648,

then disposed of in battle. Here is the great and lasting battle of races and of nations. That battle of the world which is said to have taken place on the death of Attila, is ever renewed in Belgium between France, England, and Germany, between the Celts and the Germans. This is the corner of Europe, the rendezvous of wars*. And hence the fatness of these plains; blood has no time to dry up there. Dreadful and varied struggle! Ours are the battles of Bouvines, Rosebek, Lens, Steinkerke, Denain, Fontenoi, Fleurus, and Jemappes—theirs, the battles of the Spurs and of Courtray. Must I name Waterloo?

England! England! you fought not on that day single-handed with France: you had the world with you. Why arrogate to yourself all the glory? What means your Waterloo-bridge? Is there then so much to glorify yourself withal, if the mutilated remnant of a hundred battles, if the last levy of France, a beardless legion, who had scarcely left school and their mother's tender kiss, were dashed to pieces against your mercenary army, spared in every battle, and kept to be used against us like the *dagger of mercy* with which the soldier, when at the last gasp, assassinated his victor?

Yet will I conceal nothing. Hateful as England is, she appears grand indeed, as she faces Europe, as she faces Dunkirk† and Antwerp in ruins‡. All other countries—Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and France—have their capitals on the west, opposite the setting sun: the great European vessel seems to float with her sails belled by the wind, which erst blew from Asia. England, alone, has her's pointed to the east, as if in defiance of that world—*unum omnia contra*. This last country of the old continent is the heretical land; the constant refuge of the exiled and the energetic. All who have ever fled servitude, Druids pursued by Rome, Gallo-Romans chased by the barbarians, Saxons proscribed by Charlemagne, famished Danes, grasping Normans, the persecuted Flemish manufacturers, the vanquished Calvinists—all have crossed the sea, and made the great island their country: *arta, beata petamus arta, dirites et insulas* . . . Thus England has thriven on misfortunes, and grown great out of ruins. But as these exiles, crowded into this narrow asylum, began to scrutinize each other, as they observed the differences of race and belief, which separated them, as they perceived themselves to be Cymry, Gael, Saxons, Danes, or Normans, their hate arose, and they flew

which raised Amsterdam to the height of prosperity by closing the navigation of the Scheldt.

* The great battle of modern times was fought just at the boundary line between the two languages—at Waterloo. A short distance on this side of it is *Mont-Saint-Jean*.—The mound reared in the centre of the plain looks like a barbarian *tumulus*, thrown up by Celts or Germans.

† Faulconnier, *Histoire de Dunquerque*, 1730, fol. t. ii. Vain were the petitions of the inhabitants of Dunkirk to Queen Anne, and their attempts to prove that the Dutch would be greater gainers than the English by the demolition of Dunkirk. No part of history is more painful or humiliating reading to a Frenchman than this. Cœrbourg had not then been created; and from Ostend to Brest, there did not remain one fortified harbour.

‡ "There," said Bonaparte, "I have a loaded pistol, pointed at England's heart."—He said at St. Helena.—The fortress of Antwerp is one of the great causes of my being here, its *existence*—one of the motives which determined me not to sign the peace of Châtillon.

to arms. Like the fights in the amphitheatre on "a Roman holiday," between wild beasts of all kinds, astonished to find themselves together, hippopotami, lions, tigers, and crocodiles—this amphibious race, after having long worried and torn each other in their ocean circus, cast themselves into the sea, and began to worry France. But the strife between themselves, to a certainty, is not yet at an end. Vainly does the triumphant beast defy the world from his sea-girt throne. A furious gnashing of teeth mocks his derisive smile—whether that the shrill and creaking-wheel of Manchester refuse to turn, or that the Irish bull, which he has pinned to the ground, lift up its head with sullen bellow.

The war of wars, the battle of battles, is that between England and France; all others are episcodical. The names dear to France are those of the men who have greatly dared against England. France has only one saint, the Pucelle (Joan of Arc); the great Guise, who wrung Calais from their grasp, and the founders of Brest, of Dunkirk, and of Antwerp*, theirs are the names—whatever else they may have done—which are dear and sacred to France. For my own part, I feel under personal obligations to these glorious champions of France and of the world, and to those whom they armed, to the Duguay-Trouins, the Jean-Barts, the Surcoufs—to those who disturbed the rest of the men of Plymouth, who made these islanders sadly shake the head, who forced them out of their taciturnity, who compelled them to elongate their monosyllables.

And think you undeserving of the praise and thanks of France, the brave Irish priests, the Jesuits, who on our every shore, and in the monasteries of St. Columbanus,—at St. Waast, St. Bertin, St. Omer, St. Amand, and at Douai, Dunkirk, and Antwerp†, organized the Irish missions—popular orators, ardent conspirators, lions and foxes, who would plot, fight, lie, or die for their country, as the crisis required!

The struggle with England has done France immense service. It has confirmed and stamped her nationality. By dint of banding against the common enemy, the provinces have become one people. The near view of the Englishman has made them feel themselves to be Frenchmen. It is with nations as with individuals; they know and distinguish their identity by the opposition of some extrinsic body. The I is marked out by the Not I. France has thus been formed under the influence of her great wars with England, at once by opposition and by composition; the opposition distinctly perceptible in the western and northern provinces through which we have just passed, whilst the composition is the work of the central provinces, of which we have still to speak.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

To find the centre of France, the nucleus round which all the rest is to cluster, we must not take the central point geodetically considered; that would be about Bourges and the Bourbonnois, the

* Richelieu, Louis XIV. and Bonaparte.

† England's victim, Mary Stuart, left her portrait in the abbey of St. André at Antwerp, where it still commands admiration.

cradle of the dynasty. We must neither fix on the main water-shed, which would be to choose the plateaux of Dijon or of Langres, between the sources of the Saône, the Seine, and the Meuse, nor even the point where the different races separate, which would be on the Loire, between Brittany, Auvergne, and Touraine. No; the centre is marked by political rather than natural, by human rather than material causes. It is an excentric centre, derived from and supported by the North, the principal theatre of national activity, and bordering on England, Flanders, and Germany. Protected, not isolated by the rivers which surround it, it is rightly characterized by its name of the Isle of France.

Looking at the great rivers of our country, and the grand territorial lines in which they are set, one would say that France runs with them to the ocean. On the north, the fall of the land is gentle, the rivers tame. There has been no physical hindrance to the free action of the policy which sought to group the provinces around the centre to which they tended. In every respect the Seine is the first, the most docile, and perfectible of our rivers. It has neither the capricious and treacherous gentleness of the Loire, nor the abruptness of the Garonne, nor the terrible impetuosity of the Rhône, which descends from the Alps like a wild bull, traverses a lake eighteen leagues in length, and hurries, eating into its banks, to the sea. The Seine hardly rises before it bears the impress of civilization. On reaching Troyes, it suffers itself to be cut and divided at will,—seeking out manufactories, and lending them its waters. Even when Champagne has rendered it the tribute of the Marne, and Picardy of the Oise, it needs no strong dykes, but quietly allows itself to be restrained by our quays; and after supplying those of Rouen, it quenches the thirst of Paris. From Paris to Havre is but one town. To know the beauty of this beautiful stream, it should be seen between Pont de l'Arche and Rouen, wandering among its innumerable islands, all encircled by the setting sun with waves of gold, whilst the apple-trees that border either bank view therein their streaked fruit of red and yellow, topped by whitish masses (*sous des masses blanchâtres*). This is a sight to which I can only compare the view of the Lake of Geneva, which, it is true, presents in addition the vineyards of Vaud, Meillerie, and the Alps. But the lake moves not on; it is immobility, or, at least, agitation without visible progress. The Seine moves onward, and bears with it the mind of France, of Paris—towards Normandy, the ocean, England, and far-distant America.

The first girdle round Paris consists of Rouen, Amiens, Châlons, and Reims, which are carried off in its vortex. To this is attached an external belt—Nantes, Bordeaux, Clermont, and Toulouse; Lyons, Besançon, Metz, and Strasbourg. Paris has another self in Lyons, in order to reach, by the Rhône, to the excentric Marseilles. The whirlwind of national life is densest in the north; in the south, the circles which it describes grow fainter and wider.

The true centre was early defined, and was specified from the time of St. Louis in the two works which laid the foundation of our jurisprudence—the *ETABLISSEMENTS DE FRANCE ET D'ORLÉANS*, and

the *COUTUMES DE FRANCE ET DE VERMANDOIS**. It is between the Orléanois and the Vermandois, between the angle of the Loire and the sources of the Oise, between Orléans and St. Quentin, that France at length found her centre, her seat, and place of rest, which she had vainly sought for in the Druidical countries of Chartres and of Autun, in the chief towns of the Gallic clans, Bourges and Clermont (*Araricum, Urbs Arvernorum*), and in the capitals of the Merovingian and Carolingian church, Tours and Reims†.

The Capetian France of the king of St. Denis‡ lies between feudal Normandy and democratic Champagne, and extends from St. Quentin to Orléans and Tours. The king is abbot of St. Martin's in the latter city, and first canon of St. Quentin's. From the situation of Orléans near the junction of her two great rivers, this city has often shared the fate of France. The names of Cæsar, of Attila, of Joan of Arc, and of the Guises, tell of the wars and sieges that Orléans has witnessed. The serious Orléans§ is close to Touraine, close to the soft and laughing country of Rabelais, just as the choleric Picardy is close to the ironical Champagne. Picardy seems to embrace the whole of the ancient history of France. Fredgonda and Charles the Bald held their courts either at Soissons||, Crépy, Verberly, or Attigny. When the throne succumbed to feudalism, the monarchs sought refuge on the mountain of Laon¶. Alternately asylums or prisons, Laon, Peronne, and St. Médard's abbey at Soissons, received within their walls Louis the Débonnaire, Louis d'Outremer, and Louis XI. The royal tower of Laon was destroyed in 1832**;

* To Orléans we owe the knowledge and teaching of the Roman law—to Picardy, the foundation of the feudal and common law. Two Picards, Beaumanoir and Desfontaines, laid the beginnings of our jurisprudence.

† Bourges, likewise, was a great ecclesiastical centre. The archbishop of Bourges was patriarch, primate of the Aquitaines, and metropolitan. As patriarch, his jurisdiction extended over the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, as primate over those of Bordeaux and of Auch (the metropolitan city of the second and third Aquitaine), and, as metropolitan, he had anciently eleven suffragans—the bishops of Clermont, St. Flour, Le Puy, Tulle, Limoges, Mende, Rodez, Valres, Castres, Cahors. But the erection of the bishopric of Alby into an archbishopric, only left the five first of these sees under his jurisdiction.

‡ So he is often termed in the chivalrous poems of the middle ages.

§ The rallying peculiar to the natives was bitter and rude, and won for them the nickname of *gaulpins* (the waspish). There was also a saying—"The gloss of Orléans is worse than the text."—*Sologne* bears a similar character—"A Sologne ninnny—more knave than fool."

|| Pepin was chosen king here in 750, and Louis d'Outremer died here.

¶ The mountain rises fifty toises above the plain where it stands; ninety above the level of the Seine at Paris; and a hundred above the sea-level. Peuchet et Chaulaire, *Statistique de l'Aisne*.—Three leagues from Laon is Notre-Dame de Liesse, founded in 1141. Three knights of the Laonnois, made prisoners by the Soldan, refused to abjure their religion; and when the Soldan sends his daughter to seduce them, they convert her, showing her a miraculous image of the Virgin. Flying with them, she carries off the image, which, on reaching the burgh of our Lady of Liesse, becomes too heavy to be carried further.

** See two articles by Victor Hugo and by M. de Montalembert, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

that of Peronne still remains—still does the monstrous feudal tower of the Coucys rear its proud head *—

*Je ne suis roi, ne duc, prince, ne comte aussi,
Je suis le sire de Coucy †.*

But the noblesse of Picardy early comprehended the great truth of French nationality. The heroic house of Guise,—the Picard branch of the princes of Lorraine,—defended Metz against the Germans, took Calais from the English, and had all but taken France from its king. The reign of Louis XIV. was described and judged by the Picard, St. Simon ‡.

Strongly feudal, strongly communal and democratic, was this ardent Picardy. The first communes of France are the great ecclesiastical cities of Noyon, St Quentin, Amiens, and of Laon. The same country produced Calvin, and the league against Calvin. A hermit of Amiens § hurried off all Europe, princes and people, to Jerusalem, in a religious transport. A legist of Noyon || changed the religion which had given birth to this transport in one-half of the countries of the West, founding a Rome of his own in Geneva, and making republicanism a matter of faith. Republicanism was pushed onwards in its frenzied course by Picard hands, from Condorcet to Camille Desmoulins, and from Desmoulins to Gracchus Babeuf ¶, and was sung by Béranger, in whose happy verse (*Je suis vilain, et très vilain,* (I am low-born, low-born very,) speak the feelings of our new France; in the first rank of which *vilains* we may well place the illustrious, pure-minded general Foy, the incarnation of military honour**.

* The tower of Coucy is a hundred and seventy-two feet high, and three hundred and five in circumference. Parts of the walls are thirty-two feet thick. Mazarin blew up the outward wall, in 1652, and, on the 18th of September, 1692, an earthquake split the tower from top to bottom.—An ancient romance makes one of the old Coucys nine feet high. Enguerand VII., who fought at Nicopolis, had his portrait, and that of his first wife, of colossal size, placed in the monastery of the Celestins at Soissons.—Among the famous Coucys, we may name Thomas de Harle, author of the law of Vervins (a law favourable to vassals), who died in 1130. Raoul I., the trouvère, and the lover, true or pretended, of Gabrielle de Vergy, who died in the crusade, in 1181.—Enguerand VII., who refused the sword of constable and got it given to Clisson; he died in 1397.—It has been mistakenly asserted that Enguerand III., in 1228, sought to make himself master of the throne during the minority of St. Louis. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, xii. 219, sqq.

† Nor king, nor duke, nor prince, nor count am I,
I am the lord of Coucy.

‡ This family, of recent date, which pretends to trace back to Charlemagne, should deem it sufficient honour to have produced one of the greatest writers of the seventeenth century, and the boldest thinker of our own age.

(The author alludes to the Duc de St. Simon, to the recent publication of whose *Mémoires* we owe our knowledge of the true character of Louis XIV., and of his times; and to the founder of the St. Simonians, or French socialists.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Peter the Hermit.

|| Calvin was born in 1509, died in 1564.

¶ Condorcet, born at Ribemont in 1743, died in 1794.—Camille Desmoulins, born at Guise, in 1762, died in 1794. Babeuf, born at St. Quentin, died in 1797.—Béranger was born at Paris, but is of a Picard family. See *La Biographie de l'Aïné*, par de Vismes.

** Born at Athisnon or at Ham. Several of the generals of

The South and the lands of the vine have, as we see, no monopoly of eloquence. Picardy is well worth Burgundy—the wine is in her heart. In one's course from the centre to the Belgian frontier, one would say that the blood runs quicker, and that it grows warmer as one advances towards the north*. Most of our great artists, Claude Lorraine, Poussin, Lesueur †, Goujon, Cousin, Mansart, Lenôtre, David, belong to the northern provinces; and if we pass Belgium, and cast a glance at that little France—Liège, standing alone where all around is foreign and speaks with foreign tongue, we find our Grétry ‡.

The history of the centre of the centre, of Paris, of the Isle of France, is the history of the whole monarchy. To specify a few proper names, would be to make the reader but poorly acquainted with them. They have both received and given the national character; they are not a country, but the epitome of the country. The history of feudalism alone in the Isle of France embraces wide relations. To speak of the Montforts is to speak of Jerusalem, of the crusade of Languedoc, of the commons of France and England, and of the wars of Brittany. Mention the Montmorencys, and you have to tell how feudalism devoted itself to the power of the monarchy, and of fervent loyalty, though marked by but moderate talent. As to the numerous writers born in Paris, they owe much of their idiosyncrasy to the provinces from which their families originally came, and, above all, express the genius of collective France, which shone so brightly in them. The universally distinguishing characteristics of French genius are clearly displayed in Villon, in Boileau, in Molière, Regnard, and Voltaire; and if you search for local peculiarities, the most you will find will be a touch of the old leaven of the civic mind (*l'esprit bourgeois*), less comprehensive than judicious, critical, and sarcastic, and which grew up a compound of Gallic good humour and parliamentary bitterness, between the *parriss Notre Dame* and the steps of the *Sainte-Chapelle* §.

the Revolution were from Picardy, as Dumas, Dupont, Serrurier, &c.—Let us add to the list of those who do honour to a district fertile in glory, Anselm of Laon; Ramus, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew; Boutilier, author of *La Somme Rurale*; the historian, Guibert de Nogent; the Jesuit, Charlevoix; the d'Estrées, and Genlises.

* I say the same of Artois, which has produced so many mystics. The abbé Prevost comes from Arras. The Bouillonnois has given in one individual a great poet and a great critic—our *Sainte-Beuve*.

† Claude Lorraine, born at Chamagne in Lorraine, in 1600, died in 1682.—Poussin, of a Soissons family, born at Andelys in 1594, died in 1665.—Lesueur, born at Paris in 1617, died in 1665.—Jean Cousin, founder of the French school of painting, born at Coucy, near Sens, about 1501.—Jean Goujon, born at Paris, died in 1572.—Germain Pilon, born at Loué, six leagues from Mans, died at the end of the sixteenth century.—Pierre Lescot, the architect of the Fountain of Innocents, born at Paris in 1510, died in 1571.—Callot, born at Nancy in 1593, died in 1635. This rapid and clever artist engraved fourteen hundred plates.—Mansart, the architect of Versailles and of the Hôtel des Invalides, born at Paris, in 1645, died in 1708.—Lenôtre, born at Paris in 1613, died in 1700, &c.

‡ Born in 1741, died in 1813.—Liège is greatly and curiously original, a town by itself. When will it meet with an historian?

§ (Or between the market place and the law courts. The *Chapelle* is the scene of Boileau's *Lutrin*.) TRANSLATOR.

But this indigenous and special character is still secondary; the general one predominates. To say Paris, is to sum up the whole monarchy. How happens one city to have become the perfect symbol of the entire country? It requires a whole history of the country to explain it, and Paris would be its last chapter. The Parisian mind is at once the most complex and the highest form of French genius. It would seem that the result of the annihilation of every local and provincial feeling must be altogether negative; but it is not so. From all these negations of material, local, and special ideas, results a living generality, a positive fact, a lively strength. We saw it in July*.

'Tis a great and marvellous spectacle which meets the eye as it wanders from the centre to the extremities, and embraces with its glance that vast and powerful organism, whose different parts are so fitly approximated, opposed, or blended together, the weak with the strong, the negative with the positive: to see the eloquent and winy Burgundy betwixt the ironical naïveté of Champagne, and the critical, polemical, and warlike ruggedness of Franche-Comté and Lorraine; to see the Languedocian fanaticism between the Provençal lightness, and the Gascon indifference; to see the grasping desires and spirit of conquest of Normandy, restrained between resisting Brittany and thick and massive Flanders.

Longitudinally considered, France undulates in two long organic systems; as the human body has its double apparatus, the gastric and cerebro-spinal. On the one hand are the provinces of Normandy, Bretagne, Poitou, Auvergne and Guyenne; on the other, those of Languedoc and Provence, Burgundy and Champagne, Picardy and Flanders—where the two systems unite. Paris is the sensorium.

The power and beauty of this great whole consist in the reciprocal support and continuity of the parts, in the distribution of the functions, in the division of social labour. Resistant and warlike strength, and the power of action are at the extremities; intelligence in the centre. The centre knows itself, and knows all the other parts. The frontier provinces, contributing more directly to defence, preserve military traditions, hand down the old barbaric heroism, and their energetic populations incessantly renew the centre, worn down by the rapid friction of the social movement. Sheltered from war, the centre thinks, operates changes in business, science, and policy, and transforms all it receives. It swallows raw life—which becomes transfigured†. In it the provinces see themselves; in it, they love and admire themselves under a superior form, hardly knowing themselves—

"Miranturque novas frondes, et non sua poma."

This beautiful centralization, through which France is France, is at the first view saddening. Its life is either at the centre or the extremities—all between is weak and pale. Between the rich Banlieue of Paris and the rich Flanders, you cross Picardy, old and sad: 'tis the fate of centralized

provinces, which are yet not the centre. The powerful attraction of the latter would seem to weaken and attenuate them. They look up to it only, are great through it only. Yet greater are they when thus preoccupied by their interest in the centre, than the excentric provinces can possibly be by their originality. Centralized Picardy has given us Condorcet, Foy, Béranger, and many others in modern times: what names have wealthy Flanders or rich Alsace produced in our day to compare with these? In France, man's chiefest boast is that he is born a Frenchman. The extremities are opulent, strong, heroic, but their interests are often different from those of the nation: they are less French than the rest. The Convention had to conquer provincial federalism, before it conquered Europe. Carlism is rife at Lille, and at Marseilles. Bordeaux is French, certainly, but equally colonial, American, or English. She must ship sugars, and sell her wines.

Nevertheless, 'tis one of the elements of the greatness of France, that on her every frontier she has provinces which blend something of foreign genius with their national character. To Germany, she opposes a German France; to Spain, a Spanish France; to Italy, an Italian France. Between these provinces and the adjoining countries, there is a certain degree of analogy, and yet an intense opposition. Different shades of the same colour do not harmonize so well together as opposite colours, and all great hatreds are between relatives. Thus Iberian-Gascony, loves not Iberian-Spain. These analogous yet differing provinces, with which France confronts the foreigner, oppose either a resisting or a neutralizing power to his attacks; and are so many various powers by which France touches the world and has a hold upon it. Sweep on then, my brave, my beautiful France, sweep with the long waves of thy undulating territory on to the Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the ocean. Heave against hard England, hard Brittany, and tenacious Normandy; to grave and solemn Spain, oppose scoffing Gascony; to Italy, the fire of Provence; to the massive German empire, the deep and solid battalions of Alsace and of Lorraine; to Belgian inflation and rage, the cool, strong wrath of Picardy—the sobriety, reflection, orderly spirit, and aptitude for civilization of the Ardennes and of Champagne.

On passing the frontier, and comparing France with the conterminous countries, the first impression is unfavourable. On almost every side, the advantage seems to rest with the stranger. From Mons to Valenciennes, and from Dover to Calais, the difference is painful. Normandy is an England, a pale England. What are the trade and commerce of Rouen and Havre, in comparison with those of Manchester and Liverpool? Alsace is a Germany, without that which constitutes the glory of Germany—philosophic omniscience and depth, with true poetic simplicity*. But we must not take France on this fashion, piece by piece, but embrace her in her entirety. It is precisely because cen-

* I do not mean to say that Alsace is without all this, but only that it has it in an inferior degree to Germany. It has produced, and still possesses, many distinguished philologists. Nevertheless, Alsacian genius is rather practical and political than speculative. The second house of Flanders and that of Austrian Lorraine, drew their origin from Alsace.

* (Alluding to the revolution of 1830.) TRANSLATOR.

† ("Il boit la vie brute, et elle se transfigure." This is one, out of many, of those bold figures of speech, which I have not altered—however forced, strange, or strong, since they constitute a marked feature of my author's style.) TRANSLATOR.

tralization is powerful, and general life strong and energetic, that local life is weak : and this it is which constitutes the beauty of our country. France has not the calculating head of England, ever perfecting new schemes of trade and money-making ; but then she has neither the desert of the Scottish Highlands, nor that cancer, Ireland. She has not, like Germany and Italy, twenty central points of science and of art. She has but one ; and but one centre of social life. England is an empire ; Germany, a country—a race ; France is a person.

Personality and unity form the steps by which the human being mounts high in the scale of being. I cannot explain my meaning better than by quoting the language of an ingenious physiologist.

In animals of an inferior order, as fish, insects, mollusca, and others, local life is strong. " Each segment of a leech contains a complete system of organs, a nervous centre, vascular recesses and enlargements, a pair of gastric lobes, respiratory organs, and seed vessels ; and it has been noticed that one of these segments can live for some time when cut off from the others. In proportion as beings rise in the scale of animal existence, the segments become more intimately united, and the collective whole more clearly individualized. Individuality in composite animals consists not only in the juncture of all the sets of organs, but in the common enjoyment of a number of parts,—a number that is found to increase the higher the animal rises in the scale, and the centralization to be more perfect as it ascends." Nations may be classified in a similar manner. The common enjoyment of a large number of parts, the continuity of these parts, and the reciprocal functions which they discharge to each other, constitute in their perfectness social superiority. Hence the social supremacy of France—the country of all others in which nationality, or national personality, is most closely united with individual personality.

To lessen, without destroying, local and private life to the advantage of common and federal life, is the great problem of human sociability, and mankind daily draw nearer to its solution. The foundation of monarchies and of empires forms the steps by which it is to be reached. The Roman empire was a first step, Christianity a second. Charlemagne and the Crusades, Louis XIV. and the Revolution, and the French Empire which rose out of the latter, are so many advances in the road. The nation whose centralization is the most perfect, is likewise that which, by its example, and by the energy of its action, has done most to forward the centralization of the world.

This condensation of France into oneness, and annihilation of provincial feeling, is frequently considered to be the simple result of the conquest of the provinces. Now, conquest may fasten and chain hostile parts together, but never unite them. Conquest and war have only laid open provinces to each other, and brought isolated people in contact ; the rest has been accomplished by the quick

and lively sympathy and social instinct of the Gallic character. Strange ! these provinces, differing in climate, habits, and tongue, have comprehended and loved one another, until they feel themselves one. The Gascon has been disturbed about Flanders, the Burgundian has rejoiced or suffered from what has taken place in the Pyrenees ; the Breton, seated on the shores of ocean, has felt the blows struck on the Rhine.

In this manner has been formed the general, the universal spirit of the country ; the local has disappeared daily ; the influence of soil, climate, and race, has given way before social and political action. Local fatalities have been overcome, and man has escaped from the tyranny of material circumstances. The Frenchman of the North has enjoyed the South, and gathered life from her sun. The southern has gained something of the tenacity, seriousness, and reflectiveness of the north. Society and liberty have subdued nature, and history has effaced geography. In this marvellous transformation spirit has triumphed over matter, the general over the particular, and the ideal over the real. Individual man is a materialist, and spontaneously attaches himself to local and private interests. Human society is a spiritualist ; it tends unceasingly to free itself from the miseries of local existence, in order to attain the lofty and abstract unity of—a country.

The deeper we plunge into past times, the further we are removed from this pure and noble generalization—the growth of modern feelings. Barbarian epochs present only the local, special, and material. Man holds by the soil ; he is bound to it, and seems a part of it. History, in these epochs, has to consider the land, and the race that inhabits it ; and each race is powerfully influenced by its own land. By degrees, the innate strength of man will disengage and uproot him from this narrow spot. He will leave it, reject it, trample it under foot, and require, instead of his natal village, town, or province, a great country by which he may himself become a sharer in the destinies of the world. The idea of such a country—an abstract idea but little dependent on the senses—will conduct him, by a new effort, to the idea of a universal country, of the city of Providence.

In the tenth century, the period to which the present history has now come down, we are very far from this light of modern times. Humanity must suffer and be patient, and deserve to reach alas ! what a long and painful initiation she has yet to undergo ! What rude trials to sustain ! How sharp will be the pangs of her own travail in bringing forth herself ! She must sweat blood as well as sweat to bring into the world the middle-age, and must see it die, after she has so long reared, nursed, and caressed it :—a child of sorrow, torn out of the very entrails of Christianity, born in tears, reared in prayer and in visions, and in anguish of heart, and that died without having brought any thing to a conclusion—but bequeathing to us so touching a memory of itself, that all the joys and the greatness of modern times will fail to console us.

* Memoir read at the Académie des Sciences, by M. Dugès. (See the *Temps* of the 31st of October, 1831.)

BOOK THE FOURTH.



CHAPTER I.

THE YEAR 1000. THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE
FRENCH POPE; ROBERT AND GERBERT.—FEUDAL
FRANCE.

THIS vast revelation of France which we have just traced in *space*, and are about to track in *time*, begins with the tenth century, with the accession of the Capets. From this period each province has its history: each acquires a voice, and becomes its own chronicler. At first, this immense concert of simple and barbarous voices—like the chanting on a Christmas eve, in the sombre light of a huge cathedral—sounds harsh and grating on the ear. Strange accents, singular and fearful, and hardly human voices, mingle in the deep acclaim—so as to render it doubtful whether you hear the hymn of thanksgiving for our Saviour's birth, or the dissonant strains of the Festival of Fools, or that of the Ass*; making a wild, fantastic harmony, unlike aught else, and in which every hymn seems to mingle, from the solemn strains of the *Dies iræ* to the thrilling burst of the *Alléluia*.

It was the universal belief of the middle age, that the thousandth year from the Nativity would be the end of the world†. In like manner, before

* ("In each of the cathedral churches there was a bishop or an archbishop of fools elected; and in the churches immediately dependent on the papal see, a pope of fools. . . . During the divine service this motley crowd were not contented with singing of indecent songs in the choir; but some of them ate and drank and played at dice upon the altar, by the side of the priest who celebrated mass. . . . These spectacles were always exhibited at Christmas-time or near it. . . . When the ceremony took place on St. Stephen's day, they sang, as part of the mass, a burlesque composition, called the prose of the Ass, or the Fool's Prose. It was performed by a double choir, and at intervals, in place of a burden, they imitated the braying of an ass." Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, &c. p. 345-6.—See, also, the note, p. 135.) TRANSLATOR.

† "Even now the day of His coming, in the terror of His majesty, is at hand, when all shepherds with their flocks will come into the presence of the ever-living Shepherd, &c." Concil. Trosleij. ann. 909 (Mansi, xviii. p. 266).—"Already he (Bernard, the hermit of Thuringia,) said the last day was nigh, and that the world would speedily be consumed." Tritheim Chronic. ann. 960.—"I heard a discourse delivered to the people in the church of Paris, on the end of the world, in which the preacher stated that Antichrist would come as soon as the thousand years were completed, and that the day of judgment would shortly follow." Abbas Floriacensis, ann. 990. (Gallandius, xiv. 141).—"In the year of our Lord 1000, such a rumour prevailed throughout many parts of the world, that the hearts of many were filled with fear and sorrow, and many thought the end of the world was nigh." Will. Godelli Chronic. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 262.—"For it was reckoned that the seasons and elements would relapse into chaos, to the destruction of the world." Rad. Glaber, l. iv. ibid. 49.

Christianity, the Etrusci had fixed ten centuries as the term of their empire; and the prediction had been fulfilled. Christianity, a wayfarer on this earth, a guest, exiled from heaven, readily adopted a similar belief. The world of the middle age was without the external regularity of the ancient city, and the firm and compact order within was not easily discernible. It only saw chaos in itself; but longed for order, and hoped to find it in death. Besides, in those days of miracles and legions, in which every thing assumed a strange hue, as if seen through the sombre medium of a stained casement, it might well be doubted whether all that met the eye in this apparently tangible world were other than a dream. Every day life was made up of marvels. The army of Otho had seen the sun fading; and as yellow as saffron*. King Robert, excommunicated for having married within the forbidden degrees, had received, when his queen lay in, a monster in his arms. The devil no longer took the trouble to conceal himself; for at Rome he had appeared openly to a pope who practised the black art. What with all these apparitions, visions, and strange voices, what with God's miracles and the devil's witchcrafts, who could deny the likelihood of the earth's resolving itself some morning into smoke, at the sound of the fatal trumpet? Then, might it well have happened that what we call life would have been found to be death; and that the world, in coming to a close, might, like the saint of the legend, *begin to live and cease to die* ("et tunc vivere incipit, morique desinit").

The idea of the end of the world, sad as that world was, was at once the hope and the terror of the middle age. Look at those antique statues of the tenth and eleventh centuries—mute, meagre, and their pinched and stiffened lineaments grinning with a look of living suffering, allied to the repulsiveness of death. See how they implore, with clasped hands, that desired yet dreaded moment, that second death of the resurrection, which is to redeem them from their unspeakable sorrows, and raise them from nothingness into existence, and from the grave to God. Here is imaged the poor world itself and its hopelessness, after having witnessed so many ruins. The Roman empire had crumbled away; so had that of Charlemagne. Christianity had then believed itself intended to do away with sorrow here below; but suffering still went on. Misfortune succeeded misfortune, ruin, ruin. Some other advent was needed; and men expected that it would arrive. The captive expected it in the gloomy dungeon, and in the bonds of the sepulchral *in pace*. The serf expected it whilst tracing the furrow under the shadow of his lord's hated tower. The monk expected it amidst the privations of the cloister, amidst the solitary tumults of his heart, amidst temptations

* Rad. Glaber, l. iv. c. 9.

and backslidings, repentances and strange visions, the wretched puppet of Satan who malignantly gambled around him, and who at night would draw aside his coverlet, and laughingly chuckle in his ear—"thou art mine *."

All longed to be relieved from their suffering, no matter at what cost! Better were it for them to fall once for all into God's hands, and rest for ever, though on a bed of fire, than remain as they are. Nor could that moment be without its charm, when the shrill and withering trump of the archangel should peal in the ear of their tyrants—for then, from dungeon, cloister, and from furrow,—one tremendous shriek of laughter would burst forth from the stricken and oppressed.

This fearful hope of the arrival of the judgment-day grew with the calamities that ushered in the year 1000, or that followed hard upon. It seemed as if the order of the seasons had been inverted, and the elements had been subjected to new laws. A dreadful pestilence made Aquitaine a desert. The flesh of those who were seized by it was as if struck by fire, for it fell rotting from their bones. The high roads to the places of pilgrimage were thronged with these wretched beings. They besieged the churches, particularly that of St. Martin's at Limoges, and crowded its portals to suffocation, undeterred by the stench around it. Most of the bishops of the south repaired thither, bringing with them the relics of their respective churches. The crowd increased, and so did the pestilence; and the sufferers breathed their last on the relics of the saints †.

A few years after it was still worse. From the East to Greece, Italy, France, and England, famine prevailed. "The *muid* of corn," says a contemporary writer ‡, "rose to sixty sous of gold. The rich lost colour and flesh. The poor dug up and eat the roots in the woods. Many, horrible to relate, were driven by hunger to feed on their fellow creatures. The strong waylaid the weak, tore them in pieces, roasted them, and eat them. Children would be tempted into lonely places by the offer of an egg, or of fruit, and then made away with. To such extremes did this madness of famine go, that the very beasts were safer than man. As if it

were an understood thing that it was to be eaten, human flesh was exposed for sale in the marketplace of Tournus. The vender did not deny the fact, and was burnt. The night succeeding his execution, the self-same flesh was dug up by a starving wretch, who eat it, and was burned as well."

" A wretch had built a hut in the forest of Maçon, near the church of St. Jean de Castanedo, where he murdered in the night-time those who had besought his hospitality. The bones of his victims caught the eye of one of his guests, who managed to escape; and there were found in his hut forty-eight skulls of men, women, and children. Driven by hunger, many mixed clay with their flour *. Still further misfortune followed. The wolves, allured by the number of unburied bodies, attacked the living. The God-fearing then dug trenches, whither father and mother were borne by son, and brother by brother, as soon as life began to fail; and the survivor himself, despairing of life, would often cast himself in after them. A council of the prelates of the cities of Gaul being summoned, in order to devise some remedy for these woes, it was agreed that, since there was not food for all, the stoutest should be assisted as much as possible, for fear of the land's being left uncultivated."

Men's hearts were softened by this excess of misery, and rendered accessible to the touch of pity. Dreading the sword of God, they sheathed their own. It was no longer worth while to fight or to wage war for an accursed world, which they were about to quit. Vengeance was useless: all saw that their enemies' lives, like their own, were doomed. When the pestilence attacked Limoges, men hurried to throw themselves at the feet of the bishops, pledged themselves thenceforward to live peaceably, respect the churches, and to abstain from plundering travellers, or at least such as journeyed under the protection of priests or of monks. All war was prohibited during the holy-days of each week, that is, from the Wednesday evening to the Monday morning: a custom called *the peace*, and subsequently, *the truce of God* †.

In this general despair, few enjoyed any peace save under the shadow of the Church. Men crowded to lay on the altar gifts of lands, of houses, and of serfs; all which acts have the imprint of the one universal belief:—"The end of the world draws nigh," so they ran, "each day brings fresh destruction; therefore I, count or baron, give to such or such church for the benefit of my

* "A mannikin, of foulest aspect, stood at the foot of my bed. He was undersized, with a slender neck, hollow features, coal-black eyes, wrinkled and contracted brow, flat nostrils, blubber lips, pinched and falling in chin, with a goat's head, sharp and goat-like ears, with staring and dishevelled hair, dog's teeth, peaked head, deformed chest, humped back, flabby buttocks, clad in foul attire, his body quivering and restless, and tearing down the top of my coverlet, shook the whole bed awfully, &c. &c." Rad. Glaber, l. v. c. 1.

† Translatio S. Genulf, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 361.—Chronic. Ademari Cabannens. *ibid.* 147.

‡ Rad. Glaber, l. iv. c. 4. In the course of seventy-three years there were no fewer than forty-eight famines and epidemic disorders.—In the year 987, a great famine and epidemic disease; in 989, a great famine; between 990 and 994, a famine and the burning sickness; between 1003 and 1008, famine and great mortality; 1010–1014, famine, burning sickness, and great mortality; 1027–1029, famine, so that men eat each other; 1031–1033, a cruel famine; in 1036, famine and pestilence; 1045–46, famine both in France and Germany; 1053–1058, famine and great mortality for five years; 1059, a seven years' famine, and corresponding mortality. (The *muid* is equal to five quarters of corn.)

* Chronic. Virdunense, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 209.—The savages of South America and the Negroes of Guinea are known to eat potter's earth, or clay, during part of every year. It is sold, fried, in the markets of Java. Alex. de Humboldt, *Tableaux de la Nature* (the French translation), vol. i. p. 200.

† "The people of Aquitaine, and all the provinces of Gaul, in imitation of them, either through fear or love of God, adopted a measure which proceeded from Divine inspiration. It was decreed that from Wednesday evening to the morning of the following Monday, none should dare to lay violent hands on any thing, or to seek to gratify any private revenge, or even to require surety of another. The punishment for breaking this law was death, or banishment from one's country and from Christian society. Thus all the world agreed to give this law the name of *trêve de Dieu*." Rad. Glaber, l. v. c. 1.

soul" . . . or else, "Reflecting that slavery is contrary to Christian liberty, I declare such or such a one, my born thrall, him, his children, and his heirs, free."

Even this did not set their minds at rest. They longed to forsake the sword, the baldric, and all the insignia of the military service of the age, in order to screen themselves among monks, and under monkly garb, seeking but a corner of a convent in which to bury themselves. The difficulty was to hinder the great of the earth, kings and dukes, from becoming monks, or at least lay brothers. William I., duke of Normandy, would have forsaken all and retired into the monastery of Jumièges, had the abbot permitted him; still, he managed to carry away a cowl and a frock, which he secured in a small coffer, the key of which he always wore at his girdle*. Hugh I., duke of Burgundy, and, before him, the emperor Henry II., had desired to turn monks. Hugh was prevented from carrying his wish into effect by the pope. Henry, on entering the church of the abbey of St. Vanne, at Verdun, had exclaimed with the Psalmist

"This is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it!" Being overheard by a monk, who put the abbot on his guard, the latter invited him to attend a chapter of the house, and then inquired into his intentions. "By the grace of God," replied the emperor with tears, "I seek to renounce the garments of this world, to assume yours, and to live, serving God, with your brethren."—"Will you then," said the abbot, "in compliance with our rule, and the example of Jesus Christ, promise obedience until death?"—"I will," was the answer.—"Well, I accept you as monk; from this day forward I take on myself the care of your soul, and what I order, that do you with the fear of God before you. I bid you return to the government of the empire, which God has confided to your charge, and to watch with all your soul, in fear and trembling, over the safety of the whole kingdom†." The emperor, bound thereto by his vow, sorrowfully obeyed. However, he had long previously been a monk, having lived with his wife as brother with sister; and he is honoured by the Church with the name of Saint Henry.

Another saint, though not canonized by her, is our own king Robert. "Robert," says the author of the Chronicle of St. Bertin, "was very pious, wise, and well read, not un-killed in philosophy, and an excellent musician. He set to music the hymn *Adsit nobis gratia*, and the responses, *Judrea et Hierusalem, Concede nobis quesumus*, and *Cornelius Centurio*, which he laid, arranged and scored, on St. Peter's altar at Rome, as well as the anthem, *Eripe*, and many other fine things. His wife, who was named Constance, asked him one day to do something in her honour; when he composed the response, *O constantia martyrum*, which the queen, on account of the word *constantia*, thought he had written on purpose for her. The king used to go to the church of St. Denys in his royal robes, and crowned with his crown, to superintend the choir at matins, vespers, and at mass, to sing with the monks, and to challenge them to trial of skill in singing. Thus, as he was besieging a certain castle

on St. Hippolyte's day, for which saint he had a peculiar veneration, he left the siege and repaired to the church of St. Denys to lead the choir during mass; and, whilst he was piously singing with the monks the *Agnus Dei, dona nobis pacem*, the walls of the castle suddenly fell down, and the king's army took possession of it: and this, Robert always attributed to the merits of St. Hippolyte*."

"One day on his return from prayers, in performing which he, as was his wont, had shed showers of tears, he found his lance adorned by his vain spouse with silver ornaments. Whilst examining them, he bethought himself of looking out to try to see some poor person who might want this silver; and, seeing a poor man in rags, he asked him privily for something to take off the silver with. The poor man did not know what he meant to do with it; but this servant of God told him to make haste to fetch him some tool or other that would serve: meanwhile, he betook himself to prayer. The other returning with a tool, they shut themselves up together, and strip the lance of its ornaments, which the king put with his own holy hands into the poor man's wallet, advising him, as he was used, to take care that his wife did not see him. When the queen came she was much surprised at seeing his lance so stripped; and Robert swore by the Lord's name—though not in earnest—that he knew not how it was done†."

"He had a great horror of lying. Thus to screen those who tendered him their oaths, and himself as well, he had a crystal shrine made, let into a golden one, in which he took care there should be no relic; and he made his nobles, who were not aware of his pious deceit, swear upon it. In like manner, he caused the meaner sort to swear on a shrine in which he had placed an egg. Oh! how exactly do the words of the prophet apply to this holy man—"Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill? Even he, that leadeth an uncorrupt life, and doeth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart. He that hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour, and hath not slandered his neighbour‡."

Robert extended his forgiveness to all sinners. "As he was supping at Etampes, in a castle which Constance had just built for him, he ordered the gate to be opened to all the poor. One of them stationed himself at the king's feet, who fed him under the table. But the man, not forgetting to take care of himself, cut off with a knife a golden ornament six ounces weight which hung from his knees, and made off as quickly as possible. On rising from table, the queen perceived her lord to be despoiled, and, giving way to her passion, assailed the holy man with violent words—"What enemy of God, my good lord, has dishonoured your gold-adorned robe?" "No one," he replied, "has dishonoured me: undoubtedly, he who took it wanted it more than I, and with God to aid, it will be of service to him§."—Another thief cutting off the half of the fringe of his cloak, Robert turned round and said to him, "Get thee away, get thee away, be content with what thou hast taken, some one else

* Will. Gemet. l. iii. c. 3.

† Vita S. Richardi, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 373.

• Chronic. Sith. S. Bertini, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 299.

† Helgaldi, Vita Roberti, c. 8. ibid. 162.

‡ Helgaldus, c. 11.

§ Ibid. c. 3.

will want the rest.' The thief departed, covered with confusion *.—He showed the same indulgence to those who laid their hands on sacred things. One day whilst at prayer in his chapel, he saw a clerk, named Ogger, stealthily ascend the altar, take down a taper and carry off the candlestick under his surplice. The priests, who should have hindered the theft, are in trouble, and begin to question the king, who assures them that he saw nothing of it. This story coming to the queen's ears, bursting with rage, she swears by her father's soul that she will have their eyes torn out of the keepers' heads, if they do not recover what has been stolen from the treasury of the holy and the just. As soon as this sanctuary of piety knew this, he sent for the thief, and said to him, 'Friend Ogger, haste thee hence, lest my inconstant Constance † eat thee up. What thou hast taken will be enough to carry thee to thy own country. The Lord be with thee! He even gave him money to defray his expenses; and when he thought the thief out of the reach of pursuit, he said cheerfully to those about him, 'Why all this trouble in looking after a candlestick? the Lord has given it to some one of his poor ‡.'—Finally, another time, having risen in the night to go to church, he saw two lovers lying in a corner. He immediately undid from his neck a costly fur, and threw it over these sinners. Then, he went to pray for them §."

Such was the gentleness and innocence of the first Capetian king. I say the first king, since his father, Hugh Capet ||, mistrusting his title, never would wear the crown, but was contented with wearing the cope, as abbot of St. Martin's at Tours. It was in the reign of this good Robert that the dreaded year 1000 came and passed away; and it seemed as if Divine wrath had been disarmed by this simple-minded man, who was as an incarnation of the peace of God. Man was comforted, and hoped to last yet a little while, seeing, like Hezekiah, that the Lord was pleased to add to his days, and, rising as if out of his death-struggle, set once more about living, working, and building—but first of all, building the houses of God. "About three years

after the year 1000," says Glaber, "throughout almost the whole world, and especially in Italy and Gaul, the basilicas of the churches were restored, although most of them were still so beautiful as not to require it. Yet the people of Christendom seemed to contend with each other who should erect the most magnificent ones. One might have thought that the world was shaking off its weight of years, to assume the white robe of the Church *."

To reward such piety, miracles abounded. Marvelous revelations and visions discovered holy relics, which had long been buried and concealed from every eye. "The saints appeared to claim the honour of resurrection upon earth, and manifested themselves to the faithful, whom they filled with comfort †." The Lord himself descended on the altar. The doctrine of the real presence, till now obscured and veiled in shadow, burst forth in the belief of the people, like a sunlight of poetry illuminating and transfiguring the West and the North. "All this was surely foretold by the very position of the cross of our Lord, when the Saviour was suspended on it on Mount Calvary. In fact, whilst the East, with its fierce tribes, was concealed behind the face of our Lord, the West catching His looks, received from His eyes the light of the faith with which it was soon to be filled. His all-powerful right hand, extended for the great work of mercy, showed the North, which was about to be softened by the effect of the Divine word, whilst his left fell to the share of the barbarous and tumultuous nations of the South ‡."

This grand idea of the struggle between the West and the East, which has just fallen in infantile words from the ignorant mouth of the monk, is prophetic of futurity and of the march of mankind. Great are the signs displayed already; thousands of men proceeded one by one, and as pilgrims, to Rome, to Monte-Cassino, and to Jerusalem. Already, the first French pope, Gerbert, proclaims the crusade. His spirited letter §, in which he summons all

* Helgaldus, c. 7.

† A play on his wife's name, Constance.

‡ Helgaldus, c. 9.

§ Ibid. c. 18.

|| It has been supposed that the word Capet was used sarcastically, as coming from *Capit'o*, "large head." Undue largeness of the head is often a mark of idiocy. One chronicle terms Charles the Simple, *Capet*—"Karolus Stultus vel Capet." Chronic. St. Florent. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 53.—But Capet is clearly used for *Chapel* or *Coppatus*. Many French chronicles, written long afterwards, translate it *Hue Chapel* or *Chappet*. (Ser. R. Fr. x. 293. 303. 313.) Thus the Chronic S. Médard. Suess. *ibid.* ix. 56, says, "Hugo, cognominatus *Chapel*." See, also, Richard de Poitiers, *ibid.* 24, and the Chronic. Andegav. x. 272. In Alberic Tr. Font. ix. 286, we find Hugo *Coppatus*, and, a little further on, *Capet*; in Güll. Nang. ix. 82. Hugo *Capucii*; and in Chron. Stroz. x. 273, Hugo *Caputius*. The latter chronicle adds, that the son of Hugh, the pious Robert, chanted vespers with a cope on.—The ancient standard of the kings of France was the cope of St. Martin; and from this, says the monk of St. Gall, they gave their oratory the name of *Chapel*. (Capella, quo nomine Francorum reges propter cappam S. Martini quam secum ob sui tuitionem et hostium oppressionem iugiter ad bella portabant, Sancta sua appellare solebant. Mon. Sangali. l. i. c. 4.)

* Rad. Glaber, l. iii. c. 4. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 29. Igitur infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet pleræque decenter locatæ minime indiguissent. Æmulabatur tamen quæque gens Christicolarum adversus alteram decentiore frui: erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret.

† Ibid. c. 6. Revelata sunt diversorum argumentorum indicia, quorsum diu latuerant, plurimorum sanctorum pignora. Nam veluti quoddam resurrectionis decorem præstolantes, Dei nutu fidei obtutibus patuere, quorum etiam mentibus plurimum intulere golanem.

‡ Rad. Glaber, l. i. c. 5.

§ Gerberti Epist. 107. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 426. "The church at Jerusalem to the Church Universal governing the sceptres of the kingdoms:

"Since thou art flourishing, O immaculate spouse of God, of whom I profess myself to be a member, I have a lively assurance that by thy aid I shall be enabled to lift my bruised head. Could I doubt thee, mistress of the world, shouldst thou recognize me as thy own? Will any of thine think that my unnumbered sufferings are no care of his, or spurn me as a vile thing? Though now cast down, the world once thought me its chosen spot. Mine were the oracles of the prophets, the ensigns of the patriarchs. From me went forth the Apostles, the illuminators of the world: in me, the world sought the faith of Christ, and in me found its

princes in the name of the holy city, precedes by a century the preaching of Peter the Hermit. Thus, preached by a Frenchman, and executed under a French pope, Urban II., executed chiefly, too, by Frenchmen, the great common undertaking of the middle age, that which served to combine the Franks into one nation, will be ours, will belong to us, and will make known the deep-rooted social sympathies of France. But, there is still a century to it: the world must settle down before plunging into action. In the year 1000, a politician founds the popedom, and a saint founds royalty—these are two Frenchmen, Gerbert and Robert.

This Gerbert, they say, was nothing less than a magician*. Expelled from his monastery at Aurillac, he takes refuge at Barcelona, and unfrocks himself, in order to study literature and algebra at Cordova. Repairing then to Rome, he is chosen by the great Otho as tutor for his son and grandson. Subsequently, he gets the appointment of professor at the celebrated school of Reims, where our good king Robert is his disciple. Taken by the archbishop as his secretary and confidant, he manages to have him deposed in his own favour by the influence of Hugh Capet. It was a great thing for the Capets to have such a man attached to their interests: if they help him to become archbishop, he helps them to become kings.

Being forced to seek the protection of Otho III., he becomes archbishop of Ravenna, and, finally, pope. He sits in judgment on the great; nominates kings (those of Hungary and Poland), gives laws to republics, and rules both by the influence of the popedom and of his own knowledge. He preaches the Crusade: an astrologer has foretold that he will die in Jerusalem. All seems conspiring to this end, when one day that he was sitting at Rome in a chapel called Jerusalem†, the devil makes his appearance and claims the pope. The bargain had been struck between them, among the Spanish

Redeemer. For although his Divine presence is every where, yet here he put on humanity, was born, suffered, buried, and ascended to heaven. But though the Prophet said 'His sepulchre shall be glorious,' the devil tries to make it illustrious by a scene of horror.

and the sword, and what arms cannot do, that effect by counsel and money. What wilt thou give, or to whom? Veilily, little out of much, and to one who has given thee freely all thou hast, nor yet receives without a return, for He returneth manifold, and with everlasting treasure. Through me He blesses thee; so that giving becomes usury, and redeems thy sins, that thou mayst live and reign with Him.' This letter stirred the Pisans to instant action. They set out at once, and massacred, it is said, a prodigious number of infidels in Africa. Ser. R. Fr. x. 426.

* Guill. Malmesbury l. ii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 243. "It were not amiss to set down the prevailing rumours . . . Gerbert, repairing to the Saracens, who, according to the common custom of their race, were studying divinations and incantations, satisfied his longings . . . There he learnt what the flight and notes of birds portended, and to call up phantoms from the shades below . . . Having raised the devil by charms, he covenants to worship him." Fr. André Chronic. lib. 289. "Some accuse him of practising necromancy . . . he is said to have died, struck by the devil."—Chronic. Reg. Francorum. lib. 301 . . . "the monk Gerbert, a philosopher, nay, rather, a necromancer."

† (This story of dying in Jerusalem will remind the reader of the death of our Henry IV.) TRANSLATOR.

Moors. Gerbert was then a student; when finding that he was engaged in a tedious pursuit, he sold himself to the devil for a short cut to knowledge, and learnt from him the mystery of Arab numerals, and of algebra, and of making a horologe, and of getting himself made pope. How could he have done all this, otherwise? He has sold himself, and therefore belongs to his master. The devil proves it to him, and then carries him off—"Thou didst not think that I was a logician."

Apart from their friendship for this diabolical man, there was no wickedness in the first Capets. The good Robert, indulgent and pious, was a *king's man*, a king sympathizing with his people, a crowned monk. The Capets were commonly supposed to be of plebeian race, and of Saxon descent. Their ancestor, Robert the Strong, had defended the land against the Normans, and Eudes was ever at war with the emperors, who supported the later Carolingians; but the succeeding monarchs, down to Louis the Fat, are without any military pretensions. It is true that, in recording the accession of each, the chronicles do not fail to tell us that he was exceeding knightly; but we find that they can only carry on war by the help of the Normans and of the English—the archbishop of Reims in particular. Probably the monks found the funds, whilst the Normans were the soldiers. The Capetian princes, leaning to the priests, to whom they owed their elevation, sought, undoubtedly by their advice, to link themselves with the past, and, by distant alliances with the Greek empire, to cast the antiquity of the Carolingians into the shade. Hugh Capet sought the hand of one of the princesses of Constantinople‡ for his son. His grandson, Henry I., married the daughter of the czar of Russia, who by the mother's side was a Byzantine princess of the Macedonian stock, which traced back to Alexander the Great, and Philip, and through them to Hercules. The king of France named his son Philip, and the name was a favourite one with the Capetians. Genealogies of this kind flattered the romantic traditions of the middle age, which explained after its own fashion the real connexion between the Indo-Germanic races by deriving the Franks from the Trojans, and the Saxons from Alexander's Macedonian soldiers†.

As we have already stated, the elevation of this

- Dante, *Inferno*, c. 27 —

"Tu non pensavi, ch'io loico fossi"

The two great myths, identifying the philosopher with the magician, in the legends of the middle age, are those of Gerbert and Albert the Great, and it is remarkable that France here anticipates Germany by two centuries. In compensation, however, the German sorcerer leaves a deeper impression, and revives, in the fifteenth century, in Faust, the inventor of printing.

† Gerberti Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 400 "Since we have an only son, himself a king, nor can find a suitable match for him on account of the proximity of the neighbouring kings, we vehemently affect a daughter of the holy empire."

‡ In the panegyric of Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, written in German, Caesar, in obedience to the orders of the senate, invades Germany, defeats the Suabians, the Bavarians, and the Saxons, Alexander's old soldiers, and finally meeting with the Franks, descended like him from the Trojans, he gains them over, leads them with him into Italy, expels Cato and Pompey from Rome, and founds the Barbarian monarchy. Schilter, t. 1.

dynasty to the throne was the work of the priests, to whom Hugh Capet made over his numerous abbies; and the work of Richard the Fearless*, duke of Normandy, as well. The latter, who had been so ill-treated when a child by Louis d'Outremer†, and had been more than once betrayed by Lothaire, had good reasons to hate the Carolingians. Hugh Capet was both his ward and his brother-in-law; and, besides, it suited the Norman to attach himself to the ecclesiastical party, and to the dynasty, which was the creature of that party. His hope, no doubt, was to mount over both by the sword. This was the hope, as well, of the Norman house of Blois, Tours, and Chartres. The founder of this family, which likewise held the distant possessions of Provins, Meaux, and Beauvais, was one Thiebolt; according to some a relative of Rollo's, but allied with king Eudes, as Rollo was with Charles the Simple. Thiebolt had married one of Eudes' sisters, had got Tours given to him, and had purchased Chartres from the old pirate Hastings‡. His son, Thibault le Tricheur (the Tricker), married the daughter of Herbert de Vermandois, the enemy of the Carolingians, and supported the Capets against the emperors of Germany. Jealous rivals of the Normans and of Normandy, the Normans of Blois for some time refused to recognize Hugh Capet, out of hatred to those who had made him king. But he won them over by marrying his son, king Robert, to the famous Bertha, widow of Eudes the First, of Blois (son of Thibault le Tricheur). Bertha, who was next in succession to her brother, Rodolph, king of Burgundy, who had willed it to the Empire, could bring the Capets some pretensions to this kingdom; and therefore the German pope, Gregory V., the creature of the emperors, laid hold of a distant connexion between the parties as a pretext to compel Robert to forsake his wife, or, in case of refusal, to excommunicate him. The history, or fable, of the manner in which Robert was deserted, even by his servants, who threw whatever he had touched into the fire, and the legend of the monster born of Bertha, are well known. Over the porch of many of our cathedrals is the statue of a queen, with a goose's foot, which seems intended to represent Robert's wife§.

By her first marriage with the count of Blois, Bertha had had a son, named Eudes, after his

father, and surnamed the *Champenois*, from his having added to his vast domains a part of La Brie and of Champagne. Eudes had the boldness to wage war on the Empire. Taking possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, which he claimed through his mother, he subjected the whole country as far as the Jura, and Vienne opened her gates to him. Summoned at once by Lorraine and by Italy, which offered him the crown*, he aspired to restore the ancient kingdom of Austrasia. He took Bar, and marched upon Aix-la-Chapelle, where he made sure of being crowned at Christmas. But the duke of Lorraine, the count of Namur, the bishops of Liege and of Metz, and all the barons of the country, hastened to meet and give him battle. He was slain whilst attempting to escape, and was only known by his wife's recognizing a secret mark on his body†. (A.D. 1037.)

His states, which, on his death, were divided into the countships of Blois and of Champagne, ceased to form a formidable power. More amiable than warlike, the counts of Blois and of Champagne, poets, pilgrims, and crusaders, had neither the settled purpose nor the tenacious spirit of their rivals of Normandy and of Anjou.

The house of Anjou was neither Norman, like those of Blois and of Normandy, nor Saxon, like that of the Capets, but indigenous. It ascribed its origin to a Breton, a native of Rennes, Tortulf, the stout huntsman‡. His son took service with Charles the Bald; and, for his valorous deeds against the Normans, was rewarded with some lands in the Gatinais, and the hand of the duke of Burgundy's daughter. After these, Ingeiger, Tortulf's grandson, and the two Fulk, were implacable enemies of the Normans of Blois and of Normandy, as well as of the Bretons; disputing with the first and second the possession of Touraine and of Maine, and, with the third, that of the territory extending from Angers to Nantes. Braver than the Poitevins and Aquitanians, and more united and amenable to discipline than the Bretons, the Angevins gained great advantages in the south, extended their conquests beyond the Loire, and pushed on as far as Saintes, succeeding to the preponderating influence momentarily possessed by the counts of Blois and of Champagne. When king Robert was obliged to give up Bertha—the widow and the mother of these counts—the Angevin, Fulk Nerra, forced him to marry his niece Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse§. Fulk's brother, Bou-

* Willelm. Gemette. l. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 184. "On the death of Lothaire, king of the Franks, Hugo Capeth, by the aid of duke Richard, is unanimously chosen in his stead."

† Louis kept him prisoner, but one of his servants saved him in a bundle of forage. Willel. Gem. Hist. c. 4, 5.

‡ Alberic. ad ann. 964. Hastings, præ timore, venditâ Theobaldo civitate Carnotena, clam discessit.

§ P. Damiani Epist. l. ii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 492. "Of whom he begot a son, having a swan's neck and head. Whom, the husband, truly, and the wife, almost all the bishops of Gaul excommunicated by common consent; and so great was the terror of this excommunication felt by the people, that all deserted him, &c."—See Buller's Dissertation on the queen Pedaque (*pie d'æ*, with the goose-foot).

(Robert was distantly related to Bertha; but the ground of excommunication was his having stood godfather to her son by a former marriage, which was considered to constitute a spiritual relationship, and according to the canons of the Church presented a bar to marriage, without previous ecclesiastical dispensation.) TRANSLATOR.

* Rad. Glaber, l. iii. c. 9. *Præstolabantur illum legati ex Italia directi, deferentes ei aram principatus, ut aiebat, totius Italie regionis. Mediolanenses . . . existimabant eundem Odonem posse percipere regnum Austrasiorum atque ad eos transire, ut illic gereret principatum.*

† Id. *ibid.* It is the tale of the discovery of Harold by his mistress Edith, and is reproduced at the death of Charles the Rash.

‡ Gesta Consul. Andegav. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 256. *Habitator rusticanus fuit, ex copia silvestri et venaticis exercitio victians.*

§ Milian. Guillelmi Tholosani comitis, nomine Constantiam, says an historical fragment, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 211.—Will. Godellus, *ibid.* 262.—"Surnamed Candida, on account of her excessive fairness." Rad. Glaber, l. iii. c. 2.—She was born to William Taille-fer, by Arsinde, daughter of Geoffrey Grise-Gonelle, count of Anjou, and sister to Fulk.—Raoul Glaber complains that the new queen brought a crowd of Aquitanians and Auvergnats to the court, "full of

chard, was already count of Paris, and held the important castles of Melun and of Corbeil: his son became bishop of Paris*. Thus the good Robert, in the hands of the Angevins, and guided by his wife Constance and her uncle Bouchard, had leisure to compose hymns and attend to the choral service. Hugh de Beauvais, one of his immediate attendants, who endeavoured to procure the recall of Bertha, was slain with impunity in his very presence†. Beauvais was of the family of the counts of Blois, into which Bertha had been previously married. The bishop of Chartres, Fulkbert, wrote to Fulk, accusing him of having instigated the murder. Fulk was already in bad repute with the Church for his daily spoliation of her possessions. He started for Rome with a round sum of money, purchased absolution from the pope, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, on his return, built the abbey of Beaulieu, near Loches, which, on the refusal of the bishops, he got consecrated by a legate. The whole career of this bad man was an alternation of signal victories, of crimes, and of pilgrimages. He went thrice to the Holy Land, the last time on foot; he died of fatigue at Metz‡. He was twice married; and one of his wives he banished to Jerusalem, the other he burnt as an adulteress. But he founded numerous monasteries, as those of Beaulieu, St. Nicolas d'Angers, &c., and built many castles; among others, those of Montrichard, Montbazou, Mirebeau, and Château-Gonthier. His black Devil's Tower is still pointed out at Angers. He is the true founder of the power of the counts of Anjou. His son, Geoffrey Martel, defied and slew the count of Poitiers, took prisoner the count of Blois, and exacted Touraine as the price of his ransom; and, as guardian of his young count, he also governed Maine. Despite internal discord, the house of Anjou finally prevailed over those of Blois and of Champagne; both of which were allied by marriage to the Norman conquerors of England. But the counts of Blois had but temporary possession of the English throne; whilst the Angevins, under the name of Plantagenets§, kept possession of it from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, annexed to it for a time the whole of our coast from Flanders to the Pyrenees, and had all but annexed France.

The Isle of France and the king, both for a while in the power of the Angevins, soon escaped from their hands. As early as the year 1012, we find the Angevin, Bouchard, withdrawing to the abbey of St. Maur-des-Fossés, and leaving Corbeil to the Normans, who, at the time, are ruling under the name of king Robert, and striving to make him master of Burgundy; which would have been to make themselves masters of the whole course of the Seine. This poor king, whom they kept with them, finding the bishops and abbots of Burgundy against him, besought their pardon for making war upon

them*; and, indeed, the relations between the Capets and the dukes of Burgundy were of old date. Richard le Justicier (the justicer), the first duke, and father of Boson, the king of Burgundy-Cisjurana, had another son, Raoul, who raised duke Robert to the throne of France in the year 922, and afterwards ascended the throne himself; and it was a son-in-law of Richard's who transferred the duchy of Burgundy to two of Hugh Capet's brothers. The younger of the two adopted as his heir his wife's son, Otto-Guillaume,—a Burgundian by the mother's side, though a Lombard by the father's,—who founded the house of Franche-Comté, but being attacked by the Normans and Robert on the one hand, and on the other threatened by the emperor, who laid claim to the kingdom of Burgundy, was obliged to renounce the title of duke; I say the title, for the barons were so powerful that the ducal dignity was only a vain name. Robert's youngest son, who was named after him, was the first Capetian duke of Burgundy (A.D. 1032); and this house subsequently gave kings to Portugal, as that of Franche-Comté did to Castile.

Whilst the Capetians, as in Hugh Capet's and Robert's time, were under the pupillage of the house of Anjou, the latter would seem to have made attempts on Poitou under cover of their name, as the Normans subsequently did on Burgundy. But notwithstanding a pretended victory of Hugh Capet's over the count of Poitou, the South remained quite independent of the North; or, rather, it was the South which exercised an influence on the manners and government of northern France. Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse, and niece of the count of Anjou, reigned, as we have seen, through her husband, Robert; and, in order to prolong her reign after his death (A.D. 1031), she wished to make her second son, Robert, his successor, to the prejudice of the eldest, Henri. But the Church declared for the latter; and the bishops of Reims, Laon, Soissons, Amiens, Noyon, Beauvais, Châlons, Troyes, and Langres, as well as the counts of Champagne and of Poitou, assisted at his coronation. The duke of the Normans took him under his protection, and forced Robert to content himself with the duchy of Burgundy—and from this Robert issued that first house of Burgundy, which founded the kingdom of Portugal. However, the Norman did not give the throne to Henri, except weakened, and, so to speak, disarmed. He required the Vexin† to be ceded to him, and was

* He was preparing to lay siege to the abbey of St. Germain d'Auxerre, when a thick fog rose from the river. The king thought that St. Germain was coming to fight him in person, and his whole army took to flight. Rad. Glaber, l. ii. c. 8. When he had taken the monastery of St. Benignus at Dijon, "the king being gracious-minded, when aware that the monks had forsaken it, was filled with grief, accusing himself of being the cause of their dispersion." Chronic. S. Benigni Divion. p. 174.

† ("This district was a dismemberment of a once much more important territory. In the age of Cæsar and Ptolemy the Pagus Velicæastinus included the city of Rouen. One fine portion, afterwards called the Rouennais, fell to the share of Rollo. A second portion was held by the kings of France, after the extinction of a line of counts of obscure origin, who claimed great independence. It should seem that they were patrons of the advowson of St. Denis, and it was in this capacity that the kings of France waved the

frivolity, as fantastical in dress as in manner, shaved like nummers, faithless and lawless." Glaber, l. iii. ad calcem.

* Vita Burchardi, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 353.

† Rad. Glaber, l. iii. c. 2. Missi a Fulcone Hugonem ante regem trucidaverunt. The chronicler adds, "But though the king long mourned the deed, yet, as was fitting, he was subsequently reconciled to the queen."

‡ Id. l. ii. c. 4.

§ An expressive name to those who know the Loire—(Plantagenet, i. e. *planta genista*, the broom or heath.)

thus established only six leagues from Paris. Henri vainly endeavoured to escape from this thralldom, and to resume possession of the Vexin, by taking advantage of the insurrections against the new duke of Normandy, William the Bastard. This William, of whom we shall have to speak at length in the following chapter, subdued his barons, and defeated Henri; who, perhaps, owed his safety to the duke's directing his arms and his policy against England.

Henri and his son, Philippe I. (A.D. 1031—1108), remained inactive and powerless spectators of the great events which convulsed Europe in their time. They took no share either in the Norman crusades against Naples and England, or in the European crusade to Jerusalem, or in the struggle between the popes and the emperors. They let the emperor, Henry III., quietly establish his supremacy in Europe, and refused to second the counts of Flanders, Holland, and of Brabant and Lorraine, in the great war of the Low Countries against the Empire. As yet, the French monarchy is only a hope, a title, a right. Feudal France, which is to be absorbed in it, has, up to this period, altogether an eccentric movement. To follow this movement, we must turn our eyes from the still powerless centre, assist at the great struggle between the Empire and the Priesthood, follow the Normans into Sicily and England, under the banner of the Church, and, finally, wend our way to the Holy Land with the whole of France. It will then be time to return to the Capets, and to see how the Church chose them for her instruments in place of the Normans, who were not sufficiently docile, how she made their fortune, and raised them so high that they were enabled to lower her herself.

CHAPTER II.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—GREGORY VII.—ALLIANCE
BETWEEN THE NORMANS AND THE CHURCH.—CON-
QUEST OF THE TWO SICILIES AND OF ENGLAND.

Nor without reason have the popes called France the eldest daughter of the Church. By her support they made head in every direction against the political and religious opposition which they had to encounter in the middle age. As early as the eleventh century, when the Capetian monarchy, still weak and inert, is unable to second them, the sword of the Norman French repulses the emperor from the walls of Rome, drives the Greeks and Saracens out of Italy and Sicily, and subjects the dissenting Saxons of England. And when the popes precipitate Europe into the crusades, France bears the principal share in this enterprise, which contributes so powerfully to their aggrandizement, and arms them with irresistible strength in the struggle betwixt the Hierarchy and the Empire.

The great contest of the eleventh century is between the Holy Roman pontificate and the Holy Roman empire. Germany, which has overthrown

Rome by barbaric invasions, endeavours to become her successor by assuming her name; and not only desires to succeed to her temporal dominions (already the emperor's supremacy is recognized by the other monarchs), but affects a moral supremacy, intituling itself the *Holy Empire*, as if out of its pale was neither order nor sanctity. Just as on high the celestial powers, thrones, dominations, and archangels are so many successive links of obedience, so are margraves and barons to look up to the dukes, the dukes to the kings, and the latter to the emperor—a haughty claim, indeed, but one pregnant with future consequences. A secular body assumes the title of a holy body, seeks to make civil life a reflection of celestial order and of the divine hierarchy, and to bring down heaven upon the earth. The emperor holds the globe in his hand on days of ceremony; his chancellor calls the other monarchs, the *provincial kings**, his juriconsults declare him the *living law*†. He aspires to establish a perpetual peace as it were on earth, and to substitute a state of law for the state of nature in which the nations still exist.

At the time being, has he the right to do this great thing? Is this feudal prince, this barbarian of Franconia or of Suabia, worthy of accomplishing it? Is it his part to be the instrument of so great a revolution upon earth? Is it for the emperor of Germany to realize this idea of rest and order so long pursued by mankind, or is it to be deferred to the end of the world, to the fulfilment of time?

They say that their great emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, is not dead—he only sleepeth. His place of rest is in an old deserted castle, on a mountain. A shepherd, who had forced his way through briars and brambles, saw him there. He was arrayed in his iron armour, and sitting, leaning on his elbow on a stone table, and must have long been there, since his beard had grown round and encircled it nine times. The emperor, scarcely raising his heavy head, only said to the shepherd, “Do the Ravens still fly round the mountain?” —“Yes, still.”—“Ha, well! I can go to sleep again.”

Let him sleep: it is neither for him, nor for kings, nor for emperors, nor for the holy empire of the middle age, nor for the holy alliance of modern times, to realize the grand idea cherished by mankind of peace under the shadow of the law—of the definitive reconciliation of the nations.

Undoubtedly, that feudal world which slumbers with the house of Suabia was a noble world; nor can one survey it, even after Greece and Rome, without casting upon it a wistful and regretful look. There were in it very faithful companions, devoted in all loyalty to their lord, and the lady of their lord, joyous at his table and by his hearth, to the full as joyous when crossing with him the defiles of the Alps, or following him to Jerusalem, and as far as the desert of the Dead Sea—pious

* *Reges Provinciales*. This was the term applied by the chancellor of the empire to all monarchs, at a diet held at Ratibon, by Frederick Barbarossa.—“The patronage of the whole world belongs to the emperor.” Otto Frising. vii. 34. This was the reason advanced by Boris, king of Hungary, for claiming the aid of the emperor in 1146. Alberic. 399, ap. Raumer, die Hohenstaufen, v. 63.

† Imperator est, *animalia lex* in terris. Urk. in Meichelb. Histor. Frising. ii. 1. 7.

oriflammé, afterwards deemed the distinctive banner of the crown. The third portion of the Vexin was the tract in dispute.” Quarterly Review, No. cxlviii.) TRANSLATOR.

men, and with white and unstained souls under their steel breastplates. And were these magnanimous emperors of the house of Suabia, this race of poets and of "vary parfit, gentle knights," so very much in the wrong for aspiring to the empire of the world? Their enemies admired even whilst combating them. The messengers in pursuit of Enzo, the fugitive son of Frederick II., discovered him by a lock of his hair.—"Ah!" said they, "there is no one in the world but king Enzo who has such beautiful fair hair*." But all this fair hair, poetry, and high courage, availed them not. Not the less did the brother of St. Louis behold the poor young Conradin, or the house of France succeed to the supremacy of the emperors.

The emperor, the Empire, and the feudal world—whose centre and highest type the Empire is—are doomed to perish. There is a blemish in that world, which draws down both its condemnation and its fall; this is, its profound materialism. Man has attached himself to the earth, and has struck root in the rock from which his tower rises. The saying, no land without its lord, is convertible into no lord without his land. Man belongs to a spot; and his fate is settled as soon as it can be ascertained whether he is from above or below. You see, him located, fixed, immovable under the weight of his heavy castle, his heavy armour.

The land, is man; and in it dwells true person-ality. As person, it is indivisible; it must remain one, and devolve on the eldest. As person, too, immortal, indifferent, and pitiless, it knows not nature or humanity. The eldest is to be sole possessor; what do I say? it is he who is possessed: the haughty baron is governed by the customs of his land. His land is his master, and imposes his duties upon him. According to the forcible expression of the middle age, he must serve his fief.

The son is to have all; the eldest son. The daughter has nothing to ask; is not her dower the chaplet of roses, and her mother's kiss? As for the younger children, oh! theirs is a vast inheritance! They have no less than all the highways, and over and above, all that is under the vault of heaven. Their bed is the threshold of their father's house; from which shivering and a hungered, they can look upon their elder brother sitting alone by the hearth where they, too, have sat in the happy days of their childhood, and, perhaps, he will order a few morsels to be flung to them, notwithstanding his dogs do growl. Down, dogs, down,—they are my brothers; they must have something as well as you.

My advice to the younger sons is to be content; and not to venture to settle under another lord; or from paupers, they might become slaves. After a year's stay, they will belong to him body and goods. A good *escheat* for him, they will become his *escheats*; as well might they be called his *serfs*, his *Jews*. Every wretch who seeks an asylum, every vessel dashed on the shore, belongs to the lord: his is the *escheat* and the wreck.

There is but one sure asylum, the Church. In her bosom, the cadets of the great houses seek

refuge. The Church, powerless to repulse the barbarians, has been obliged to delegate force to the feudal power: gradually, she becomes feudal herself. The monk's cowl does not make the knight, less a knight. As early as Charlemagne's time, the bishops feel indignant at the peaceful mule's being brought them, or at offers to assist them into the saddle. They must have a charger, and vault on its back, unassisted*. They "skir the country," hunt, fight, bestow blows by way of benison, and impose heavy penance with their iron mauls†. That he was a good clerk and brave soldier, is the funeral oration over a bishop. A Saxon abbot, at the battle of Hastings, led on twelve monks; and the whole thirteen "fighting fell." A German bishop is deposed by his brethren, as being pacific and *unwarlike*‡. The bishops become barons, and the barons bishops. Every provident father secures a bishopric, or an abbey, for his younger sons. They make their serfs elect their infant children to the greatest ecclesiastical sees. An archbishop, only six years of age, mounts a table, stammers out a word or two of his catechism §, is elected, takes upon him the cure of souls, and governs an ecclesiastical province. The father sells benefices in his name, receives the titles, and the price of masses—though forgetting to cause them to be said. He drives his vassals to confession, and compelling them to make their wills and leave their property, will ye, nill ye, gathers the inheritance. He smites the people with the spiritual sword as well

* "A young clerk had just been nominated by Charlemagne to a bishopric. As he was departing, filled with joy, his servants, studious of the gravity becoming a bishop, led his palfrey to a mounting stone; but offended and indignant at the idea of his being supposed inert, he vaulted upon it so actively, as nearly to fall on the other side. The king saw this from a lattice of the palace, and instantly sent for him.—'Friend,' said he to him, 'thou art light and quick, very nimble, and deliver. Now, thou knowest how the peace of our empire is troubled with wars. I need such a clerk as thou to be ever near my person. Be, then, a sharer in all our labours.'" Monach Sangail l. i ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 109.—The following is the eighth article of the Acts of the Council of Vernon, held A. D. 845, "Modestly infirmity prevents some bishops from attending expeditions, your indulgence allows others an exemption desirable to all; but both should take care that your wars suffer no detriment from their absence." Baluze, ii. 17.

† See a Swiss song in the *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

‡ This was Christian, archbishop of Mentz, who vainly quoted from the Gospel the text, "Put up thy sword into the sheath;" his deposition was procured from the pope. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, iv. 392.—A bishop of Batiscbon accompanied the princes of Bavaria in a war against the Hungarians. He lost an ear in battle, and was left lying among the dead. An Hungarian was about to dispatch him—"Then, strengthened by God, after a long and deadly struggle, he managed to master his enemy; and succeeded in effecting his return in safety through many dangers and difficulties by the way. Hence great joy to his flock, and to all who know Christ. A good soldier as well as clerk he is welcomed by all, and he lives a pastor dear to all, and the loss of his ear was to his honour, not his disgrace." *Dithmar Chronicle* ii. 31.—Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, t. ii. pt. i. 197.

§ "They do not hesitate to promote their little ones to the pastoral office . . . most laugh, others rejoice as it were in the honour of the infant. . . . The child, too, is questioned on a few articles of religion, which he explains from memory if he can learn the answers by heart, or else reads fatteringly out of some catechism." Atto Vercellens. ap. d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, t. 423.

* A young girl visited him in his prison in order to console him. They had a son, called *Bentivoglio* (i.e. *I wish you well*), who, according to tradition, was the founder of the illustrious family of that name.

† For instance, in the ancient customs of Normandy.

as with the arm of the flesh, and alternately fights and communicates, slays and damns at pleasure.

One only thing was wanting to this system—that these noble and valiant priests should no longer purchase the enjoyment of the goods of the Church by the pains of celibacy * ; that they should combine sacerdotal splendour and saintly dignity with the consolations of marriage ; that they should raise around them swarms of little priests † ; that they should enliven their family meals with the sacrificial wine, and gorge their little ones with consecrated bread. Sweet and holy hopes—these little ones, God to aid, will grow up ! They will succeed, quite naturally, to their father's abbey and bishoprics. It would be hard to deprive them of the palaces and churches ; for the church is theirs, their rightful fief. Thus the elective principle is succeeded by that of inheritance, and merit gives place to birth. The Church imitates feudalism, and goes beyond it. More than once it has given females a share of the spoil, and a daughter has been dowered by a bishopric ‡. The priest's wife takes her place by him, close to the altar ; and the bishop's disputes precedence with the count's.

Certes, I am not the man to speak against marriage. Married life has its sanctifying part, no less than single. Nevertheless §, is not the virgin hymeneal of priest and church somewhat disturbed by a less pure union ? Will he to whom nature gives children according to the flesh, remember the people whom he has adopted in the spirit ? Will the mystic paternity hold its ground against the other ? The priest may deny himself in order to give to the poor ; but he will not take from his children for their relief ! And, though

* "Laymen are so convinced that none ought to be unmarried, that in most parishes they will not abide a priest except he have a concubine." Nical. à Clemangis, de Præsul. Simon. p. 165.—See, also, Muratori, vi. 335. The offspring of a priest, and of a free woman, were declared to be serfs of the Church ; they could neither be admitted into orders, nor enjoy the privilege of inheritance by the civil law, nor appear as witnesses. Schroeckh, Kirchengeschichte, p. 22, ap. Voigt, Hildebrand, als Papst Gregorius der Siebente, und sein Zeitalter, 1815.

† Rex immortalis ! quam longo tempore talis

Mundi risus erunt, quos presbyteri genuerunt ?"

(O king of heaven ! how long will the children of priests be the mock of this world.)

Carmen pro Nothis, ap. Ser. R. fr. xi. 444.

‡ Daru, Histoire de Bretagne, i. 303. There were four married bishops in Brittany, those of Quimper, Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes ; their children became priests and bishops. The bishop of Dolé plundered his church in order to dower his daughters. See in Mabillon the Lettres du Clerge de Noyon, 1079, et de Cambrai, 1076.—The clergy complained of the injustice of refusing their children ordination. In the ninth century they not only married off their daughters with benefices, but their wives openly assumed the style of priestesses. D. Lobineau, 110. D. Morice, Preuves i. 463. 542.—According to the biographers of the blessed Bernard de Tiron, and of Harduin, abbot of Bec, it was the same in Normandy : " Per totam Normaniam hoc erat, ut presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, filios ac filias procrearent, quibus hereditatis jure ecclesias relinquerent et filias suas nupti traductas, si alia deesset possessio, ecclesias dabant in dotem."

§ The author necessarily places himself here in the strict Catholic point of view of the middle age ; and one ought to recall to mind all that is great in it, now that St. Simonism is proposing a reconciliation of spirit with matter, which could only prove the triumph of matter over spirit.

he should hold out, and the priest triumph over the father, though he should fulfil all the obligations of his sacred office, I should fear his preserving its spirit. No, in the holiest marriage, there is something soft and enervating connected with a wife and family that breaks iron and bends steel. The firmest heart loses in the union a part of itself. The priest was more than a man : he is now but a man. He may exclaim, as did Jesus when the woman touched his garments—" I perceive that virtue is gone out of me."

And believe not that the poetry of solitude, the stern satisfaction of abstinence, the fulness of charity and of ecstatic sentiment in which the soul embraces God and the world, can subsist undeteriorated by wedlock. Undoubtedly, to awaken, and to see, on one hand, the cradle of one's little ones, and pillowed by one's side their mother's loved and honoured head, is fraught with a pious emotion—but where are the solitary meditations, the mysterious dreams, the sublime storms in which God and the old Adam battled within us ? *Ille qui has never watched in sorrow, and watched his bed with tears, knows you not, ye heavenly powers ?* ¶

Christianity was sped if the Church, softened, and with her soaring aspirations checked by marriage, should lapse into the selfish materialism of the law of feudal inheritance. The salt of the earth would have lost its savour : all would have been said. Thenceforward, no more internal strength ; no more yearning towards heaven. Such a church would never have reared the ceiling of the choir of Cologne cathedral, or the arrowy spire of that of Strasburg ; never would it have brought forth the soul of St. Bernard, or the penetrating genius of St. Thomas : men like these, require the concentration of solitude. Thenceforward, too, no crusade : to have a right to attack Asia, Europe must subdue the sensuality of Asia, must become more European, more pure, more Christian-like.

The endangered Church collapsed, in order to prolong her days, and summoned all her life to the heart. Ever since the tempest of barbaric invasions the world had taken refuge in the Church, and had sullied her. The Church took refuge with the monks ; that is to say, with the severest and most mystical, let us say, too, with the most democratic portion of herself. Their life of self-denial was less sought after by the barons, and the cloisters were peopled by the sons of serfs †. Facing this proud and splendid Church which arrays herself in aristocratic pomps, there rose another, poor, sombre, solitary, the Church of suffering, opposite to the Church of enjoyment. The last judged the first, condemned her, purified her, and gave her unity. To the aristocracy of the bishops succeeded the sovereignty of the pope. The Church became incarnate in a monk.

The reformer, like the Founder of Christianity, was a carpenter's son ‡. He was a monk of Cluny,

* Goethe, Wilhelmmeister.

† The clergy of Laon reproached their bishop with having one day said to the king—" that the clergy were not to be revered, since almost all were born of royal bonders." Guibertus Novigeninus, De Vita Sua, l. iii. c. 8.—See above, how the Church was recruited under Charlemagne and Louis the Débonnaire. Hebo, archbishop of Reims, was a serf's son.—See a passage from Theganus, in a note at p. 92.

‡ Voigt. Hist. de Gregoire VII. initio.

and Italian by birth, being born at Saona; and thus belonging to that poetic and positive Tuscany, which has produced Dante and Machiavel. This foe to Germany, bore the German name of Hildebrand.*

Whilst he was yet at Cluny, Pope Leo IX., a relative of the emperor's, and nominated by him, lodged on his way to Rome in that monastery; and so great was the religious authority of the monk, that he persuaded the prince to repair thither barefooted, and as a pilgrim, and, renouncing the imperial nomination, to seek to be elected by the people†. He was the third pope of the emperor's nomination, and there seemed no room to complain, for these German popes were exemplary. Their nomination had put a stop to those frightful scandals of Rome, when two women—each in turn—gave the popedom to their lovers‡, and when a Jew's son, a child, twelve years of age, was placed at the head of Christendom. Nevertheless, it was, perhaps, still worse for the pope to be nominated by the emperor, since the two powers were thus brought together. The spiritual power (as was the case at Bagdad and at Japan) must have been annihilated. Life springs from the opposition and balance of forces—unity and identity are death.

To enable the Church to escape out of the hands of laymen, she must cease to be herself laical, must recruit her strength by abstinence and sacrifices, must plunge into the icy waters of Styx, and steep herself in chastity. "Twas by this, the monk began. Already, and during the power of the two popes who had preceded him in the pontificate, he had given out that a married priest was no priest§; and great agitation had ensued. An active correspondence commenced, leading to a common effort on the part of the priests; when, emboldened by their numbers, they loudly declare that they will keep their wives. "We prefer," they said, "abandoning our bishoprics, abbeys, and cures: let him keep his benefices." The reformer did not blench. The carpenter's son did not hesitate to let loose the people on the priests||. In all directions, the multitude declared against the married pastors, and tore them from the altar. The people once given the rein, a brutally levelling instinct made them delight in outraging all they had adored, in trampling under foot those whose feet they had

kissed, in tearing the alb, and dashing to pieces the mitre. The priests were beaten, buffed, and mutilated in their own cathedrals; their consecrated wine was drunk, and the host scattered about*. The monks pushed on, and preached. The people became impregnated with a bold mysticism, and habituated to despise form and dash it to bits, as if to set the spirit free. This revolutionary purification of the Church shook it to the foundation. The means resorted to were atrocious. The monk, Dunstan, had had the wife or concubine of the king of England grossly mutilated. The wild anchoret, Pietro Damiani, traversed Italy with curses and maledictions, careless of life, and stripping bare, with pious cynicism, the turpitude of the Church†. This was to mark out the married priests for death. Manegold, the theologian, taught that the opponents of reform might be slain without compunction‡. Gregory VII., himself, approved of the mutilation of a refractory monk§. The Church, armed with a fierce purity, resembled the sanguinary virgins of Druidical Gaul, or of the Tauric Chersonesus.

A strange thing took place at this time. In the same manner as the middle age repulsed Jews, and buffeted them as murderers of Jesus Christ, woman was held in disgrace as the murderess of mankind. Poor Eve still paid for the apple. She was looked upon as the Pandora, who had let loose woes upon the earth. The doctors taught that the world was sufficiently peopled, and declared marriage to be a sin, or, at best, a venial sin||.

Thus was the purification of the Church accomplished. She redeemed herself from her fleshy bonds, by cursing the flesh. It was then that she attacked the Empire. Then, in the savage fierce-

* Marten, *ibid* *III* clamores insulantium, digitos ostendentium, colaphos pulsantium perferunt . . . The writer goes on to say, "The laity despise the mysteries of the Church, defraud their little ones of the baptismal font, and even think it religious to depart this life without the humble confession of sinners, and the solemn viaticum of the Church."—Siegb. Genbl. ann. 1074. "The laity defile the sacred mysteries, wrangle about them, baptize infants, use the foul excretion of the ears instead of the holy oil and chrism, trample with repeated kicks the body of the Lord consecrated by married priests, voluntarily shed the Lord's blood," &c.

† Damiani says, in one of his declamations on this subject—"When, at Lodi, the fat oxen of the Church surrounded me, when many rebel calves ground their teeth as if they would have spat the whole of their gall in my face, they pounced upon the canon of a council held at Tibur, which countenanced the marriage of priests. But I answered them, 'I care nothing for your council, I consider all councils which differ from the decisions of the bishops of Rome as null, and never held.'" At another time, addressing the wives of the clergy, he said to them, "'Tis you to whom I address myself, seductresses of the clergy, baits of Satan, scum of Paradise, poison of souls, sword of hearts, proud birds, toys, screech-owls, she-wolves, insatiable leeches. . . . Come, then, hearken to me, ye harlots, prostitutes, sties of fat porkers, dens of unclean spirits, sirens, lamiae," &c.

‡ Manegold. Epist. Theoderici, c. 38, ap. Gieseler, *ii*. 25. "Whosoever slays an excommunicated person, not to revenge a private wrong but in defence of the Church, is not to do penance, or be punished as a homicide."

§ He professed himself satisfied with the conduct of the abbot, and shortly after made him a bishop.

|| However, this, I think, was Peter the Lombard, who lived at a somewhat later age.

* Signifying "son of the flame," or else, "flame of the son."

† Otto Frisingens. l. vi. c. 33. Inclinator Leo ad monitum ejus, purpuram deponit et . . . a clero et populo in Summum Pontificem eligitur.—See Wibert. in Vita Leonis IX. l. i. c. 2. Bruno, Vita Leonis IX. ap. Voigt, p. 14.

‡ (Theodora and her daughter, Marozia, both equally infamous in character, raised to the popedom, the first, John XI., the last, Sergius III.—John XIII. was not twelve when made pope.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Berthold. Constant. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 23. Hujus constitutionis maxime fuit auctor Hildebrandus.

|| Marten. Theat. i. 231. Plebeius error . . . usque ad furoris sui satietatem injuncta sibi, ut ait, in clericorum contumelias obedientia crudeliter abutitur, &c.—Gregory the Seventh's character is brought out into full relief in M. Villemain's fine work. I shall say no more of this book, than that it is profoundly true—which, in my opinion, comprises every praise. Contemporary chroniclers grasp this truth of detail; but to arrive at it, at the distance of centuries, is a great effort of erudition, and a rare achievement of art and talent.

ness of her virginity, having resumed her virtue and her strength, she questioned the age, and summoned it to restore to her the primacy which was her due. She called to account the adultery and simony of the king of France*, the schismatic isolation of the Anglican Church, and the feudal monarchy—personified in the emperor. Of whom does the emperor hold the land which he dares to enfeoff to the bishops, except from God? By what right does matter presume to direct spirit? Virtue has subdued nature, and it behoves the ideal to be commanded by the real, strength to yield to intelligence, and the law of succession to the elective principle. God has placed in the heavens two great luminaries—the sun, and the moon which borrows her light from the sun. On the earth there is the pope, and the emperor, who is the reflection of the pope †, a mere reflection, a pale shadow—let him recognize who he is. Then, the world restored to true order, God will reign, and the vicar of God. An hierarchy will be reared after the spirit, and in holiness, for election will raise up the worthiest. The pope will lead the Christian world to Jerusalem; and his vicar will receive the oath of the emperor, and the homage of the kings, at the liberated tomb of Christ.

Such were the ideas which impelled the Church to vindicate the majesty of the law over nature, respectively represented by the peopdom and the empire. The emperor was the fiery Henry IV., as wilful according to nature, as Gregory VII. was hard according to the law. At first these opposing forces seemed very unequal. Henry III. had bequeathed to his son vast patrimonial estates, feudal omnipotence in Germany, immense influence in Italy, and a claim to the nomination of the popes. Hildebrand had not Rome even; he had nothing, and he had every thing. It is the true nature of spirit to occupy no place. Every where expelled, and every where triumphant, he had not a stone whereon to lay his head, and with his dying breath he exclaimed, “I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an exile ‡.” (A.D. 1073–1086.)

* “Your king,” says Gregory VII., in his epistle to the French bishops, “who is not to be called a king but a tyrant, has polluted the whole age by his crimes and foul acts. . . . But, if he will not hearken to you, lay the whole kingdom of France under an interdict.”—Bruno, de Bello Sax. p. 121, ibid. “But if the king refused obedience to these sacred canons. . . . he threatened to cut him off, like a rotten limb, with the sword of anathema, from the unity of Holy Mother Church.”

† Gregorii VII. Epist. ad reg. Angl. ibid. 6. Sicut ad mundi pulchritudinem oculis carnis diversis temporibus representandum, Solem et Lunam omnibus aliis clementiora disposuit (Deus) luminaria, sic. . . . See, also, Innoc. III. l. i. epist. 401.—Bonifacii VIII. epist. ibid. 197. Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, scilicet, Solem, id est, ecclesiasticam potestatem, et Lunam, hoc est, temporalem et imperialem. ¶ Et sicut Luna nullum lumen habet nisi quod recipit a Sole, sic. . . . The following calculation occurs in the Gloss of the Decretals, “Since the earth is seven times greater than the moon, but the sun eight times greater than the earth, therefore the pontifical dignity is fifty-six times greater than the regal.”—Laurentius goes further. . . . “the pope is a thousand seven hundred and four times greater than emperor or kings.” Gieseler, ii. pt. II. p. 98.

‡ Paul. Bernried. c. 110. Otto Frising. l. vi. c. 36.

Both parties have been accused of obstinacy. It has been overlooked that this was not a struggle between men. Mankind sought to unite, but could not. When Henry IV. remained for three days in his shirt upon the snow, in the court of the castle of Canossa*, the pope could not help admitting him. Peace was desired on both sides. Gregory joined in communion with his enemy, beseeching to be struck dead if he were guilty, and imploring the judgment of God †. God interfered not. Judgment and reconciliation were equally impossible. Nothing will reconcile spirit and matter, flesh and spirit, the law and nature.

The fleshly party was conquered, and as for us, men of flesh, our hearts bleed to think of it: nature was conquered, but in an unnatural manner. It was Henry the Fourth's son, who carried the decree of the Church into execution. When the poor old emperor was seized at the interview which took place at Mentz, and the bishops who had remained free from simony, tore off his crown and the royal robes ‡, he besought with tears in his eyes this son, whom he still loved, to abstain from his parricidal violence for the safety of his eternal soul. Stripped, abandoned, and a prey to cold and

Dilexi justitiam, et odivi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio.—He wrote to the abbot of Cluny, “My grief and my despair are at their height, when I see the Eastern Church separated by the craft of the devil from the Catholic faith; and if I turn my looks to the West, to the South, or to the North, I find scarcely any who are lawful bishops, whether as regards their conduct in their high office, or the manner in which they attained it. They govern their flocks, not for the love of Jesus, but through a profane ambition; and among secular princes, I find not one to prefer the honour of God to his own, or justice to his interest. The Romans, Lombards, and Normans, among whom I live, will soon be (and I often tell them so) more execrable than Jews and pagans. And when I turn my looks upon myself, I see that my vast enterprise is beyond my strength, so that I should lose every hope of ever securing the safety of the Church, did not the mercy of Jesus Christ come to my assistance; for if I hoped not for a better life, and were it not for the safety of the holy Church, I take God to witness that I would stay no longer at Rome, where I have already lived twenty years in spite of myself. I am even as if struck with a thousand bolts, like a man suffering from a never-ending malady, and all whose hopes, unhappily, are only too far distant.”

* Grogor. Ep. ap. Gieseler, ii. 21. Ad oppidum Canusii cum paucis advenit. . . . ibique per triduum, deposito omni regio cultu, miserabiliter, utpote discaleatus et lanceis indutus, persistens. . . . cum multo fitu—Donizo, Vita Mathildis, ap. Muratori, v. 366. He threw himself at the pope's feet, his arms extended in the figure of a cross, and implored pardon.—“It was the first time,” says Otto of Freysingen, “that a pope had dared to excommunicate an emperor. I read our histories over and over again, but to no purpose, for I can't find an instance.” Chronic. l. vi. c. 35. De Gestis Frederici l. i. c. i.

† See M. Vilemain's History, referred to in a preceding note.

‡ He wrote to the king of France, in 1106, “So soon as I saw him, touched to the very bottom of my heart, as well with grief as paternal affection, I threw myself at his feet, beseeching and conjuring him in the name of his God, and for his faith's sake, and the safety of his soul, though my sins might have deserved punishment at the hand of God, to refrain from sullying, through me, his soul, his honour, and his name, for that no decree or divine law had ever appointed sons to be the punishers of their father's faults.” Gemblac. ap. Struv. l. 856. Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, t. i. p. 198.

hunger, he sought Spire, and that very church of the Virgin which he had himself built, and implored to be admitted as a priest, alleging that he could read, and could also sing in the choir. Even this favour was refused him; nay, a resting-place was refused to his mortal remains, which lay forty-five years unburied in a cellar at Liege.

In this terrible struggle which the holy see carried on throughout Europe, it had two auxiliaries, two temporal instruments. The first was the famous countess Matilda, so powerful in Italy, the chaste and faithful friend of Gregory VII. This princess, a Frenchwoman by birth, had grown up in exile and under the persecution of the Germans. She was allied to the family of Godfrey of Bouillon; but Godfrey sided with Henry IV. He bore the banner of the Empire in the battle in which Rodolph, Henry's rival, was slain, and slain by his hand. Matilda, on the contrary, knew no other banner than that of the Church. She restored Rome to her position in the eyes of the world. As pure and as courageous as Gregory himself, this heroic woman was the grace and strength of her party. She supported the pope, combated the emperor, and interceded for him.

Next to this French princess, the best supports of the pope were our Normans of Naples and of England. Long before the crusade to Jerusalem, this adventurous people crusaded through all Europe; and the mode in which these pious brigands became the soldiers of the holy see is curious.

I have spoken elsewhere of the origin of the Normans. They were a mixed race, in whom the Neustrian predominated by far over the Scandinavian element. Undoubtedly, as seen on the Bayeux tapestry, with their scale-armour, peaked casques, and nose-pieces*, one would be tempted to believe these iron fish the pure and lawful descendants of the old pirates of the North. However, they spoke French from the third generation, at which period not one among them understood Danish. They were obliged to send their children to learn it of the Saxons of Bayeux†. The names of William the Bastard's followers are pure French‡. The

conquerors of England, says Ingulphus, abhorred the Anglo-Saxon tongue*. Their predilection lay towards Roman and ecclesiastical civilization. We discern in them, as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, that character—compound of scribe and legislator—which has rendered their name proverbial in Europe; and this partly accounts for the prodigious multitude of ecclesiastical foundations met with among a people, by no means devout in other respects. The monk, William of Poitiers, tells us that Normandy was an Egypt, a Thebaid, as regarded the number of its monasteries†—which were so many schools of writing, philosophy, art, and law. The famous Lanfranc, who raised the school of Bec to such celebrity, before he passed the straits with William, and became in some sort pope of England, was an Italian legislator‡.

The historians of the conquest of England and of Sicily, have taken a pleasure in assigning their Normans the mould and colossal height of the heroes of chivalry. In Italy, one of them kills the horse of the Greek envoy with a blow of his fist§. In Sicily, Roger, fighting fifty thousand Saracens at the head of only a hundred and thirty knights, is cast under his horse, but disengages himself, unassisted, and bears off his saddle||. The enemies of the Normans, without denying their valour, do not attribute such supernatural strength to them. The Germans who opposed them in Italy, derided their shortness of stature¶; and in their war with the Greeks and Venetians, these descendants of Rollo and of Hastings show themselves but poor sailors, and are fearfully alarmed by the tempests of the Adriatic**.

A compound of audacity and of stratagem, conquerors and chieftains like the ancient Romans, scribes and knights, shaven like the priests††, and good friends of the priests (at the beginning, at least), they made their fortune by the Church, and despite of the Church. They made it by the lance, and by the lance of Judas, too, as Dante says‡‡.

Amand, Saint-Léger, Sainte-Barbe, Trufhot, Trubhot, Taverner, Valence, Verdon, Vilan," &c. Several of the names of French towns and provinces strike one in this roll. Several other rolls are extant; in some, the names are grouped into rhymes by twos and threes, to help the memory.

* Ingulf. Croyland. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 155. Ipsum (Anglicanum) idioma abhorrebant.

† Guill. Pietrav. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 89. *Amulabatur Ægyptum regularium convolutorum collegiis*.—William, says the same writer, never refused his authorization to any one desirous of giving to churches.—Ordric. Vital. l. iv. p. 237. "He built many monasteries."

‡ Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sec. vi. p. 642.

§ Guill. Malaterra, l. i. c. 9. ap. Muratori, Script. Rer. Italicarum, v. 552. Normannus Hugo, equitamento Tudebuten (Tuchetout, Killon)... nudo pugno equum in service percutiens uno ictu, quasi mortuum deiecit.—Another takes by the tail a lion which had got hold of a goat, and flings both over a wall. Chron. Reg. Fr. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 303.

|| Gaufred Malaterra, l. ii. c. 30, *ibid.* 567. "Whirling his sword, like a scythe mowing down the green grass, corpses lay heaped round him, like the trees of a dense forest uprooted by the wind." He goes on to say—*Ipsæ equo amissæ... sellam asportant.*

¶ Guill. Apulias, l. ii. ap. Muratori, v. 259.

** *Corpora derident Normannica, quæ breviora Esæ videbantur.*

** Gibbon, x. 289.

†† Guill. Malmesbur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 183.

‡‡ *Id. ibid.* "When force did not succeed, they had recourse to bribes and treachery."

* At their interview at Canossa. See Donizo, Vita Matildis, ap. Muratori, v. 366.

† See the Bayeux tapestry, as described in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. viii. p. 602, and still more correctly in Ducarel's Antiquités Anglo-Normandes.

‡ Guill. Gemet. l. iii. c. 8. Quem (Richard I.) confestim pater Baiocas mittens... ut ibi lingua eruditus Danica suis exterius hominibus seiret aperte dare responsa.—See Deppey, Hist. des Expéditions Normandes, t. ii. and Estrup, Remarques Faites dans un Voyage en Normandie, Copenhagen, 1821; also, the Antiquités des Anglo-Normandes.—In the neighbourhood of Bayeux we find the names *Saun* and *Saonet*, those of *Saene* and *Seine*, too, are common. In one of Charles the Bald's Capitularies (Ser. R. Fr. vii. 616) the canton of Bayeux is styled *Olingua Saxonica*.—Caen is also a Saxon name—*Cætim*, signifying House of Council. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. xxxi. p. 242.—Many Normans have assured me, that the marked red and white complexion is seldom met with in their province, except in the districts of Bayeux and of Vire.

§ See in Duchesne, Script. Normann. l. 1023, the roll of Battle Abbey.—Aumerle, Archer, Avenans, Basset, Barbason, Blundel, Breton, Beauchamp, Bigot, Camos, Colet, Claville, Champaine, Dispencer, Devaus, Durand, Estrange, Gascogne, Jay, Longspee, Lonschampe, Malebranche, Musard, Mautravers, Perot, Picard, Rose, Rous, Rond, Saint-

The hero of their race is Robert l'Avisé (Guiscard, the Wise).

Normandy was small, and too strictly governed for them to be able to plunder to any extent from each other*. Behoved them, then, to go—to use their own term—*gaignant*† throughout Europe. But feudal Europe, bristling with castles, was not easily run over in the eleventh century. The time was past, when the little Hungarian horses galloped to the Tiber and Provence. Every ford, and every commanding position, had its tower. At each defile, down stalked from the hill some man at arms, with his knives and his dogs, to demand toll or battle. He would examine the traveller's baggage, and take part of it; sometimes, indeed, the whole, and the traveller into the bargain. In travelling on this fashion, there was not much to *gagner*. Our Normans set about it better. Many of them would join company, well mounted and well armed, though muffled up as pilgrims, and bearing staff and cockle-shell; nor had they any objection to carry a monk along with them. Then, if any one sought to stay them, they could meekly reply, in their drawing and nasal tone, that they were poor pilgrims, wending their way to Monte-Cassino, to the holy sepulchre, to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and so stoutly armed a devotion was generally respected. The fact is, they loved these distant pilgrimages; for it was their only means of escaping the dull routine of their manorial life. And then the roads they took were well frequented: good hits were to be made on the way, and there was absolutism at the end of their journey. Or, at the worst, as these places of pilgrimage were the seats of fairs as well, they could do a little business, and get more than their cent per cent, whilst securing their salvation‡. Dealing in relics was the best trade going. They would bring back a hair of the Virgin's, or one of St. George's teeth, sure to dispose of it to great advantage, for there was always some bishop eager to bring custom to his church, or some prudent prince, who was not sorry to enter the battlefield with the safeguard of a relic under his cuirass.

A pilgrimage first took the Normans to Southern Italy, where they were to found a kingdom. Here there were, if I may so speak, three wrecks, three ruins of nations—Lombards in the mountains,

Greeks in the ports, Sicilian and African Saracens rambling over the coasts. About the year 1000, some Norman pilgrims assist the inhabitants of Salerno to drive out a party of Arabs, who were holding them to ransom. Being well paid for the service, these Normans attract others of their countrymen hither. A Greek of Bari, named Melo or Meles, takes them into pay to free his city from the Greeks of Byzantium. Next, they are settled by the Greek republic of Naples at the fort of Aversa, which lay between that city and her enemies, the Lombards of Capua (A.D. 1026). Finally, the sons of a poor gentleman of the Cotentin*, Tancred of Hauteville, seek their fortune here. Tancred had twelve children; seven by the same mother.

It was during William's minority, when numbers of the barons endeavoured to withdraw themselves from the Bastard's yoke, that these sons of Tancred's directed their steps towards Italy, where it was said that a simple Norman knight had become count of Aversa. They set off penniless, and defrayed the expenses of their journey by the sword† (A.D. 1037‡). The Byzantine governor, or *Kataiphan*§, engaged their services, and led them against the Arabs. But their countrymen beginning to flock to them, they no sooner saw themselves strong enough than they turned against their paymasters, seized Apulia, and divided it into twelve countships. This republic of *Condottieri* held its assemblies at Melfi§. The Greeks endeavoured to defend themselves, but fruitlessly. They collected an army of sixty thousand Italians||; to be routed by the Normans, who amounted to several hundreds of well-armed men. The Byzantines then summoned their enemies, the Germans, to their aid; and the two empires of the East and West confederated against the sons of the gentleman of Coutances. The all-powerful emperor, Henry the Black (Henry III.), charged Leo IX., who had been nominated pope by him, and who was a German, and kin to the imperial family, to exterminate these brigands. The pope led some Germans and a swarm of Italians against them; but the latter took to flight at the very beginning of the battle, and left the warlike pontiff in the hands of the enemy. Too wary to ill-treat him, the Normans piously cast themselves at their prisoner's feet, and compelled him to grant them as a fief of the Church, all that they had taken, or might take possession of in Apulia, Calabria, and

* William of Jumièges tells (l. i. c. 10), that a young girl's bracelet remained hung up for three years on a tree on a river's bank, without any one's touching it.

† *Gaignant*, the old French for *gaining*, gaining.—Wace, *Roman de Rou.*—Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 3. "They are a most crafty race, prone to revenge injuries, despising their own country through hope of gaining more elsewhere, greedy of lucre and of power, perfect dissemblers, and preserving a mean, as it were, between liberality and avarice."—Guill. Malm's. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 185. "They weigh perfidiously with fate, and change opinion with value received."—Guill. Apulus, l. ii. ap. Muratori, 259.

"Audit . . . quia gens semper Normannica prona Est ad avaritiam; plus, qui plus præbet, amatur." (The Normans ever incline to avarice; he is best loved who gives most.)

Those who could not thrive in their own land, or who had fallen under the duke's displeasure, immediately started for Italy. Guill. Gemetic. l. vii. c. 19. 30. Guill. Apul. l. i. p. 259.

‡ Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* ad ann. 1064.

* Chronic. Malleac. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 644. "Wiscard, . . . being of a poor and unknown family."—Richard Cluniac. "Robert Wiscard, a poor man but a knight."—Alberic. ap. Leibnitzii Access. Histor. p. 124. "Of middling parentage."

† Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 5. Per diversa loca milititer lucrum quaerentes.

‡ Kara waw, commander-in-chief. William of Apulia explains the meaning in the following verse—

"Quod Catapan Græci, nos juxta dicimus omne." L. i. p. 254.

§ Each of the twelve counts had his quarter and his house apart, as shown by the poet quoted in the preceding note—

"Pro numero comitum bis sex statuere plateas, Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe." Id. *ibid.* p. 256.

|| Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 9. Græci . . . maxima multitudo ex Calabria et Apulia sibi coadunata, usque ad sexaginta milia armatorum.

on the other side of the strait*; so that in spite of himself, the pope became the suzerain of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (A.D. 1052, 1053)—a fantastical scene which was reacted a century afterwards, when one of the descendants of these Normans made a pope prisoner, forced him to receive his homage, and forced him, moreover, to declare himself and his successors, legates of the holy see in Sicily. This nominal dependence rendered them in reality independent, and secured them that right of investiture which, through all Europe, was the subject of the war between the priesthood and the Empire.

Robert *P. le Dace* (Guiscard) completed the conquest of Southern Italy; and made himself duke of Apulia and Calabria, notwithstanding the claim of his nephews†, as sons of an elder brother. Robert treated no better the youngest of his brothers, Roger, who had come rather late to seek his share of the conquest. The latter supported himself for a while by horse-stealing‡; then crossed over to Sicily, which he wrested from the Arabs after a struggle of the most unequal and romantic character. Unfortunately, our only accounts of these events are from panegyricists of the family. One of Roger's descendants united Southern Italy to his insular dominions, and so founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

This feudal kingdom lying at the extremity of the peninsula, in the midst of Greek cities, and of the world of the Odyssey, was of great advantage to Italy. The Mahometans durst but seldom approach it; at least, until the creation of the Barbary states in the sixteenth century. The Byzantines quitted it; and their empire was even invaded by Robert Guiscard and his successors. The Germans, indeed, in the course of their ever-enduring expedition into Italy, more than once dashed heavily against our French of Naples; but the truly Italian popes, such as Gregory VII., shut their eyes on the plunderings of the Normans, and entered into close league with them against the Greek and German emperors. Robert Guiscard drove the victorious Henry IV. out of Rome, and gave an asylum to Gregory, who died with him at Salerno. (A.D. 1086.)

This prodigious good fortune of a family of simple gentlemen, roused the emulous zeal of the duke of Normandy (A.D. 1035—1087). William the *Bastard* (he so styles himself in his charters§)

was of low origin on the mother's side. Duke Robert had had him, by chance, by the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. He was not ashamed of his birth, and drew round him his mother's other sons. At first, he had much difficulty in bringing his barons, who despised him, to their allegiance; but he succeeded. He was a large, bald-headed man*, very brave, very greedy, and very *sage* (sage), according to the notions of the time, that is, dreadfully treacherous. It was asserted that he had poisoned his guardian, the duke of Brittany; and a count, who disputed Maine with him, had fallen dead on rising from a dinner given in token of reconciliation, and William at once laid hand on the province†. He had no trouble from Anjou and Brittany, as they were convulsed by civil wars; and he contrived to put an end to the constant feud between Flanders and Normandy, by marrying his cousin Matilda, the daughter of the count of Flanders. This alliance was his stronghold; and, consequently, he burst out into a violent rage when he heard that the famous theologian and legist, Lanfranc, who taught in the monastic school of Bec, denounced his marriage as being with one too near of kin, and he issued orders to burn the farm from which the monks drew their subsistence, and for the banishment of Lanfranc. The Italian was not alarmed; but, like a shrewd man, instead of taking to flight, repaired straight to the duke. He was mounted on a sorry, lame horse; and he addressed the duke by saying, "If you wish me to leave Normandy, give me another steed‡." William saw the advantage to which he might turn this man, and sent him at once to Rome with a commission, to render the pope propitious to the very marriage against which he had preached. Lanfranc succeeded; and William and Matilda were absolved for the founding those two magnificent abbeys, which still adorn Caen.

The friendship of William, indeed, was precious to the Roman church, already governed by Hildebrand, who was soon to be Gregory VII. Their projects agreed. In front of the Normans, on the other side of the channel, was another Sicily to be conquered§, and which, though not in the

him . . . from the first arrival of this people in Gaul, it was customary with them to have princes born of concubines." The author of the *Gesta Consulum Andegavorum* has copied this passage (Scr. R. Fr. xi. 265). "William, the singular glory of bastards" Chronic. Neubrig. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 93. We know, however, that William would not endure reflections on the baseness of his birth by the mother's side. Laying siege to a certain place, the besieged insulted him by beating skins, and crying out—"The hide, the hide!" (His mother was a tanner's daughter.) He had the feet and hands of thirty-two of them cut off.

* Will. Malm. i. iii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 190. "He was a just height, immensely fat, of fierce countenance, his forehead bald, with very strong arms, and of great dignity whether sitting or standing, notwithstanding the too great protuberance of his belly."

† Order. Vital. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 232.

‡ Acta SS. Ord. 8. Bened. sec. vi. pars 2^a p. 635.

§ England had long entertained a dread of Normandy. In 1003, Ethelred had sent an expedition against the Normans. When his men returned, he asked whether they had brought the duke of Normandy along with them. "We have not seen the duke," was his reply, "but we have fought, to our loss, with the terrible population of one county alone. We not only found there valiant warriors, but warlike

* Id. ibid. c. 14. Guill. Apul. l. ii. p. 261. Hermann. Coutra. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 21.

† Gautier d'Arc, p. 295. "Guiscard sent word to his nephew, Abelard, that he had just got his brother in his power, but that if he would put his (Guiscard's) troops in possession of his fortress of San Severino, he would restore his prisoner to liberty as soon as he should reach Mount Gargano. . . . Abelard immediately ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, and repairing to his uncle with all speed, pressed him to repair to Gargano and fulfil his promise. 'My nephew,' said Guiscard, 'I do not think that I shall be able to get there these seven years.'"

‡ Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 25.

§ Ego Guillelmus, cognomento Bastardus. . . . See a charter quoted in the twelfth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 568.—Undoubtedly, the appellation of Bastard was not deemed a reproach in Normandy. We read in Raoul Glaber, l. iv. c. 6. (ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 51.)

"William was Robert's son by a concubine. . . . Robert made all the nobles of his duchy swear military homage to

power of the Arabs, was no less hateful to the holy see. The Anglo-Saxons, at first submissive to the popes, and therefore set up by them against the independent church of Scotland and of Ireland, soon acquired that spirit of opposition which was, it seems, necessary and fated in England; but it was not a philosophical opposition, such as that of the old Irish church in the times of Saint Columbanus and John Erigena. The Saxon church seems to have been, like the people, gross and barbarous*. For ages the island had been the scene of constant invasions. All the people of the North, Celts, Saxons, and Danes seem to have rendezvoused there, as those of the South did in Sicily. The Danes had ruled it for fifty years, living at will upon the Saxons—the bravest of whom had fled into the forests and become *wolf-heads*, as such outlaws were called. Disputes among the conquerors had enabled Edward the

women, who, with their pitchers, break the heads of the stoutest enemies. On this, the king, recognizing his folly, blushed, full of grief." Will Gemetic. 1 v. c. 4, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x 186.—In the year 1033, king Canute, through fear of Robert of Normandy, ordered to give up half of England to Ethelred's sons. Id. 1 v. c. 12; ibid. xi. 37.

* "The Anglo Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "had, long before the arrival of the Normans, neglected the study of letters and of religion. The priests were content with a hurried education, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and were all astonished if any one of them were acquainted with grammar. They all drank together; and this was the study to which they vowed their days and nights. They consumed their revenues in the joys of the table, in small, wretched houses; very different from the French and the Normans, who, dwelling in vast and superb buildings, go to very little expense in living. Hence, they had all the vices which attend drunkenness, and which enervate men's hearts. And thus, after having fought William with more rashness and blind fury than military skill, they were easily conquered by a single battle, and they and their country submitted to a hard slavery.—At this period, the dress of the English fell to the middle of the knee. They wore their hair short, their beard shaven, golden bracelets on their arms, and their complexion heightened by paint and coloured pigments. They were glutinous to corpulence, and drunken to brutishness. They inoculated their conquerors with these two vices: in other respects, they adopted the customs of the Normans. On their side the Normans were, and are still" (in the middle of the twelfth century, the period at which William of Malmesbury wrote) "careful in dress, even to fastidiousness; delicate in their food, though temperate; accustomed to warfare, and unable to live without it: though impetuous in attack, they know how to make use of stratagem and corruption when force is powerless. As I have said, they build fine buildings, and lay out little on their table. They are envious of their equals, would wish to outvie their superiors, and whilst despoiling their inferiors, will protect them against strangers. Faithful to their lords; yet the least offence will make them unfaithful. They can weigh perfidy against fortune, and sell their oath. Lastly, they are of all people the most susceptible of friendly sentiments: they will honour strangers equally with their own countrymen, and do not disdain to intermarry with their subjects." Willelm. Malmesburiensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum, l. iii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 185.—Matth. Paris (ed. 1644), p. 4. "The Saxon nobles . . . did not repair to church in the morning, according to Christian use, but loitering in their couches and their wives' embraces, they were content with hastily snatching a word of the solemn rites of matins and of mass."—Order. Vital. l. iv. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 242. "The Normans found the Angles boorish, and almost without tincture of letters."

Confessor, the son of a Saxon king and of a Norman woman, and brought up in Normandy, to return and take possession of the throne. This good man, who was made a saint for having lived with his wife as with a sister, was impotent for good or for ill. But the people have loved him for his good wishes, and have mourned in him their last national sovereign, just as Brittany has remembered Anne de Bretagne, and Provence, king René. His reign was but a short interlude between the Danish and Norman invasions. Friendly to the more civilized Normans, amongst whom he had passed his happiest years, he vainly strove to escape from the protectorship of a powerful Saxon chief, named Godwin, who had expelled the Danes and restored him to the throne, but who in reality reigned himself, and who possessed either of his own or by his sons the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hereford, and Oxford, that is to say, the whole of the South of England*. Godwin was accused of having formerly invited Alfred, Edward's brother, and of having betrayed him to the Danes. This powerful family cared neither for the king nor the law; for Sweyn, one of Godwin's sons, having slain his cousin Beorn, the poor king Edward had been unable to avenge his murder†. The Normans whom he opposed to Godwin were forcibly driven from the island‡; Godwin's sons became the masters, and one of them named Harold, who was, indeed, endowed with great qualities, acquired so much power over the weak monarch, as to induce him to name him his successor.

The Normans, who made sure of reigning after Edward, persevered with their customary tenaciousness of purpose. They asserted that he had named William his successor. Harold contended that his title was better founded, that Edward had named him on his death-bed, and that in England bequests made at the last moment held good§. William, however, averred that he was prepared to plead either by the Norman or the English law||; and, by a singular chance, he had acquired a right over England and over Harold, its new king.

Harold, forced by a storm on the lands of the count of Ponthieu, William's vassal, was by him given up to his suzerain. He pretended that he had left England to require from the duke of Normandy his brother and his nephew, whom the duke retained as hostages. William treated him well, but did not let him go so easily. He dubbed him knight, and Harold thus became his son at arms. Next, he made him swear on certain holy relics that he would assist him to conquer England¶.

* Thierry, Conq. de l'Angleterre, &c. 1826, t. i. p. 223.

† See Lingard's History of England, vol. i. p. 405, 406.

‡ Guill. Malmesb. xi. p. 174. Godwinus tantum brevi valuit, ut Normannos omnes ignominie notatos ab Anglia effugaret.

§ Guill. Pictav. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 94.

|| Id. ibid. 95.

¶ Id. ibid. 87. Heraldus ei fidelitatem sancto ritu Christianorum juravit. . . . Se in curia Edwardi, quamdiu superasset, ducis Guillelmi vicarium fore; enisurum . . . ut Anglica monarchia post Edwardi decessum in ejus manu confirmaretur. "He swore, too," adds the same writer. "to put Dover castle in William's hands on Edward's death." See, also, Guill. Malmesb. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 176.—"According to some," says Wace, "king Edward dissuaded Harold from this voyage, telling him that William hated

after Edward's death. Harold was likewise to marry William's daughter, and to give his own sister to a Norman count. The better to confirm this promise of dependence and of vassalage, William took him with him in an expedition against the Bretons. It is thus that in the *Niebelungen*, Siegfried becomes king Gunther's vassal by fighting for him*. According to the notions of the middle age, Harold had become William's man.

When, on Edward's death, Harold was quietly seating himself in his new throne, a messenger arrived from Normandy who addressed him as follows: "William, duke of the Normans, reminds thee of the oath which thou hast sworn with thy mouth and with thy hand on true and holy reliquaries†." Harold replied that his oath had not been freely given, and that he had promised what was not his, since the crown belonged to the people. As for my sister, he said, she died this year; does your duke wish me to send him her body? William answered in a gentle and friendly tone‡, by begging the king to fulfil one of the conditions at least of his oath, and to take his sister to wife. But Harold married another. William then swore that within a year he would cross over to enforce the whole of his debt, and would pursue the perjurer even there where he should esteem his footing surest and safest§.

Before resorting to arms, however, the Norman declared that he would defer to the judgment of the pope¶, and his claim on England was formally pleaded before the conclave of the Lateran. Four proofs were submitted of wrong done—the murder of Alfred, who had been betrayed by Godwin; the expulsion of a Norman, nominated by Edward to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in favour of a Saxon; Harold's oath; and Edward's alleged promise to William of leaving him the crown. The Norman envoys appeared before the pope; Harold neither appeared nor sent any representative. Judgment went by default, and England was pronounced to be the Norman's; a bold decision, which

him, and would play him some trick." Roman de Rou, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 223. See, too, Eadmer, *ibid.* xi. 192.—According to others, he sent him to ratify to the duke his promise of leaving him the throne of England—

"N'en sai mie voire ocoison,

Mais l'un et l'autre escrit trovons."

(I know not which to yield credit to, but we find written both one and the other report.)

Guillaume de Jumièges (ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 49), Ingulf de Croyland (*ibid.* 154), Orderic Vital (*ibid.* 234), the Chronicle of Normandy (xlii. 222), &c., affirm that Edward had designated William his successor. Eadmer even does not deny it (xi. 192).—On his death-bed, Edward, importuned by Harold's friends, retracted his promise. (Roger de Hoved. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 312. Roman de Rou, and the Norman Chronicle, xlii. 224.)

* Gunther's wife reminds Siegfried's of this, in order to humble her.

† Chronicle of Normandie, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 229. Sire, je suis message de Guillaume le duc de Northmandie, qui m'envoie devers vous, et vous fait savoir que vous ayez memoire du serment que vous lui feistes en Northmandie publiquement, et sur tant de bons saintuaires. •

‡ Eadmer, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 193. Iterum et amica familiaritate mandavit.

§ Guill. Malmsh. l. iii. Se illuc iturum, quo Haroldus tutiores se pedes habere putaret.

¶ "As to Harold, he gave himself no concern about the pope's judgment."—Judicium papæ parvipendens.—Ingulf. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 134. Guill. Malmsh. l. iii.

was due to Hildebrand's prompting, and was contrary to the opinion of many of the cardinals. The diploma conveying the country to him was sent to William, together with a consecrated banner, and one of St. Peter's hairs.

INVASION OF ENGLAND.

As the *invasion* thus assumed the character of a *crusade*, a crowd of men at arms flocked to William from every part of Europe; from Flanders, from the Rhine, from Burgundy, Piedmont, and Aquitaine. The Normans, on the contrary, showed no alacrity to assist their lord in a hazardous enterprise, which, if successful, might end in making their country a province of England. Besides, Normandy was threatened by Conan, the young duke of Brittany, who had hurled at William a most insulting defiance. All Brittany had put itself in motion for the conquest of Normandy, whilst the latter was about to depart to conquer England. Conan made a solemn entry into Normandy at the head of a numerous army, young, full of confidence, and sounding his horn in challenge to the enemy. But in the very act of giving it voice, his strength gradually failed him and the reins slipped from his hand—the horn was poisoned. His death happened opportunely for William, and not only relieved him from serious embarrassment, but numbers of the Bretons went over to him instead of attacking him, and followed him to England.

From this moment William's success seemed assured. The Saxons were divided; and Harold's own brother summoned the Normans, and then the Danes, who attacked England on the north, whilst William invaded it on the south. The heady attack of the Danes was easily repulsed by Harold, who cut them in pieces. William's attack was more deliberate; he had to wait long for a wind; but England could not escape him. The Normans enjoyed a vast advantage in the superiority of their arms and discipline, for whereas the Saxons fought on foot with short axes, the Normans were well mounted and used long lances*. For a considerable time William had been purchasing the finest horses of Spain, Gascony, and Auvergne†; and this, perhaps, may have been the origin of our strong and beautiful breed of Norman horses. The Saxons built no castles‡, and so in losing a battle, they lost all, for they had no place to fall back upon, and the chances were that they would lose the battle, fighting in a level country against an excellent cavalry. England's only defence was her fleet; but Harold's was so badly provisioned, that after a short cruise in the channel it was obliged to put in to victual§.

William, on landing at Hastings, met with no more army than he had fleet. Harold was at the time at the other end of England, busied in repulsing the Danes. At last he returned with his troops victorious but fatigued, lessened in numbers, and discontented, it is said, with the parsimony with which he had divided the booty. He was wounded, too. Still, however, the Norman made no haste, but dispatched a monk to tell the

* See the Bayeux tapestry.

† Guill. Pictav. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 181.

‡ Ord. Vit. *ibid.* xi. 240. Munitiones, quas Galli castella nuncupant, Anglicis provinciis, paucissimæ fuerant.

§ Victu deficiente. Roger de Hoveden, *ibid.* xi. 312.

Saxon that he would be content to divide the kingdom with him. "If he obstinately refuse my offer," added William, "you will tell him before his followers, that he is perjured and a liar, that he and all who support him are excommunicated by the pope's own mouth, and that I can show the bull *." This message had its effect. The Saxons began to doubt the goodness of their cause; and Harold's own brothers endeavoured to persuade him not to fight in person, since, after all, was their argument, he had sworn †.

The Normans passed the night devoutly confessing themselves; whilst the Saxons drank, indulged in loud and tumultuous festivity, and sang their national songs. In the morning, the bishop of Bayeux, William's brother, celebrated mass, and gave his benediction to the troops, armed with a hauberk under his rochet. William himself wore hung from his neck the most sacred of the relics on which Harold had sworn, and the standard blessed by the pope was borne before him.

At first, the Anglo-Saxons, intrenched behind palisades, remained immovable and impassible under the discharges of William's archers, and although Harold fell struck to the brain by an arrow which entered his eye, the Normans had the worst. A panic seized them, for there was a rumour that the duke was slain; and, indeed, in the course of the battle he had three horses killed under him ‡; but he showed himself, stopped the fliers, and led them back to the fight. It was precisely the advantage gained by the Saxons, which ruined them. They came down to the plain, and the Norman cavalry gained the upper hand. The lances bore down the axes. The palisades were forced; and all were put to the sword, or compelled to flight. (A. D. 1066.)

To fulfil the vow which he had made to St. Martin, the patron saint of the soldier of Gaul, William built a fair and rich abbey—*Battle Abbey*—on the hill on which primeval England had fallen with the last Saxon king. The names of the conquerors were read not long since there engraved on tablets—constituting the golden book of the English nobility. Harold was buried by the monks on this hill, in face of the sea. "He guarded the coast," said William; "he may guard it still §."

The Norman began by bearing his honours meekly, and by showing some consideration for the conquered. He degraded one of his followers who had struck Harold's dead body || with his sword; took the title of king of the English; promised to observe the good laws of Edward the Confessor; attached London to him, and confirmed the privileges of the men of Kent. This was the most warlike of the English counties (the Kentish men had a claim from time immemorial to the forming the vanguard of the English army), and the one in which the old Celtic liberties were best preserved.

* Chronique de Normandie, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 231.

† William, on the contrary, proposed to decide the question by single combat. Proponat Willelmus . . . soli rem gladius ventilent. Matth. Paris. p. 2, col. 2, ed. 1644.

‡ Ord. Vit. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 236. "Tres equi sub eo confossi ceciderunt.—Guill. Pictav. ibid. 98. Guill. Malmsh. ibid. 184.

§ Lingard's England, vol. i. p. 452.

|| Matth. Paris. p. 3. Jacentis femur regis gladio præcudit . . . militiam pulsus. . . . Alberic. Tr. Font. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 361.

When Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, claimed exemption for the men of Kent, in virtue of their privileges, from the tyrannous exactions of William's brother, he was favourably listened to by the king. The conqueror even attempted to learn English *, that he might the better administer justice to his new subjects; for he piqued himself on his judicial impartiality, which he exemplified by deposing his uncle (Malger, archbishop of Rouen,) from his see, on account of the immorality of his conduct. Nevertheless, he built numerous forts, and took possession of all the strong places.

Perhaps William would have asked no better than to treat the conquered leniently. It was to his interest. He would only have been the more absolute for it in Normandy. But this was not the mark of the numerous followers to whom he had promised the spoil, and who were expecting it. They had not fought at Hastings to enable William to come to an amicable understanding with the Saxons. He withdrew to Normandy, where he remained several years, no doubt to elude and defer the execution of his promises, until the strangers who had followed his fortunes should become disgusted and retire to their several countries. But an alarming revolt broke out in his absence. The Saxons could not believe that they had been irretrievably conquered in one battle. Thus William stood in need of the services of his men at arms, and this time a division of the spoil was a thing of necessity. England was measured in its length and breadth, and accurately described.

William created sixty thousand knights' fees at the cost of the Saxons, and inscribed their specification in the black book of the conquest—*Domesday Book*—the book of the day of judgment. Then began those frightful scenes of spoliation, which have been given to us in so lively and dramatic a history †. Yet must we not believe that all was taken from the conquered. Many of them preserved estates, and this in every county. We find set down to one Saxon alone (Cospatric) forty-one manors in the county of York ‡.

The judgment formed of the Conqueror by the Saxons themselves will not be read without interest.—

"If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he were the lord, we will describe him as we have known him: for we looked on him, and some

* Ord. Vital, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 243. Anglicam locutionem plerumque satagit ediscere. The writer adds, "But his busy life hindered him from acquiring it."—He set out by severely repressing the licentiousness of his mercenaries. Guill. Pictav. ibid. 101. "The women were safe from violence, and even the common dissoluteness of the camp was forbidden. He did not allow the soldiery to frequent the suttlers too much . . . he prohibited all jangling, bloody strife, and plunder . . . he ordered the ports and all roads to be opened to merchants, and no injury to be done them." The conscientious Orderic Vital has copied this passage of William's panegyrist. Ibid. 238.—"The weak and unarmed," says William of Poitiers, "went about singing on his horse wherever he liked, without trembling at the sight of squadrons of horsemen."—"A girl, covered with gold," says Huntingdon, "might have walked over the whole kingdom without injury."—Scr. R. Fr. xi. 211. At a later period the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons irritated William, and pushed him on to those acts of violence which fill all the chronicles.

† Thierry's Conquête de l'Angleterre.

‡ Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 425, first ed.

while lived in his herd. King William was a very wise man, and very rich, more worshipful and strong than any of his foregoers. He was mild to good men, who loved God: and stark beyond all bounds to those who withsaid his will. On the very stede, where God gave him to win England, he reared a noble monastery, and set monks therein, and endowed it well. He was very worshipful. Thrice he bore his king-helmet every year, when he was in England; at Easter he bore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and in mid-winter at Gloucester. And then were with him all the rich men over all England: archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. Moreover he was a very stark man, and very savage; so that no man durst do any thing against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had done against his will: bishops he set off their bishoprics, abbots off their abbotries, and thanes in prisons: and at last he did not spare his own brother Odo. Him he set in prison. Yet among other things we must not forget the good frith which he made in this land: so that a man that was good for aught, might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation; and no man durst slay another man, though he had suffered never so mickle evil from the other. He ruled over England: and by his cunning he was so thoroughly acquainted with it, that there is not a hide of land of which he did not know both who had it and what was its worth: and that he set down in his writings. Wales was under his weald, and therein he wrought castles, and he wielded the Isle of Man withal: moreover he subdued Scotland by his mickle strength: Normandy was his by him; and over the earldom called Mans he ruled; and if he might have lived yet two years, he would have won Ireland by the fame of his power, and without any armament. Yet truly in his time, men had mickle suffering and very many hardships. Castles he caused to be wrought and poor men to be oppressed, he was so very stark. He took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver: and that he took, some by right, and some by mickle might, for very little need. He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he loved withal. He let his lands to fine, as dear as he could: then came some other and bade more than the first had given, and the king let it to him who bade more. Then came a third, and bid yet more, and the king let it into the hands of the men who bade the most. Nor did he reck how sinfully his reeves got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. For the more men talked of right law, the more they did against the law. He also set many deer-friths*: and he made laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind, him man should bind. As he forbade the slaying of harts, so also did he of boars. So much he loved the high-deer, as if he had been their father. He also decreed about hares, that they should go free. His rich men moaned, and the poor men murmured; but he was so hard, that he ~~recked not the hatred~~ of them all. For it was need they should follow the king's will withal, if they wished to live, or to have lands, or goods, or his favour. Alas! that any

* Deer-friths were forests, in which the deer were under the king's protection or frith.

man should be so moody, and should so puff up himself, and think himself above all other men!—May Almighty God have mercy on his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins.*

Whatever the evils with which the conquest may have been attended, its result, in my opinion, was of immense service to England and to mankind. For the first time, there was a government. The social bond, loose and floating in France and Germany, was tightly strung in England. The barons, few in number, and in the midst of a whole people whom they oppressed, were obliged to serry themselves around the king. William received the oath of the *arrière-vassals* as well as that of the *vassals*†. Now the *vassals* of the king of France did ready homage to him; but had he gone to the duke of Guyenne or the count of Flanders, and demanded that the barons and knights dependent on either should do him, not them, homage, he would have fared very differently. But in this lay the germ of the whole;—a monarchy which depended on the homage of the great vassals alone, was purely nominal. Removed, by its elevation in the political hierarchy, from those lower ranks in which dwelt the true strength of the nation, it remained solitary and weak at the top of the pyramid, whilst the great vassals, placed between the two extremes, rested firmly upon the powerful base.

The Norman barons of the first century, conscious of the constant jeopardy of their situation, bore with strange stretches of authority on the king's part; entrusting him—as the depository of the common interest of the conquest, and defender of its vast and terrible injustice,—with full means to secure the safety of the kingdom. He was the guardian of all noble minors; and married noble heiresses to whomsoever he chose. These wardships and marriages he turned equally to account, consuming the property of the infants under his wardship, and deriving a revenue from those desirous of rich wives, and from those females who refused to marry as he recommended. Feudal rights of the kind existed on the continent, but under a very different form. The king of France could object to a marriage injurious to his interests, but not force a husband on his vassal's daughter; he was the guardian of minors, but only after the law of the feudal hierarchy, the wardship of *arrière-vassals* being his vassals' right and profit, and not his.

Independently of the *Danegelt*, which was levied on all, under pretext of providing for defence against the Danes, and independently of the *tailage* exacted of the conquered, and of those who were

* Chronic. Saxon. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 51. (The foregoing version is from Lingard, vol. ii. p. 98—101.)

† So think Gibbon and the authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*.

‡ Chron. Saxon. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 51. Omnes prædia tenentes, quotquot essent notæ melioris pæ totam Angliam, ejus facti sunt vassalli, ac ei fidelitatis juramenta præstiterunt.

§ "The bishop of Winchester paid a tun of good wine, for not reminding the king (John) to give a girdle to the countess of Albemarle; and Robert de Vaux five best palfreys, that the same king might hold his peace about Henry Pinel's wife. Another paid four marks, for leave to eat (*pro licentia comedendi*)." Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 438.

not noble, the king of England drew a tax from the nobles themselves, ~~under the honourable name of *escuage*~~; which was a dispensation from military service. Worn out by constant summonses to the field, the barons preferred disbursing their money to following their adventurous sovereign in his numerous enterprises; and he gained in power by the exchange. He purchased, instead of the capricious and uncertain service of the barons, that of mercenary soldiers, Gascons, Brabançons, Gauls, and others; and men of this stamp depending completely on the monarch, constituted his strength against the aristocracy; which thus paid for the bit and bridle that he put into its mouth.

In this manner was the kingly power built up, and by its side the Church; a powerful and politic Church, like that founded by Charlemagne in Saxony, in order to tame down the ancient Saxons. No where did the clergy take so large share of things temporal; and even now, the revenue of the Anglican Church exceeds the collective revenues of all other churches in the world*. The centre of this Church was the archbishop of Canterbury, who was a sort of patriarch or pope, who did not always regard the orders of him of Rome, and who, on the other hand, often interposed between the king and people, and not unfrequently to the advantage of the conquered—the Saxons†. “Archbishop Lanfranc, William’s councillor and confessor, encouraged and armed by the favour of the pope and that of the king, attacked and broke down the power of the prelates and nobles, who were rebellious to the royal authority‡.” It was he who governed England when William went over to the continent.

So strongly organized a monarchy and a church as the Anglo-Norman, held out an impressive example to the world; whose kings envied the omnipotence of the English sovereigns, whilst their people desired the regular, though tyrannical, government, which prevailed in Great Britain.

It is true, the conquered paid dearly for this order and organization; but, at last, the desertion of the country peopled the towns§, and their strong and compact population prepared a new destiny for England. In order to confine the feudal jurisdictions||, William had kept up the Saxon tribunals of the county and *hundred*; and they were likewise narrowed and overrid by the supreme authority of the king’s court. Thus England, enclosed in an iron frame, began to know public order; an order which gave development to prodigious social strength. In the two centuries succeeding the conquest, notwithstanding numerous calamities, there were reared those marvellous monuments, which the combined power of the present time could hardly equal. The low and sombre Saxon

churches rose in bold spires and majestic towers; and if literature were prevented from taking an upward flight by difference of races and tongues, art, at least, began. It is by these monuments and the social strength which they reveal, that we must form our judgment of the conquest, and not by the temporary distresses brought in its train. The Conquest was the complement of England, and the point from which she started; and it is this which constitutes its perfect justification.

Although the Normans were far from yielding all the church of Rome had promised herself, in the event of their success, she, nevertheless, was a large gainer. The Normans of Naples, from the beginning, and those of England in Henry the Second’s time, and that of John, acknowledged themselves feudatories of the holy see. The Italian Normans often kept in check the emperors, both of the east and west, as regarded her; whilst the English Normans, formidable vassals to the king of France, long constrained him to submit unreservedly to the popes. At this very period, too, the Capetians of Burgundy were aiding the victories of the Cid, gaining by marriage the kingdom of Castile, and founding that of Portugal. (A.D. 1094 or 1095.) The Church was triumphant in every part of Europe, through the sword of Frenchmen; who in Sicily and in Spain, in England and in the Greek empire, had begun or ended the crusade against the enemies of the pope and of the faith.

Nevertheless, these several enterprises had been undertaken too independently of each other, and on too selfish and interested grounds, to accomplish the grand aim of Gregory VII. and his successors—the unity of Europe under the pope, and the abasement of the two empires. It was essential to the realization of this grand aim of unity that the Church should work visibly to effect it, and should summon Christianity to her aid. Amidst the differences which prevailed in it, the world of the eleventh century had yet one common principle of life—religion; and one common form of life, the feudal and warlike. Its unity could be effected by a religious war alone: it could only forget the differences of race and of political interests by which it was distracted, by being brought in presence of a general and a greater difference; so great, that every other should disappear in the comparison. Europe could only believe herself one, and become so, by seeing herself face to face with Asia. To this end the popes had directed their labours from the year 1000. A French pope, Gerbert—Sylvester II.—had addressed all Christian princes in the name of Jerusalem. Gregory VII. had eagerly desired to put himself at the head of fifty thousand knights in order to deliver the holy sepulchre. This glory was reserved for Urban II., a Frenchman as well as Gerbert. Germany had her crusade in Italy; and Spain her own, at home. The holy war of Jerusalem, decided upon in France, at the council of Clermont, and preached by the Frenchman Peter the Hermit, was carried into effect chiefly by Frenchmen. The crusades are idealized in two Frenchmen—in Godfrey of Bouillon, by whom they were begun, and in St. Louis, with whom they ended. It was for France to contribute more than all the other countries to that great event which rendered Europe one nation.

* According to an English journal, quoted by the *Temps* of Nov. 8, 1831, the revenues of the Church of England amount to 236,489,125 francs; that of the Christian clergy throughout the rest of the world, is 224,975,000 francs

† See further on, Lanfranc, St. Anselm, Thomas Becket, Stephen Langton, &c.

‡ Matth. Paris, *Libro de Abbat. S. Albani*, p. 29, et ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 52.

§ In the early times of the conquest, the population of the towns fell off rapidly. Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 427.

|| Id. *ibid.* p. 434. The references to Hallam are uniformly to the edition in three volumes.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRUSADE. A. D. 1095—1099.

LONG had those two sisters, those two halves of humanity, Europe and Asia, the Christian religion and the Mussulman, lost sight of each other, when they were brought face to face by the crusade, and their inquiring gaze met. That first glance was one of horror. Some time had to elapse before they could recognize one another, and mankind avow their common identity. Let us essay to appreciate what each then was, and to fix the age at which either had arrived in its religious life.

Islamism was the younger of the two, and yet the elder and more decayed. Her career was short. Born six hundred years later than Christianity, her term came with the crusades. All we have since seen of her has been a shadow, an empty form from which life has fled, and which is preserved by the barbarian heirs of the Arabs in silence and unquestioned.

Islamism, the most recent of the Asiatic religions, is also the last and the powerless effort of the East to escape the materialism which weighs heavy on it; an effort beyond Persia's strength, despite its heretical opposition of the kingdom of light to that of darkness, of Iran to Turan. Judea, too, looked up as she was in the unity of her abstract God, and concentrated to hardness within herself, was insufficient for the task. Neither could work the redemption of Asia. What can Mahomet, who only adopts the God of the Jews, and takes him from the chosen people to force him upon all? Shall Ismaël know more than his brother Israel? Shall the desert of Arabia be more fecund than Persia and Judea?

God is God—this is Islamism: it is the religion of unity. Man is to disappear; the flesh to hide itself. There are to be neither images, nor art. This terrible God will be jealous of his own symbols. He chooses to be alone, with man alone; whom he must fill and suffice. The patriarchy is almost destroyed; so, too, is the bond of consanguinity; so, too, the community of the tribe—all the old links of Asia. Woman is buried in the harem: the wives may be four, but the concubines innumerable. Brothers and kinsmen are kuit together by but slight ties: the terms are lost in the one word—Mussulman. Families have no common name, no distinguishing signs, and do not appear to descend, but to be renewed each generation. Each builds himself a house, and the house perishes with the builder. Man holds neither to his fellow man, nor to the soil. Isolated, and leaving no trace, they pass as the dust of the desert, and equal one to the other just as grain resembles grain of sand, under the eye of a levelling God who wills there to be no hierarchy.

No Christ, no Mediator, no God-man—that ladder which Christianity had thrown us from on high, and which aspired to God through the Saints, the Virgin, the Angels, and Jesus, but which Mahomet rejects. He struck at the root of all

hierarchy, both divine and human. God recedes in the heavens to an immeasurable distance, or else weighs upon the earth, broods upon it, and crushes it. We lie, miserable atoms, equals in nothingness, on the arid plain. This religion is veritable Arabia—sky and earth, with nothing between. No mountain raises us near to the heavens, no gentle vapour deceives us as to distance, but pitilessly stretched out like a helmet of burning steel, hangs a dome of sullen blue.

Islamism, born for extension, will not remain in this state of sublime and sterile desolation. She must traverse the world, even at the risk of change. That God, the idea of whom Mahomet has borrowed from Moses, might remain abstract, pure, and terrible on the Jewish mountain or in the Arabian desert: but the horsemen of the prophet parade him victoriously from Bagdad to Cordova, from Damascus to Surat. The instant the whirl of the sabre and wind of the cimeter cease to kindle his wild ardour, he will own the touch of humanity. I doubt his austerity when encircled by the paradises of the harem and its solitary roses, and by the sparkling fountains of the Alhambra. The flesh, denounced by this haughty religion, stubbornly rebels*. Banished matter reappears under another form, and avenges itself with all the violence of an exile returning in triumph. They have shut up woman in the seraglio, but she shuts them up there with her. They would not have the Virgin; and they have been these thousand years fighting for Fatima†. They have rejected the God-man, and spurned the incarnation through hatred of Christ, whilst they proclaim that of Ali‡. They have condemned magism, the reign of light; yet teach that Mahomet is the incarnate light§—though, according to others, it is Ali, and the imams, Ali's descendants and successors, are incarnate rays. Ismaël, the last of these imams, has disappeared from the earth; but his race yet

* With Mussulmans, the words "woman," and "an object forbidden by religion," are synonymous. Bibl. des Croisades, t. iv p. 169.

† Fatima will enter Paradise next to Mahomet: the Mussulmans call her the Lady of Paradise.—Some Shiites (the followers of Ali) maintain that Fatima was not the less a virgin for becoming a mother, and that God was incarnate in her children.—Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. de Blacas, par M. Reinaud, ii. 130. 202.

‡ Whole provinces, in Persia and in Syria, still entertain the same belief. "Those Shiites who have not dared to say that *Ali was God*, have believed that he was almost so; and the Persians often say, 'I do not believe Ali to be God, but he is not far from it.'—The Shiites say that so resplendent was Ali's person, that none could support his look; and that the instant he went forth the people exclaimed, '*Thou art God*,' on which Ali would strike them dead, but then call them to life again, when they would begin to exclaim louder than before, '*Thou art God, thou art God*!' Hence they have styled him the Dispenser of Light, and when they paint him, they cover his face." Reinaud, ii. 163.

§ According to some doctors, at the very moment of creation, God had before him the idea of Mahomet, and this idea, at once a spiritual and a luminous substance, threw out three rays: of the first, God created the heavens; of the second, the earth; and of the third, Adam and all his race. Thus the notion of a Trinity enters into Islamism, as well as that of the incarnation.—The Westerns thought they detected in it the Christian hierarchy. "These nations," says Guibert de Nogent, "have their pope the same as we have ours." L. V. ap. Bongars, pp. 312, 313. •

* The Orientals have personal, but not hereditary armorial bearings. Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. de Blacas, t. i. p. 72, and p. 119.

exists in secret, and it is a duty to seek it out. The visible representatives of Ali and of Fatima, were the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt; but these doctrines had prevailed before their time in the eastern mountains of the ancient Persian empire, where Islamism had been unable to extirpate magism*. They burst out in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the fanatic followers of Karmath, who styled themselves ISMAILITES, set forth, sword in hand, in quest of their invisible imann, throughout Asia, to be exterminated by hundreds of thousands by the Abbassides. But one of them, taking refuge in Egypt, founded the Fatimite dynasty, to the ruin of the Abbassides and the Koran.

Under their sway, mysterious Egypt revived her ancient mysteries. The Fatimites founded at Cairo the lodge, or *House of Wisdom*; a vast and darksome arsenal of fanaticism and science, of religion and atheism †. The only fixed doctrine of these Proteuses of Islamism was implicit obedience. You had only to resign yourself into their hands,

* Hammer, History of the Assassins, p. 38, sqq. of the French translation.

† Ibid. p. 4.—The *House of Wisdom* is, perhaps, no other than that palace of Cairo, of which William of Tyre has left us so glowing a description. The degrees of wealth and of greatness, would seem to correspond with the degrees of initiation. However this be, we give a translation of this precious memorial of the past:—

"Hugh of Cesarea, and Geoffrey, a soldier of the temple, entered the city of Cairo, conducted by the soldan, to discharge their mission. They ascended to the palace, called *Casher* in the language of the country, with a numerous troop of apparitors, who preceded them sword in hand, and with great clamour. They were led through narrow and dark passages, and, at every gate, cohorts of armed Ethiopians did homage to the soldan, by repeated salutes. After clearing the first and second posts, they entered a larger space, open to the sun and the broad light of day, where they find galleries with marble columns, wainscoted with gold, enriched with sculpture in relief, paved with mosaic, and, throughout their whole extent, befitting royal magnificence. The richness of the material and of the workmanship involuntarily fastened the eyes; and the greedy looks, charmed by the novelty of the spectacle, could hardly be satisfied. There were basins, also, filled with limpid water; and the place resounded with the various warbling of birds unknown to our world, of strange form and colour, each of which was fed with the different food to which its nature inclined it. As they proceeded, under the conduct of the chief of the eunuchs, they find buildings as superior to the first in elegance, as were those to the meanest house. Here was an astonishing variety of quadrupeds, such as painters imagine in the wantonness of their art, such as poetic lies describe, such as we see in dreams, such, in short, as are found in the lands of the Orient and of the South, whilst the West has never seen, and has scarcely ever heard of aught of the kind.—After many windings and corridors, which might have fixed the attention of the busiest man, they reached the palace itself, where more numerous bodies of armed men and of satellites proclaimed by their multitude and by their dress, the incomparable magnificence of their master: the appearance of the places, too, also announced his opulence and prodigious riches. When they had entered the interior of the palace, the soldan, to honour his master according to custom, prostrated himself twice before him, and suppliantly rendered him a worship, which seemed due only to him, a kind of adoration. Suddenly, the curtains, interwoven with pearls and gold, which hung in the midst of the hall, before the throne, were drawn aside with marvellous rapidity, and displayed the caliph, who appeared on a golden throne, arrayed more magnificently than kings, and surrounded by a few of his domestics and favourite eunuchs." Wilhelm. Tyrens. l. xix. c. 17.

to be led by nine stages from religion to mysticism*, from mysticism to philosophy, thence to doubt and absolute indifference†. Their missionaries penetrated to every quarter of Asia, and even into the palace of Bagdad, inundating the caliphate of the Abbassides with their destroying dissolvent. Persia had long been prepared to receive it, since before Karmath and Mahomet, under the latter Sassanides, sectaries had preached a community of goods and of women, and of the indifference of the just and unjust. It was not until restored to the mountains of ancient Persia, towards Casbin, and to the very spot which gave birth to the early liberators of the country,—the blacksmith Kaf, with his famous leather apron, and the hero, Feridon, with his buffalo-headed mace‡, that the doctrine bore its full fruit. This Mahomedan Protestantism, instilled into the intrepid population of this region, soon assimilated with their spirit of national resistance, and taught them the execrable heroism of assassination. It began here with one Hassanben-Sabah-Illomairi, who, being rejected by the

* This mystic spirit of the Alides has often led them to apply to devotion the language of love, just as it has given them a tendency to rise from the love of the real to that of the ideal.

A Persian poet says, addressing God—

"It is your beauty, O Lord! which, hidden though it be behind a veil, has made an infinite number of lovers and of mistresses;

"'Tis by the attraction of your perfumes that Leila ravished the heart of Medjnoun; 'tis through the desire of possessing you, that Vamek breathed so many sighs for her whom he adored." Reinaud, i. 52.

I cannot refrain from quoting the following ode:—

"The tulip has become a wine-cup (from which we have drawn the most marvellous knowledge), and the rose a beauty of fresh complexion (who constitutes the delight of lovers). The nightingale, making the garden re-echo with his joyous accents, is like a musician striking up the dance.

"Come into the garden, for without thy care or mine, all is ready for pleasure.

"Since the rose has removed the veil from before her cheek (and has opened), the narcissus has become all eyes to gaze upon her.

"Verdure has succeeded to the thorns (spring to the autumn); but (O thou whom I adore) the thorn which thou hast plunged into my heart, causes strange convulsions in it.

"Open thy eyes to consider the narcissus; thou wouldst say that it is the circlet of the plaides around the sun (its calyx is yellow, with white petals).

"Or else thou wouldst say, that it is a golden cup in the hand of a beauty of silvery complexion, the cup surrounded with silver fingers.

"The violet has felt humbled, and concealed her head under the purple mantle that covers her, one would say that the verdure has formed beneath her feet a carpet inviting to prayer.

"See that spring cloud; thanks to its liberality, the country is covered with pearls and diamonds.

"But no, I am deceived; I mean that the King (God) has of his goodness reared under the crystal vault a tent, destined for pleasures."

Jami, who in this new offshoot of his genius celebrates the charms of spring, has drawn from the mute language of the plants adorning the garden, the eulogy of the King (God). Reinaud, ii. 468.

† The principle of the esoteric doctrine was—*Nothing is true, and every thing is permitted.* Hammer, p. 87. A celebrated imann wrote against the Hassanites a book entitled, *On the Folly of the Partisans of Indifference in regard to Religion.*

‡ Hammer, p. 230.

Abbasides and the Fatimites, made himself master, in 1090, of the fortress of Alamut (the *Vulture's Nest*); which in his daring he named, the *Abode of Fortune* *. Here he founded an association, of which Fatimism was the ostensible, but the destruction of all religion the real object. Like the lodge of Cairo, this corporation had its professors and missionaries. Alamut was stored with books and mathematical instruments †; the arts were cultivated there; and these sectaries penetrated in every direction as physicians, astrologers, goldsmiths, and a thousand other disguises. But the art to which they most devoted themselves, was assassination. These fearful men came forward one by one to poniard or sultan, or caliph, and followed each other neither daunted nor discouraged, as one after another they were hacked in pieces ‡. It is asserted, that in order to inspire them with this desperate courage, their chief overcame them by intoxicating beverages, bore them as they slept into bowers devoted to voluptuousness, and then persuaded them that they had had a foretaste of the Paradise promised to the faithful §. No doubt, the old heroism of the mountaineer, which rendered this country the cradle of the liberators of Persia, as well as that of the modern Wahabites, came in aid of these persuasives. Like the Spartan matron, mothers here boasted of their dead sons, and only mourned the living. The chief of the Assassins styled himself *Scheik of the mountain*; which was also the title of the native chiefs who had their forts on the other slope of the same chain ||.

This Hassan, who for five-and-thirty years did not once leave Alamut, nor twice quit his room, did not the less extend his dominion over most of the castles and strongholds of the mountains between the Caspian and the Mediterranean. His assassins inspired unspeakable terror. Princes, summoned to deliver up their fortresses, durst neither yield them nor keep them; they demolished them. There was no more any safety for kings. Each might any moment see a murderer spring forth from the midst of his most faithful servants. A sultan who persecuted the Assassins saw one morning when he awoke a dagger stuck in the ground, two fingers' breadth from his head: he at once paid tribute to them, exempting them from every tax and toll ¶.

Such was the situation of Islamism—the caliphate of Bagdad, enslaved under a Turkish guard; that of Cairo, dying of corruption; and that of Cordova, dismembered and fallen to pieces. One thing alone was strong and living in the Mahometan world—this horrible heroism of the Assassins, a hideous power, firmly planted on the old Persian mountain in face of the caliphate, like the poniard close to the sultan's head.

* Ibid. p. 97.

† Ibid. p. 54.

‡ Ibid. p. 103, 104, 109—113, &c. A hundred and twenty-four have been known to attempt the life of one sultan, one after the other.

§ Henri, count of Champagne, visiting the grand prior of the Assassins, the latter led him up a lofty tower, at each a battalion of which stood two *fedaris* (devotees). On a sign from him, two of these sentinels flung themselves from the top of the tower. "If you wish it," he said to the count, "all these men shall do the same." Marin. Sanut. l. iii. c. 8.

¶ Hammer, p. 233.

¶ Ibid. p. 111, 112.

How much more full of life and youth was Christianity at the time of the crusades! The spiritual, the slave of the temporal power in Asia, balanced, and overbore it in Europe, recast and tempered as it just had been by monastic chastity and the celibacy of the priests. The caliphate declined, and the papacy was on the rise. Mahometanism was dividing, Christianity was uniting. The first could only expect invasion and ruin; and, in fact, its sole power of resistance sprang from its receiving within its bosom the Mongols and the Turks, that is to say, from its becoming barbarian.

The pilgrimage of the crusade is neither a new nor a strange fact. Man is by nature a pilgrim: long is it since he set forth on his journey, and I know not when he will arrive at its end. Little is needed to put him in motion. First, Nature leads him about like a child by showing him a basking place in the sun, or offering him fruit—the vine of Italy to the Gauls, to the Normans the orange of Sicily *; or else, she tempts and attracts him under woman's form. Rape is the first conquest. 'Tis the beautiful Helen who inspires him; then, as moral feelings arise, the chaste Penelope, the heroic Brynhild or the Sabinas. When the emperor Alexis invited our Frenchmen to the holy war, he did not forget to extol the beauty of the Greek women to them. It is said that the lovely dames of Milan had something to do with the persevering efforts of Francis I., to conquer Italy.

Our country is another mistress, who also lures us on. Ulysses felt not fatigue in his desire to see the smoke rise from his Ithacan home. Under the Empire, the men of the north vainly sought their Asgard, the city of the Asi, of their gods and heroes. They found a better thing. In their blind haste, they hurled against Christianity. Our crusaders, who marched filled with such ardent love to Jerusalem, perceived that the land of God was not by the brook of Cedron, or in the arid valley of Jehoshaphat. Then, they turned their gaze upwards, and awaited in melancholy hope another Jerusalem. The Arabs were amazed when they saw Godfrey of Bouillon seated on the ground. The conqueror said sorrowfully to them—"Is not the ground good enough for a seat, when we shall return to its bosom for so long a sleep †?" They withdrew, filled with admiration. The West and the East had understood each other.

It behoved, however, that the crusade should go on to its end. It behoved that this vast and manifold world of the middle age, which contained within itself all the elements of the preceding worlds, Greek, Roman, and Barbarian, should reproduce all previous contests of the human race. It behoved that this world should represent under the Christian form, and in colossal proportions, the invasion of Asia by the Greeks, and the conquest of Greece by the Romans, whilst the Greek column and the Roman arch should be bound together, and reared towards the sky in the gigantic pillars and aerial ceilings of our cathedrals. •

* To this day, the Icelander expresses an ardent longing by the phrase—a longing for fgs.

† Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 21. Respondit: "Quod homini mortali sufficere merito terra pro sede temporalis poterat, cui post mortem perpetuum domicilium esse præstitura." . . . The writer adds, "They departed, saying, 'Of a verity, this man will subdue all countries, and for his deserts will rule over the people and the nations.'" •

Long had the concussion begun. From the year 1000, in particular; ever since mankind thought they had a chance of life, and entertained a gleam of hope, a crowd of pilgrims took up the staff and wended their way, some to the shrine of St. James, others to Monte-Cassino, to the holy apostles of Rome, and thence to Jerusalem. Their feet bore them thither of themselves; yet was the voyage dangerous and painful. Happy he who returned! Happier still he who died near the tomb of Christ, and who could exclaim in the presumptuous language of a writer of the time, "Lord, you died for me, I die for you * 1."

The early pilgrims met with a friendly reception from the Arabs, who were a commercial people. The Fatimites of Egypt, secretly hostile to the Koran, also treated them well. But the scene was changed when the caliph Hakem, the son of a Christian woman †, gave himself out for an incarnation of the Divinity. He hated alike the Christians for their belief that the Messiah had come, and the Jews for their obstinate conviction that He was yet to come, and persecuted both accordingly. From his time the holy sepulchre was only to be approached on condition of defiling it, as in later times the Dutch could gain admission into Japan only by trampling upon the cross. The story of the count of Anjou, Fulk-Nerra, who had so many sins to expiate, and went so often to Jerusalem, is well known. Constrained by the infidels to pollute the sacred tomb, he managed to pour costly wine instead of urine upon it ‡. Returning on foot from Jerusalem, he died of fatigue at Metz.

But neither fatigues nor insults checked the pilgrims. These haughty men, who for a word would have shed torrents of blood in their own country, piously submitted to all the humiliations which it pleased the Saracens to exact. In the eleventh century, the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Barcelona, of Flanders, and of Verdun, accomplished this trying pilgrimage. Danger but increased the anxiety to perform it: the pilgrims only took the precaution of journeying in larger bodies. In 1054, the bishop of Cambrai attempted it with three thousand Flemings, but failed. Thirteen years afterwards, the bishops of Mentz, Ratisbon, Bamberg, and Utrecht, together with some Norman knights, forming on the whole a small army of seven thousand men §, managed with

great difficulty to reach Jerusalem; but only two thousand, at the most, saw Europe again. Meanwhile the Turks, masters of Bagdad and partisans of its caliph, had got possession of Jerusalem, where they massacred indiscriminately all believers in the incarnation, both Alides and Christians. The Greek empire, daily narrowed in its limits, saw their cavalry push on as far as the Bosphorus, in face of Constantinople *. On the other side, the Fatimites trembled behind the ramparts of Damietta and of Cairo. Like the Greeks, they addressed themselves to the princes of the West. Alexis Comnena had already established relations with the count of Flanders, whom he had entertained magnificently on his way to Jerusalem. The Greek ambassadors, with the talkative genius of their race, vaunted the wealth of the East, and the empires and kingdoms which were to be conquered there: the cowards went so far as to boast of the beauty of their daughters and of their wives †, and seemed to promise them to the men of the West.

All these motives would not have sufficed to move the people, and communicate to them that mighty impulse which bore them on to the East. They had long heard of holy wars. The life of Spain was but one crusade; and each day news came of some victory of the Cid's, the taking of Toledo or of Valencia: but how poor compared to the prize of Jerusalem! Had not the Genoese and the Pisans, the conquerors of Sardinia and of Corsica, been carrying on a crusade for a century? When Sylvester II. wrote his famous letter in the name of Jerusalem, the Pisans armed a fleet, landed in Africa, and there massacred, it is said, a hundred thousand Moors ‡. Yet, it was sensibly felt that religion had little to do with all this. Danger fired the Spaniards, interest the Italians; who at a later period, entertained the idea of cutting off all crusading to Jerusalem, and of intercepting and attracting to themselves the wealth which the pilgrims bore to the East, by lading their galleys with earth from Judea, bringing within reach what was sought at such a distance, and making a holy land in the Campo-Santo of Pisa.

But the religious feeling of the people could not be thus played with, nor they diverted from the holy sepulchre. Amidst the extreme sufferings of the middle age, men yet preserved tears for the woes of Jerusalem. That loud voice which, in the year 1000, had threatened them with the end of the world, again made itself heard, and bade them repair to Palestine in gratitude, for the respite which God granted them. The report ran that the power of the Saracens had reached its term. They had only to go right on by the high road, which Charlemagne was said to have formerly opened §, and to march unweariedly towards the rising sun,

* Pierre d'Auvergne, ap. Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 115.—Rad. Glaber, l. iv. c. 6, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 50. "About the same time so countless a multitude began to flock from every quarter of the globe, to the sepulchre of our Saviour at Jerusalem, such as no man could before hope for—the common people . . . middling classes . . . kings and counts . . . bishops . . . many noble, together with poorer women. . . . It was the heartfelt wish of many to die before they returned home."

† Hammer, *History of the Assassins*.

‡ *Gesta Consulum Andegav.* ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 256. "They told him, in order to divert him from his desire, that he would by no means be permitted to see the holy sepulchre, unless he would micturate upon it. . . . The wary man, albeit unwilling, consented, and procuring the bladder of a ram, well purified and cleaned, and filling it with the best white wine, he fitted it between his thighs, and, taking off his shoes . . . advanced, and poured the wine on the sepulchre."

§ *Ingrulfus*, ap. Gibbon, vol. x. p. 382, 383. *Addamenta Sieberto Gemblac.* ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 638. *Baron. Annal. Eccles.* 8d ann. 1064.

* Gibbon, vol. x. p. 375.

† *Guibert. Novig.* l. i. c. 4, ap. Bongars, p. 476. *Inferit denique (imperator) ut videlicet "præter hæc universa pulcherrimum feminarum voluptate trahantur."*

‡ *Michaud, Histoire des Croisades*, t. i.—See Gerbert's *Letter*, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 426.

§ *Per viam quam jamdudum Carolus Magnus, mirificus Francorum rex, aptari fecit usque Constantinopolim.* *Anonymi Gesta Franc. Hierosolym.* ap. Bongars, p. i. *Robert. Monach.* p. 33.—Prophets announced that Charlemagne himself would appear and put himself at the head of the crusade.

to seize the spoil which lay ready to their hands, and gather God's good manna. Wretchedness and slavery were at an end: the hour of deliverance had arrived. The East had wealth enough to make them all rich. Of arms, vessels, and provisions there was no need: to have troubled themselves about them, would have been to tempt the vengeance of God. They declared that their only guides should be the simplest of creatures, a goose and a goat*. Pious and touching confidence of infant humanity!

A Picard, who was vulgarly called *Coucou Piètre* (Peter Capouch—a *cucullo*, from the monkish *cowl*—or Peter the Hermit), is said to have powerfully contributed by his eloquence to this great popular movement†. On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he persuaded the French pope, Urban II., to preach the crusade, first at Placenza, then at Clermont (A.D. 1095)‡. In Italy, the call was unheeded; in France, every one rushed to arms. At the council of Clermont, four hundred bishops or mitred abbots were present: it was the triumph of the Church and the people, and the condemnation of the greatest names on the earth, those of the emperor and of the king of France, no less than of the Turks, and of the dispute, as well, concerning the right of investiture, which had got mixed up with the question of advance on Jerusalem. All mounted the red cross on their shoulders. Red stiffs and vestments of every kind were torn in pieces; yet were insufficient for the purpose §.

* Albert. Aquens. l. i. c. 31. "They asserted that the goose was filled with the Divine Spirit, and the goat likewise; and chose them for guides."—In like manner the Sabines descended from their mountains, led by a wolf, a woodpecker, and an ox, and Cadmus was guided by a cow into Bœotia, &c.

† Guibert. Nov. l. ii. c. 8. "The lower order of people, destitute of resources, but very numerous, attached themselves to one Peter the Hermit, and obeyed him as their master, at least so long as matters passed in our country. I have discovered that this man, originally, if I mistake not, from the city of Amiens, had at first led a solitary life, under the habit of a monk, in I know not what part of Upper Gaul. He set out thence, by what inspiration I am ignorant; but we then saw him traversing the streets and burghs, and preaching every where. The people surrounded him in crowds, overwhelmed him with presents, and proclaimed his sanctity with such great praises, that I do not remember like honours having been rendered to any one. He was very generous in distributing whatever was given him. He brought back to their husbands wives who had wronged them, not without adding gifts from himself, and restored peace and a good understanding between those who had been disunited, with marvellous authority. In whatever he did or said, there seemed to be something divine in him, so that they would even pluck the hairs out of his mule, to keep them as relics; which I relate here, not as laudable, but for the vulgar, who love all extraordinary things. He wore only a woollen tunic, and above it a cloak of coarse dark cloth, which hung to his heels. His arms and feet were naked; he eat little or no bread; and supported himself on wine and fish."

‡ "Remember," he said, "God's own words, who has said to the Church, 'I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather thee from the West.' God has brought our children from the East, since this country of the East has twice produced the first principles of our Church, and he collects them from the West, to repair the miseries of Jerusalem, by the arms of those who have last received the teaching of the faith, that is to say, by the Westerns." Id. l. ii. c. 4.

§ There were those who imprinted the cross upon

An extraordinary spectacle was then presented: the world seemed turned upside down. Men suddenly conceived a disgust for all they had before prized; and hastened to quit their proud castles, their wives, and children. There was no need of preaching; they preached to each other, says a contemporary, both by word and example. "Thus," he proceeds to say, "was fulfilled the saying of Solomon—'The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.' These locusts had not soared on deeds of goodness so long as they remain stiffened and frozen in their iniquity; but no sooner were they warmed by the rays of the sun of justice, than they rose and took their flight. They had no king. Each believing soul chose God alone for his guide, his chief, his companion in arms. . . . Although the French alone had heard the preaching of the crusade, what Christian people did not supply soldiers as well! . . . You might have seen the Scotch covered with a shaggy cloak, hasten from the heart of their marshes. . . . I take God to witness, that there landed in our ports barbarians from nations I wist not of: no one understood their tongue, but, placing their fingers in the form of a cross, they made a sign that they desired to proceed to the defence of the Christian faith."

"There were some who at first had no desire to set out, and who laughed at those who parted with their property, foretelling them a miserable voyage, and more miserable return. The next day, these very mockers, by some sudden impulse, gave all they had for money, and set out with those whom they had just laughed at. Who can name the children and aged women who prepared for war; who count the virgins and old men trembling under the weight of years? . . . You would have smiled to see the poor shoeing their oxen like horses, dragging their slender stock of provisions and their little children in carts; and these little ones, at each town or castle they came to, asked in their simplicity—'Is not that the Jerusalem that we are going to?'"

The people set forth without waiting for any thing, leaving the princes to deliberate, to arm, and to reckon; men of little faith! The little troubled themselves with nothing of the kind: they were certain of a miracle. Would God refuse one, for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre? Peter the Hermit marched at their head, bare-footed, and girt with a cord. Others followed a brave and poor knight, whom they called *Gautier-Sans-Avoir* (*Walter the Penniless*). Among so many thousands of men, there were not eight horses. Some Germans followed the example of the French, and set out under the guidance of a countryman of their own, named *Gotteschalk*. The whole descended the valley of the Danube—the route followed by Attila, the highway of mankind†.

On their road they took, plundered, and indemnified themselves beforehand for their holy war:

themselves with a red hot iron." Alberic. Tr. Pont. ap. Leibnitz *Accessiones Historice*, l. 147.

* Guibert. Nov. l. ii. c. 6.

† The countries bordering on the Rhine, took but little share in the crusade. "The expedition little interested the eastern Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Allmans, on account of the schism which then divided the empire and the sacerdotal power." Alberic. ap. Leibnitz. *Access.* p. 119.—See Guibert. l. ii. c. 1.

Every Jew they could lay hands upon, they put to death with tortures; believing that they were bound to punish the murderers of Christ before delivering his tomb. In this guise, fierce, and dripping with blood, they reached Hungary and the Greek empire; where they inspired such horror, that the inhabitants set upon their traces, and hunted them down like wild beasts. The emperor furnished vessels to the survivors, and transported them into Asia, trusting to the arrows of the Turks to do the rest; and the excellent Anna Comnena is happy in the belief, that they left in the plain of Nicea mountains of bones, which served for the building of the walls of a town*.

Meanwhile, the unwieldy armies of princes, barons, and knights, put themselves slowly into motion. No king took part in the crusade, but many lords more powerful than kings. Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France, and son-in-law of the king of England, the wealthy Stephen of Blois, Robert Curt-Hose, William the Conqueror's son, and the count of Flanders set out at the same time—all equal, none chief. They did but little honour to the crusade. The fat Robert †, the man of all others who lost a kingdom with the best grace, only went to Jerusalem through idleness: Hugh and Stephen returned without reaching it.

Raymond de Saint-Gille, count of Toulouse, was, beyond comparison, the wealthiest of all who took the cross. The countships of Rouergue and of Nîmes, and the duchy of Narbonne, had just centered in his person; and his hopes beat high with the greatness he had attained. He had sworn not to return, bore with him immense riches ‡, and was followed by the whole of the South—by the lords of Orange, Foréz, Roussillon, Montpellier, Turenne, and Albret, besides the ecclesiastical head of the crusade, the bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, who was Raymond's subject. These men of the South, as commercial, industrious, and civilized as the Greeks, had hardly a better reputation than they for piety and valour §. They were

reputed to know too much, to be too keen in worldly matters, and too great talkers. Heretics abounded in their semi-Moorish cities, and their morals smacked of the Mahometan. Their princes kept many concubines; and Raymond, when starting for the crusade, left his states to one of his bastards*.

The Normans of Italy were not the last to set forward to Jerusalem; and less wealthy than the Languedocians, they reckoned on turning the expedition to their advantage. However, the successors of Guiscard and Roger would not have quitted their conquest for this hazardous enterprise, had not one Bohemond †, a natural son of Robert l'Avise, and not less Wise (crafty?) than his father, received no other inheritance than Tarentum and his sword. One Tancred too, a Norman by the mother's side, but supposed to be a Piedmontese by the father's, likewise took up arms. Bohemond was laying siege to Amalfi, when the news of the march of the crusaders reached

in nothing to any other, with the exception of the constant loquacity of these Provençals.—Radulph. Cadom. c. 61. "As much as the hen differs from the duck, so do the Provençals from the Franks in manners, character, dress, and food; an economical race, restless and greedy, laborious, but, to say truth, unwarlike. . . . Their foresight was much more serviceable to them during the famine, than all the courage in the world to much more warlike races. When they had no bread they contented themselves with roots, and did not scout the husks of legumes.—They carried in their hands long spits, with which they sought their food in the bowels of the earth, and hence the child's taunt—'Les Francs à la bataille, les Provençaux à la victuaille' (The Franks for fight, the Provençals for provender). There was one thing which they often did through greed, and to their great shame. They sold to other people dogs for hares, and asses' flesh for goats' flesh; and if they stole unseen up to any fat mule or horse, they would give it a mortal wound in its bowels, so that the beast would die. Great was the astonishment of all those who, not being aware of the trick, had just seen the animal in good condition, lively, robust, and rampant—without a trace of a wound, or sign of death. The spectators, alarmed at the prodigy, said to each other, 'Let us away, the devil has dealt with this animal!' Thereupon, the doers of the murder drew nigh, pretending to know nothing, of what had happened, and when warned not to touch the beast, would say—'We prefer dying on this food to dying of hunger.' Thus he, whose loss it was, greatly pitied the assassin, whilst the latter laughed at him. Then, all cowering like ravens round the carcass, each tore off his morsel, and sent it into his belly, or the market."

* Guibert. Nov. i. li. c. 18. Naturali cuidam suo comitatu quem regebat relicto.

† "When this innumerable army, composed of natives of almost all the countries of the West, had landed in Apulia, Bohemond, Robert Guiscard's son, was soon informed of it. He was then busied in the siege of Amalfi. He enquired the cause of this pilgrimage, and learned that they were going to rescue Jerusalem, or rather the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, from the hands of the Gentiles. It was not concealed from him how many men, of noble race and high lineage, forsaking, so to speak, the splendour of their honours, devoted themselves to this enterprise with unheard-of ardour. He asked if they carried arms and provisions with them, what standards they had chosen for this new pilgrimage, and, lastly, what were their war-cries. He was answered, that they wore their arms after the French fashion; and that they had sewed on their vests, on the shoulder, or any other part, a cross of cloth, or any other stuff, as had been directed them; and that, renouncing the pride of war-cries, they all humbly and believingly cried out 'God wills it.'" Guibert, l. iii. c. 1.

* Ann. Comnen. l. x. p. 287. "Ἦντι καὶ εἰς τήμερον ἱσταται τετελειωμένη ὁμὸν τε λίθοι καὶ ὀστοῖς ἀνάμειχτα τὸν περίβολον.

† Order. Vital. l. iv. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 596. Facile obesa, corpore pingui, brevique statura. L. v. p. 603. L. viii. p. 624. Torpori et ignaviae subjectus.—See, also, Guibert de Nogent, l. ii. c. 16. Raoul de Caen, c. 15. (ap. Muratori, v. 291), William of Malmesbury, l. i. (ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 8, 9), and William of Newbridge (ibid. 93), &c.

‡ Willem. Tyr. l. viii. c. 6, 9, 10.—Guibert. Novig. l. vii. c. 8. At the siege of Jerusalem, "he ordered heralds to proclaim throughout the whole army, that all who would bring three stones to fill up the fosse, should receive a denier from him. Now, it took three days and three nights to fill it up."—Radulph. Cadom. c. 15, ap. Muratori, v. 291. "From the first, he was one of the leaders, and, later, when the others had spent their money, his own came, and gave him the precedence. In fact, all his countrymen are economical, and not lavish, caring more for their substance than their reputation; and, frightened by the example of others, they strove, not to ruin themselves like the Franks, but to enrich themselves as much as possible."—Raymond received many presents from Alexis. (. . . quibus de die in diem de domo regis augebatur. Albert. Aq. l. ii. c. 24, ap. Bongars, p. 205.) So did Godfrey; but then he shared them with the army and the other chiefs. Willem. Tyr. l. ii. c. 12.

§ Guibert. Nov. i. li. c. 18. "Raymond's army yielded

him. He informed himself minutely of their names, number, arms, and resources; and then, without saying a word, took the cross and left Amalfi. The portrait drawn of him by Anna Comnena, the daughter of Alexis, who saw him at Constantinople, and entertained so great a dread of him, is curious. She watched him with all a woman's interest and curiosity*. "He was taller than the tallest by a cubit, thin-flanked, wide-shouldered, and broad-chested, and neither lean nor fat. His arms were powerful, his hands fleshy and rather large. On scanning him closely, you perceived that he was somewhat bowed. His skin was very white, and his hair inclining to flaxen; and, instead of floating wildly as the other barbarians wore it, it did not fall below his ears. I cannot tell the colour of his beard, as his cheeks and chin were shaved; I think, however, it was red. His eye, of a blue approaching to sea-green (*γλαυκόν*), bespoke his valour and his passionate temperament. His large nostrils took in the air freely, at the pleasure of the ardent heart which pulsed in his vast chest. There was an agreeability in his appearance, but the agreeability was destroyed by terror. There was something not likeable, and which even seemed not human, in that stature and look of his. His smile seemed to me alive with threat†. . . . He was all artifice and cunning; his speech was precise, and his replies could not be laid hold of, or wrested to his disadvantage."

However great the deeds of Bohemond, the voice of the people, which is that of God, has ascribed all the glory of the crusade to Godfrey‡, son of the count of Boulogne, margrave of Antwerp, duke of Bouillon and of Lothier, and king of Jerusalem. Godfrey's family, sprung, it is said, from Charlemagne, was already illustrated by great adventures and by signal misfortunes. His father, Eustache de Boulogne, was brother-in-law to Edward the Confessor, and had missed succeeding him in England, whither he had been summoned by the Saxons to oppose William the Conqueror§. His maternal grandfather, Godfrey with the Beard, or Godfrey the Bold, duke of Lothier and of Brabant, who in like manner had failed to become master of Lorraine, maintained a thirty years' war with the emperors at the head of all Belgium, and burned the palace of the Carolingians in Aix-la-Chapelle. He was often defeated, banished, and a prisoner; and his wife, Beatrice d'Este, mother of the famous countess Matilda, was unworthily detained in captivity by Henry III., who at last deprived her of her patrimony, and gave Lorraine to the house of Alsace. When, however, Henry IV. was persecuted by the popes, and deserted by numbers of his former friends, the grandson of this banished man, the Godfrey of the crusade, did not fail in his duty to his suzerain. The emperor confided the imperial standard|| to him, that

standard which Godfrey's ancestors had often made waver, and against which Matilda had supported the banner of the Church; but in Godfrey's hands it was secure; he slew the rival Caesar, Rodolph, the king raised up by the priestly party, with the spear of the standard* (A. D. 1080), and then planted it victoriously on the walls of Rome, which he was the first to scale†. Yet, the having violated the city of St. Peter, and expelled the pope, sat heavily on his tender conscience. Whilst yet a child, he had often said that he would go with an army to Jerusalem‡; and, as soon as the crusade was proclaimed, he sold his lands to the bishop of Liège, and set out for the Holy Land, at the head of an army of ten thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot, French, Lorrains, and Germans.

Godfrey belonged to both nations, and spoke both tongues§. He was not tall; his brother, Baldwin, was taller by the head; but his strength was prodigious||. It is said, that with one blow of his sword he "unseamed" a horseman from head to saddle; and with one back stroke would cut off an ox's or a camel's head¶. When in Asia, having one day lost his way, he found one of his companions in a cavern, engaged with a bear. He drew the beast's rage upon himself, and slew it; but the serious bites he received kept him long to his bed. This heroic man was of singular purity of mind: he never married, and died, without having known woman, at the age of thirty-eight**.

perial standard, and commit the leadership of such large armies? And he was answered with one voice, that Godfrey, the lord duke of Lothier, was beyond all fit and sufficient for that burden. And to him . . . much ginsaying and very unwilling, he delivered the eagle. See, also, Alber. Tr. Font. ap. Leibnitzii Accession. Hlistor. i. 182.

* Willelm. Tyr. ibid. "Rodolph's army being broken and routed, in the sight of the emperor and of some of the chiefs, he plunged the spear of the standard which he bore right through the king's heart, and thus transfixed, bore him lifeless to the ground; then reared again the imperial banner, though all bloody." Alberic. loco citato.

† Fatigue bringing on a violent fever, he vowed to take the cross, and was cured. Alberic. p. 180. Godefridus . . . in oppugnando Roman partem muri, quæ sibi obtigerat, primus irrupit; postea, præ nimio labore, in nimia siti nimium vinum hauriens, febrem quartanam nactus est. Audita autem fama viæ Hierosolymitanæ, illic se iturum vovit, si Deus illi redderet sanitatem. Quo voto emissio, vires ejus penitus refluuerunt.

‡ Guibert. Nov. l. ii. c. 12. Dicebat se desiderare proficiaci Hierosolymam, et hoc non simpliciter, ut aliis, sed cum violentia exercitus, si sibi suppeteret, magni.—His mother, St. Ida, dreamed one day that the sun descended into her bosom; which signified, says the contemporary biographer, that kings would proceed from her. Acta SS. April 13, p. 141.

§ Alberic ap. Leibnitz. Access. i. 180. "Brought up as if on the border of each nation, and familiar with both tongues, he stood betwixt the Franks, the Germans, and the Teutons, who are frequently wont to wrangle with certain bitter and invidious jests, and reformed their social intercourse in many respects."

|| Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 5. Robustus sine exemplo, c. 22. Alberic. p. 184. Rad. Cadom. c. 53.

¶ Alberic. Monach. l. iv. ix. ap. Bongars. p. 50. 75.—Another time, he cut a Turk clean through the middle of the body. . . . "The Turk was made two Turks; the one that was lower rode on to the city, the other swam, holding his bow, down the stream." Rad. Cadom. c. 35, p. 504. Guibert. Nov. l. vii. c. 11, 12.

** Rad. Cadom. c. 14, p. 291. "Distinguished, by his humility, clemency, sobriety, justice, and chastity, he shone

* Anna Comnenæ Alexias, edit. Paris. p. 404, Venice, p. 319.

† Δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ὁ γέλως αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμβρύμια ἦν. Ibid.

‡ Born at Bézi, near Nivelles, in a chateau, which was still shown at the close of the last century.

§ See Thierry, Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre, t. i.

|| Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 8. "The chiefs being summoned, the emperor asks to whom he can safely entrust the im-

The council of Clermont was held in November, 1095. On the 15th of August, 1096, Godfrey departed with the Lorrains and Belgians, and took the route through Germany and Hungary. In September, William the Conqueror's son, his son-in-law, the count of Blois, brother to the king of France, and the count of Flanders set forth, taking the route through Italy as far as Apulia, where they separated, one party crossing to Durazzo, another, turning Greece. In October, our Southern, under Raymond de St. Gille, marched by way of Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia. Bohemond, with his Normans and Italians, forced his way through the deserts of Bulgaria, which was the shortest and least dangerous passage, it being preferable to avoid the towns, and to encounter the Greeks in the open country only. The wild appearance of the first crusaders, led by Peter the Hermit, had alarmed the Byzantines, who bitterly repented their invitation to the Franks, but too late. They poured in, in countless numbers, through every valley and avenue of the Empire—Constantinople being the place of rendezvous. Vain were the emperor's cunning plans to cut them off by the way; the massy strength of the barbarians broke through every snare: Hugh of Vermandois was the only one who suffered himself to be entrapped: Alexis saw the army which he had made sure of destroying, arrive, division after division, at Constantinople, to salute their good friend, the emperor. The poor Greeks, condemned to see this fearful review of the human race defile before them, could not believe that the torrent would pass without carrying them along with it; and there was enough to be alarmed at in the innumerable languages and strange costumes of these barbarians, whose very familiarity and coarse pleasantries disconcerted the Byzantines. Whilst waiting until the whole army should be collected, they established themselves amicably in the Empire, did just as they did at home, and laid hands in their simplicity on whatever they fancied; for instance, on the lead of the roofs of the churches, which they sold back to the Greeks*. The sacred palace was not a whit more respected; they felt no awe of its swarm of scribes and of eunuchs, and had neither taste nor imagination sufficient to be influenced by the overpowering pomp and theatrical display of Byzantine majesty. Alexis had a fine lion, which was both the ornament and the terror of the palace: they killed it by way of sport.

Constantinople, with all its marvels, was a great temptation for such as had only seen the mud-built cities of our West. Its gilded domes, marble palaces, and the master-pieces of antique art, which had been accumulated in the capital in proportion as the limits of the Empire had been contracted, presented an astonishing and mysterious whole which overwhelmed them, and which they were utterly at a loss to understand. The very variety of the manufactures, and of the merchandise exhibited for sale, was to them an inexplicable pro-

rather the light of monks than the leader of soldiers."—He took with him a colony of monks, "whom he settled at Jerusalem.

* Guibert, l. ii. c. 9. *Detectis ecclesiis quæ plumbo operiebantur, plumbum idem Græcis venale præbebant.* (See, also, Baldric. *Hist. Hierosolym. ap. Bongars, p. 89.*)—This, it is true, applies only to the mob led by Peter the Hermit.

blem. All they could comprehend was, that they longed for all they saw, and doubted whether the holy city was to be preferred to it. Our Normans and our Gascons would have been well content to finish the crusade here: they would willingly have said, like the little children of whom Guibert speaks—"Is not this Jerusalem?"

Then came into their mind all the stratagems with which the Greeks had beset their march. They pretended that they had furnished them with unwholesome food, and had poisoned the fountains†; and laid to their charge the epidemic diseases which had been produced in the army, by alternate famine and intemperance. Bohemond and the count of Toulouse argued, that they should stand on no scruple with regard to these poisoners, and that by way of castigation they should take Constantinople—they might then conquer the Holy Land at their leisure. It would have been an easy matter, had they been all agreed, but the Norman was conscious that if he dethroned Alexis, this might only be to give the Empire to the Toulousan; besides, Godfrey declared that he had not come to make war on Christians‡. Bohemond supported his views, and found his virtue very profitable, since he got from the emperor every thing he wished §.

Such was the tact of Alexis, that he managed to persuade these conquerors, who could have crushed him||, to do him homage, and to make their conquest a fief of the Empire beforehand. Hugh took the oath first, then Bohemond, then Godfrey. Godfrey bent the knee to the Greek, in whose hands he placed his own, and declared himself his vassal: an act which cost little to one of his meek disposition. In point of fact, the crusaders could not do without Constantinople. Since it was not theirs, they behoved to have it at least as their ally and friend. About to plunge into the deserts of Asia, it was the Greeks alone who could preserve them from ruin in case of reverse; and to get rid of them, the Greeks promised whatever was asked of them,—provisions, auxiliary troops, and, especially, vessels to transport them as soon as possible across the Bosphorus.

¶ Godfrey having set the example, all flocked to take the oath. Then one of them, a count of high birth, had the audacity to seat himself in the imperial throne. The emperor, long familiar with the *outrévidence* of the Latins, said nothing. But count Baldwin took the insolent noble by the hand, and led him away, giving him to understand

* Ann. Comnen. Alexis.

† Alberic. *Tr. Font. p. 159.* *Toxica vel fluminibus vel cibis vel vestibus infundens.*

‡ Guibert. *Nov. l. iii. c. 4.* *Dux Godefridus, Hugo Magnus, Rothbertusque Flandrensis, et ceteri, dixerunt quia nunquam contra aliquem qui Christiano censeatur agnomine, arma portabant.*—*Gest. Franc. Hierosol. l. ii. ap. Bongars, p. 5.* *Raymond d'Agiles, p. 141.* *Albert. Aq. l. ii. c. 14.*

§ He was led through a gallery in the palace, where, through a door, left open as if by accident, he saw a room filled from floor to ceiling with gold, silver, jewels, and precious moveables. "What conquests," he exclaimed, "might be won with such treasure at one's command!" 'Tis yours, was the immediate reply. It did not need much entreaty to induce him to accept it. *Ann. Comnen. p. 303.*

|| They spoke of the Greeks with sovereign contempt—"Græculos istos omnium inertissimos," etc. *Guibert. Nov. l. iii. c. 3.*

that the emperors were not wont to suffer those who had done them homage, and who had become their *men*, to sit by their side; one should conform, he urged, to the customs of the country where one lived. The other made no reply, but regarded the emperor with an angry look, muttering in his own tongue some words which may be translated as follows—"See that clown sitting alone, when so many captains are standing!" The emperor saw his lips moving, and got an interpreter to explain what he said, but made no remark at the time. Only when the counts, after the ceremony was over, withdrew and saluted the emperor, he took this proud baron aside, and inquired who he was, his country, and his origin. "I am a pure Frank," was the reply, "and among the noblest. I only know one thing, which is, that in my own land there is an old church at the place where three roads meet, and where, whoever desires an adventure, comes to pay his orisons to God, and wait for his adversary. But vainly have I waited at this cross-road, no one durst come."—"Well!" said the emperor, "if you have found no opponent as yet, the time is come when you will not fail to meet one!"

Behold them in Asia, the Turkish cavalry before them. The heavy mass advances, harassed upon the flanks. The crusaders first sit down before Nicaea, for the Greeks wishing to recover that city led them there. Unskilled in the art of besieging fortified places, they might, with all their valour, have lingered there for ever; but at any rate, they served to alarm the besieged, who entered into negotiations with Alexis, so that one morning the Franks saw the emperor's banner floating over the walls, and they were bade from the ramparts to respect an imperial city.

They pursued, then, their route to the South, punctuatedly escorted by the Turks, who cut off all loiterers; but they suffered still more from their numbers. Notwithstanding the succours of the Greeks, sufficient provisions could not be got together for them, and water was every moment failing them on the arid hills they had to traverse.

During one halt, five hundred persons died of thirst.

"The dogs of chase belonging to the great lords, which were led in leash, died," says the chronicler, "by the way, and the falcons died on the wrists of those who bore them. The women's sufferings brought on untimely labour; and they remained all naked on the plain, without bestowing a thought on their new-born children."

Light cavalry to oppose that of the Turks, would have been of great advantage to them: what could

their heavily-armed lances do against these clouds of vultures? The crusading army marched, imprisoned, so to speak, in a circle of turbans and of cimeters. Once only did the Turks endeavour to stop them, and offer them battle. It did not turn to their account. They felt what the weight of their arms could do, to whom they were so superior in desultory warfare and with missile weapons. Nevertheless, the loss of the crusaders was immense.

Thus harassed, they forced their way through Cilicia, and as far as Antioch. The army desired to press onwards to Jerusalem; but their leaders insisted on stopping, for they were impatient to realize their ambitious dreams. Already they had disputed, sword in hand, whose Tarsus was to be, both Baldwin and Tancred claiming to have been the first to enter it; but the army, caring little for the private interests of the chiefs, and not wishing to be delayed, demolished another city, about which a similar dispute was on the point of breaking out*.

The great city of Antioch contained three hundred and sixty churches, and four hundred and fifty towers; and had been the metropolis of a hundred and fifty-three bishoprics;—a fine prize for the count of St. Gilles and Bohemond, and its possession alone could console them for having missed Constantinople. Bohemond was the more able of the two, and opened a correspondence with the citizens. The crusaders, deceived here as they had been at Nicaea, saw the red banner of the Normans streaming from the walls†; but this did not hinder them from entering the city, or count Raymond from throwing his followers into some of the towers, and fortifying himself there. The abundance of this great city proved fatal to them, after such long deprivations, and an epidemic carried off the crusaders in crowds. Their waste soon exhausted the plenty before them, and they were again reduced to famine, when a vast army of Turks arrived to beleaguer them in their new conquest. Hugh of France, Stephen of Blois, and numbers besides, conceived the destruction of the army at hand, and, escaping, spread the news of the disastrous failure of the crusade.

And, indeed, to such excess of prostration were those who remained reduced, that Bohemond was obliged to have the houses fired‡, to force them to leave the shelter where they lay cowering. Religion supplied a still more efficacious means. One of the common men, warned in a dream, announced to the chiefs that by digging in a certain spot, they would find the holy lance which had

* Raym. de Agil. p. 161. "Rising weak and infirm from their beds, they came to the walls leaning on sticks; and stones, such as three or four pair of oxen could hardly draw, a famished man would easily heave from the walls, when they would roll to a distance."

† Guibert, Novig. l. vi. c. 16. . . . Trecentas et sexaginta ecclesias suas cingens ambitibus . . . circumpositis eidem quadringentis quinquaginta turribus.—Centum quinquaginta trium episcoporum. . . . *Antioche* makes the number of the churches only three hundred and forty p. 159.

‡ Gesta Francorum, c. 20. Summo dilectu audientes illi, qui foris erant in tentoriis, vehementissimum rorem strepere per civitatem, exierunt festinantes, et viderunt vexillum Boamundi. Fulcher Carnot. p. 392. . . . Vexillum Boamundi rubicundum.

§ Guibert, l. v. c. 21. Cum . . . vix aliquos suadere valeret . . . gravi animadversione citatus, jubet ignem supponi.

* Ann. Comnen. Alexias, ed. Paris. p. 301. 'Ο δὲ θράγγον μὲν εἰμι καθάρως ἔφη, τῶν εὐγενῶν, ὃν δὲ ἐπιστάται. . . . Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκριβοῦς ἔφη. Εἰ πόλεμον τότε ἔστην οὐκ εἴρη, παρέσθαι σοι καιρὸς ὁ πολλῶν σε πολέμων ἐμπλήρωσι, &c.

† "At the same time he sent large presents to the chiefs, and solicited their friendship both by letters, and through his deputies. He returned them a thousand thanks for this loyal service, and for the addition they had thus made to the Empire." Willelm. Tyr. l. iii. c. 12.—"He sent," says Guibert (l. iii. c. 9), "numerous gifts to the princes, and large alms to the poor; thus sowing the seeds of hate amongst those of middling condition, from whom his munificence seemed to be turned away." See, also, Raymond d'Agiles, p. 142.

‡ Albertus Aqueus. l. iii. c. 2.

pierced the side of our Lord*. He deposed to the truth of his revelation by submitting to the ordeal of fire, and was burnt; but, nevertheless, they shouted a miracle†. Giving the horses all the forage that remained, and choosing the moment when the Turks were disporting and drinking, thinking themselves secure of their famished prey, they sallied forth at every gate, and with the holy lance at their head. Their numbers seemed to them to be doubled by squadrons of angels; they broke through and scattered the innumerable army of the Turks‡, and became masters of the country round Antioch, and of the road to Jerusalem.

Antioch became Bohemond's, despite Raymond's efforts to keep possession of its towers§. The Norman thus reaped the profit of the crusade; yet he could not escape accompanying the army and assisting at the siege of Jerusalem. That vast army had by this time been thinned down to five-and-twenty thousand men; but these were all knights and their immediate retainers. The common herd had found a tomb in Asia Minor and in Antioch.

The Fatimites of Egypt, who, like the Greeks, had summoned the Franks against the Turks, in like manner repented||. Having taken Jerusalem from the Turks, they essayed to keep it in their own hands, and are said to have assembled forty thousand men for its defence. The crusaders, who, in the first transports of enthusiasm into which they had been thrown at the sight of the holy city, had felt assured of carrying it by assault, were repulsed by the besieged. They found them-

selves compelled to resort to the slow process of a siege, and to sit down before the city in this desolate region, alike destitute of trees and of water. It seemed as if the demon had blasted every thing with his breath, at the approach of the army of Christ. Sorceresses appeared on the walls who hurled fatal words at the besiegers, but it was not by words that they were answered; and one of them, in the midst of her conjurations, was struck by a stone launched from the machines of the Christians*, which had been made under the direction of the viscount of Bearn, from the trees of the only wood which the neighbourhood furnished, and which by his orders had been cut down by the Genoese and Gascons. Two moveable towers were built, one for the count of St. Gille, and the other for the duke of Lorraine. Daily, for eight days, and barefooted, the crusaders had walked in procession round Jerusalem†; which done, a general assault was made by the whole army, Godfrey's tower rolled to the walls, and on Friday, the 15th of July, 1099, at three o'clock, on the very day, and at the very hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon descended from his tower on the walls of Jerusalem. The city was taken, and a fearful massacre followed‡; for the crusaders, in their blind fury, not taking into account the distance of time, believed that in each infidel they slew in Jerusalem, they put to death one of the executioners of Jesus Christ§.

* Willelm. Tyr. l. viii. c. 15.

† Guibert, l. vii. c. 16. They did this in hopes that the miracle of Jericho might be repeated: *Memores Jhericonti quondam casus . . . cum multa spirituum et corporum contritione processiones agendo, sanctorum nomina flebiliter inelamando, nudipedalia exerendo, Jerusalem circumcunt.* Albert. ap. Leibnitzii Accession. Histor. i. 175.

‡ During the siege, the native Christians had been most cruelly used by the infidels. See William of Tyre, l. viii. c. 8.

§ The Mussulman poet, Abivardi, composed a poem on the taking of Jerusalem, of which the following is the sense:—

"We have mingled blood with the abundance of our tears. There is no shelter left us against th: misfortunes that threaten us.—Sad arms for a man to shed tears, when war fires all around with sparkling swords!—O children of Islamism, many battles remain for you to maintain, in which your heads will roll at your feet!—How sleep and close one's eyelids, when a prey to commotions which would awaken the soundest sleeper!—Your brethren in Syria have only the backs of their camels to rest upon, or the entrails of vultures.—The Romans cover them with disgrace; and you, you suffer your garments effeminately to sweep the ground, like one who has nothing to fear!—How much blood has been shed! How many women who have only had their hands left to shield their charms!—The shock is so fearful between the strokes of the lance and of the sword, that the fear of the same would turn children's heads grey.—Such is this war, that those very ones who fly its rage in the hope of safety, soon gnash their teeth with regret.—I seem to see him who sleeps at Medina (Mahomet), rise and cry out with all his strength, O children of Haschem!—What! my people do not fly to meet the enemy lance in hand, when the very foundations of religion are crumbling beneath their feet!—They dare not approach the fire, for fear of death, and do not see that dishonour is an ever-enduring wound!—Will then the chiefs of the Arabs resign themselves to such evils, and the warriors of Persia submit to such degradation!—Would to God, since they no longer fight through zeal for religion, that they would offer resistance in order to save their neighbours!—If they renounce heavenly rewards,

* Raymond. de Agil. p. 155. "I have seen these things which I speak of, and there (in battle) I bore the lance of the Lord."—Foulicher de Chartres exclaims, "Hearken to a fraud, and not a fraud!" and afterwards, "He found a lance, perhaps deceitfully hidden." c. 10.

† Raymond. de Agil. p. 169. "He was burnt, because he had doubted for a moment: he said so to the people as he stepped out of the flames, and the people glorified God." According to Guibert de Nogent, he left the burning pile safe and sound, but the crowd threw themselves upon him, and tore off his dress to keep pieces of it as relics, and the poor man, banded to and fro, died of fatigue and exhaustion. L. vi. c. 22.

‡ Raym. de Agil. p. 55. *Multiplicavit insuper adeo Dominus exercitum nostrum, ut qui ante pugnam pauciores eramus quam hostes, in bello plures eis fulmus.*

§ "Tancred," says his historian, Raoul de Caen, "was at first very eager to fall upon the Provençals; but he remembered that it is forbidden to shed Christian blood, and he preferred having recourse to the expedients proposed by Guiscard. He introduced his men under cover of the night, and when they found themselves in force, they drew their swords and drove out Raymond's soldiers with many blows. . . . The origin of this hatred," he adds, "was a quarrel about forage at the siege of Antioch. Foragers of both nations, trying in the same quarter, had come to blows for the corn there . . .; since which time, whenever they met, they laid down their load, and set to with fists, the strongest carrying off the spoil." C. 98, 99, p. 316.—Raymond and his followers afterwards maintained the authenticity of the holy lance,* because other nations, in their simplicity, brought offerings to it, which swelled Raymond's purse: but the crafty Bohemond (*non imprudens, multividus*). Rad. Cad. p. 317. Robert. Mon. ap. Bongars. p. 40) discovered the whole trick—which embittered the quarrel." C. 101, 102.

* Willelm. Tyr. l. vii. c. 19. . . . Unde factum est, ut hostes quo prius quasi fortiores horruerant, nunc per nostrorum operam dejectos, et confRACTIS viribus, in imo videntes constitutos, nostrorum auxilium, quod prius instantem nimis expetierant, contemnebant.

When it appeared to them that they had sufficiently avenged our Saviour, that is, when hardly an inhabitant was left alive in the city, they repaired with tears and groans, and beatings of the breast, to worship the holy tomb. The next question was, who was to be king of the conquest, who was to have the melancholy honour of defending Jerusalem. A court of inquiry was held on each of the princes, in order to choose the worthiest; and to come at their secret vices, their servants were questioned. The choice would probably have fallen on the count of St. Gilles, the richest of the crusaders, had not his servants, in their fear of being kept by him at Jerusalem, made no scruple of blackening their master's character, and so sparing him the pains of sovereignty. When the duke of Lorraine's servants were examined in their turn, they could find nothing to say against him, except that he remained too long in the churches, even beyond the hours of service, and stayed enquiring of the priests the stories represented in the sacred images and paintings, to the great discontent of his friends, who were thus kept waiting for their dinner*. Godfrey resigned himself to the burden, but would not assume the kingly crown in a spot in which the Saviour had worn one of thorns†. The only title he would accept was, that of defender and baron of the holy sepulchre. To the patriarch's claim to Jerusalem and the whole kingdom, he made no objection, but freely surrendered all in presence of the people, and only reserved for himself the possession, that is to say, the defence of the city‡. In the very first year of his reign, he had to fight an innumerable army of Egyptians, who had attacked the crusaders at Ascalon. He had, in short, a never-ending war on his hands, and found his conquest to be nothing but irremediable misery—one long martyrdom. The Arabs infested his kingdom from the beginning, penetrating to the very gates of the capital, so that it was hardly possible to till the land. Tancred was the only chief that remained with Godfrey; who could with difficulty detain three hundred knights to defend the Holy Land§.

Yet was it a great thing for Christendom thus to occupy, in the very midst of the infidels, the cradle of their religion. A petty Asiatic Europe was formed here, in the likeness of the great; and feudality was organized even under a severer form than it had assumed in any western country. The hierarchical order, and all the details of feudal justice, were regulated in the famous ASSISE OF JERUSALEM, by Godfrey and his barons; and there

when danger calls them, will not they at least be attracted by the hope of booty?" Bibliothèque des Croisades, Extraits des Auteurs Arabes, par M. Reinaud.

* Willelm. Tyr. l. i. c. 2. . . . Sed de singulis imaginibus et picturis rationem exigebat a sacerdotibus, et iis qui horum videbantur habere peritiam; ita quod sociis suis, affectis aliter, in tedium verteretur . . . et prandia . . . minus tempestive magisque insipida sumerentur. Alberic. p. 179.

† Guibert, l. vii. Alberic. p. 183.

‡ Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 16.

§ Id. ibid. c. 19. He had two thousand infantry, as well. Dux solus, et dominus Tancredus . . . a domino duce erat detentus . . . ut vix invenirentur equites trecenti et peditum duo millia.—At Antioch, Tancred had sworn that he would not abandon his post so long as forty knights remained with him. Guibert, l. v. c. 18.

were present a prince of Galilee, a marquis of Jaffa, and a baron of Sidon. The addition of these titles of the middle age, to the most venerable names of biblical antiquity, sounds like a burlesque; and, assuredly, Daniel had seen in no vision, that a duke of Lorraine would crown the fortress of David with battlements, or that a barbaric giant from the West, a Gaul,—a fair head masked with iron,—would call himself marquis of Tyre.

Judea had become a France. Our language, carried by the Normans into England and Sicily, was introduced into Asia by the crusade. The French tongue succeeded, as the language of policy, to the universal Latin tongue, from Arabia to Ireland. The Westerns went under the common name of Franks*. And, however weak the French monarchy might still be, the brother of the cypher Philippe the First, that very Hugh of Vermandois who had fled from Antioch, was nevertheless styled by the Greeks the brother of the chief of the Christian princes, and of the king of the kings†.

CHAPTER IV.

TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADE.—THE COMMONS.—ABELARD.—THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

It is for God to rejoice over his work, and to say—this is good. Not so with man. When he has finished his work, when he has wrought well, when he has run and sweated, when he has gained his end, and at length has hold of the desired object, he ceases to know it, he lets it fall from his hands, and conceives a disgust both at it and himself. Then he no longer wishes to live: all his efforts have but succeeded in depriving him of his God. Thus, Alexander died of sorrow when he had conquered Asia, and Alaric, when he had taken Rome.

* Guibert, l. ii. c. 1. "Last year I conversed with an archdeacon of Mentz, touching the rebellion of his countrymen, and I heard him calumniate our king and people, solely because the king had received and hospitably entertained our lord pope Pascal, as well as his princes. He derided the French so far, as to call them in scorn *Francos*. Then I said to him, 'If you hold the French to be so weak and cowardly, as to presume to insult by your witticisms a name, the fame of which has reached as far as the Indian ocean, tell me to whom pope Urban applied for succour against the Turks? Was it not to the French?'"—Id. l. iv. c. 3. "Our princes, having held a council, resolved to build a fort on the summit of a mountain, which they called *Malreguard*, for a new point of defence against the Turks." The French tongue was the most used in the army of the crusaders.

† Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἀρχηγὴ τοῦ Φραγκικοῦ στρατοῦ. Matthew Paris (ad ann. 1254) and Froissart (t. iv. p. 207), give the king of France the title of *Rex Regum*, and style him chief of all Christian kings.—The Turks themselves wished to make out a descent from the Franks. Dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione (the reason they gave was, that "No man was naturally a soldier, save he was Frank or Turk") quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Turci et Franci. Gesta Francorum, ap. Bongars, p. 7.

No sooner could Godfrey of Bouillon call the Holy Land his, than he sat down prostrate and discouraged, and longed to rest in its bosom. Little and great, in this we all resemble Alexander and Godfrey—the historian and the hero fall under the same category. The cold and dry Gibbon himself suffers an expression of regret to escape, on his great work's being brought to a close*; and I, if I dare speak of myself in the same breath, look forward with fear equal to my hopes, to the term of the long crusade through past ages, which I am undertaking for my country.

The men of the middle age felt sad when they had accomplished their adventurous enterprise, and enjoyed the so much longed for Jerusalem. Six hundred thousand men had started, bearing the cross. But five-and-twenty thousand remained when they left Antioch; and, when they had taken the holy city, Godfrey stayed to defend it with three hundred knights, and a few others were stationed at Tripoli with Raymond; others at Odessa with Baldwin; and a few at Antioch with Bohemond. Only ten thousand men revisited Europe—what had become of all the rest? They might easily be tracked through Hungary, the Greek empire, and Asia, by the bones which whitened the roads. Such mighty efforts to have this result! It is not surprising to find the victor himself conceive a disgust for life. Godfrey blamed not God, but he languished and died†.

'Tis that he had no conception of the true result of the crusade; a result which, though it could neither be seen nor touched, was not the less real. Europe and Asia had been brought together, and had recognized each other. Already had the hatred which springs from ignorance been diminished; as is evident from the language of contemporary writers, before and after the crusade.

"It was laughable," says the fierce Raymond d'Agiles, "to see the Turks, pressed on all sides by our men, cast themselves flying one on the other, pushing each other over the precipices: 'twas an amusing and cheering sight‡."

After the crusade, all is changed§. King Baldwin, Godfrey's brother and successor, marries a woman of noble birth "from among the Gentiles of the country||." He adopts the customs of the

natives, wears flowing robes, suffers his beard to grow, and enforces obedience after the oriental fashion. He begins to account the Saracens human beings. When his physicians desired, once that he was wounded, to inflict a similar wound on a prisoner, in order to study the nature of the hurt*, he refused permission; and, in pity to a Mussulman woman who was taken in labour, he halted with his army, rather than abandon her in the desert†.

And what is the effect of the crusade on the Christians as regards each other? Humanity, charity, and equality have been the lessons taught by this fellowship in extremity of peril and of misery. Christendom, momentarily collected under the same banner, has felt a sort of European patriotism‡. Whatever the temporal views mixed up with their enterprise, the greater number have tasted the sweets of virtue, and at least dreamed of holiness; have striven to rise above themselves, and have become Christians, at least in hate of the infidels§.

The day on which, without distinction of freemen and of serfs, the powerful among them called their followers, *Our Poor*,—that day was the era of freedom||. Man having been for a moment drawn out of local servitude, and led in full blaze of day through Europe and Asia by the great movement

his duchy, so much so, that whenever he went forth he caused a golden buckler to be borne before him, in the shape of a Greek buckler, and on which was the figure of an eagle. Adopting the customs of the Gentiles, he wore long robes, let his beard grow, gave ear to those who paid him adoring homage, sat on carpets laid on the ground, and, when entering any of his towns, two knights sounding their trumpets preceded his car."

* Id. *ibid.* c. 13. "No man's life," he said, "not even were he lowest of the low, should be risked for so slight a chance of benefit."—Speaking of the first crusaders, Albert d'Aix says, "God punishes them for their fearful cruelty to the Jews, for God is just, and desires not force to be used to bring any one to him."

† He gave his own cloak to cover her . . . "mantello suo, quo erat indutus, eam involvens" . . . Will. Tyr. l. x. c. 11.

‡ We have already shown that the barons gave up their respective war-cries for the crusaders' cry, "God wills it."—"Who has ever heard tell of so many nations, speaking different tongues, being collected together in one army—Franks, Flemings, Frisians, Gauls, Britons, Allobroges, Lorrainers, Germans, Bavarians, Normans, Scotch, English, Aquitanians, Apulians, Iberians, Dacians, Greeks, Armenians? When a Briton or German spoke to me, I could give him no answer. But, although divided by such differences of language, we all seemed so many brothers and near relatives, united by one kindred spirit, for love of our Lord. If any of us lost any thing belonging to him, he who had found it carried it carefully about with him, and for many days, until by reiterated inquiry he had discovered the loser, to whom he right gladly restored it, as it behoves men who have undertaken a holy pilgrimage." Fulcher. Carnot. p. 389.

§ "Whence it came to pass, that neither harlot nor brothel was allowed, or even suffered to be spoken of; especially since they dreaded being delivered up to the sword by the judgment of God: and if any unmarried woman was found with child, she and her guilty accomplice were consigned to cruel tortures." Guibert, Nov. l. iv. c. 15.—The sensual manners of the Turks were a striking contrast to this Christian chastity. After the great battle of Antioch, new-born infants, of whom the Turkish women had lain in, were found in the fields and woods. Guibert, l. v.

|| Raym. de Agiles, p. 163, and elsewhere—*Pauperes nostri*.

* "My pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind. by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future date of my History, the life of the historian might be short and precarious." Life of Gibbon, prefixed to his Decline and Fall, &c.

† Guibert, Nov. l. vii. c. 22. "The prince of a neighbouring tribe of Gentiles, sent him presents infected with a deadly poison. Godfrey took them without the least distrust, fell suddenly ill, took to his bed, and died shortly after. According to others, he died a natural death."

‡ Raym. de Agiles, ap. Bongars, p. 149. *Jocundum spectaculum tandem post multa tempora nobis factum. . . . Accidit ibi quoddam satis nobis jocundum atque delectabile.*—Relating how the count of Toulouse one day had his prisoners' eyes put out, and their hands, feet, and noses cut off, he adds, "It is not easy to do justice to the bravery and wisdom conspicuously displayed by the count here."

§ Guibert, l. viii. c. 43. Guibert acknowledges that the Saracens may attain a certain degree of virtue: "The elder Robert was hospitably entertained by a Saracen . . . of holy life, that is, for them." L. iii. c. 24.

|| Id. vii. c. 36. "He displayed the greatest pomp in

of the crusade, encountered liberty whilst he sought Jerusalem. The liberating trumpet of the archangel, which the world fancied it had heard in the year 1000, was sounded a century later by the preaching of the crusade. At the foot of the feudal tower, which oppressed it by its darkening shadow, awoke the village; and that ruthless man who had only stooped down from his vulture's nest to despoil his vassals, armed them himself, led them with him, lived with them, suffered with them: community of suffering touched his heart. More than one serf could say to his superior, "My lord, I found a cup of water for you in the desert—I shielded you with my body at the siege of Antioch, or of Jerusalem."

Strange adventures, singular chances, could not fail to attend such an enterprise. To have survived the fearful destruction which swept off so many nobles, in not a few instances conferred a nobility of its own. A man's worth was then known. The serfs had their own page of history, which told of their heroic acts. The relatives of the dead became the kindred of martyrs; and decked out their fathers and brothers in the old legends of the Church. They knew that it was a poor man who had saved Antioch by discovering the holy lance, whilst the sons and brothers of kings had fled from that city. They knew that the pope had not gone to the crusade, and that the sanctity of monks and priests had been eclipsed by the holiness of a layman,—Godfrey of Bouillon.

Then did humanity begin to honour herself in the lowliest condition. The first revolutions of the commons precede, or follow hard upon, the year 1100; when they broached the notion that each ought to be free to dispose of the produce of his own labour, and to marry his children without another's consent, and were emboldened to believe that they had a right to go and come, to sell and buy, and even suspected, in the excess of their presumptuousness, that men might chance to be equal.

Up to this time, this formidable notion of equality had never been clearly enounced. We are, indeed, told that before the year 1000, the peasants of Normandy had^o broke out in revolt; but it was easily suppressed. A few knights scoured the country, dispersed the *villains*, cut off their feet and hands, and the matter was forgotten*. Generally speaking, the peasants had too little communication with each other; so that their *jacqueries* all failed in the middle age; and it must, alas! be confessed, they were also too degraded by slavery, and rendered too brutal and savage by the extremity of their sufferings, to have used victory otherwise than barbarously.

It was in the populous burghs which had risen round the castles, and particularly round the churches, that ideas of liberty mostly fermented.

* "The rustics having held many meetings over all Normandy, unanimously determined to live as they pleased, and, in contempt of all laws, took the short cuts through the woods, or used the rivers and fords at will (quatenus tam in silvarum compendiis quam in aquarum commerciis, nullo obistente ante statuti juris obice, legibus uterentur suis). . . . The writer adds, that after the severe handling they got, as mentioned in the text (truncatis manibus ac pedibus, inutilis suis remisit), they gave up their meetings, and returned to their ploughs. Will. Gemet. l. v. ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 185.

Population had been encouraged in these burghs, by grants of land from their lay or ecclesiastical lords, who were anxious to increase their strength and the number of their vassals. They were not large, commercial cities, like those in the south of France, and in Italy; but carried on manufactures of the coarser kind, had some smiths, many weavers, butchers, and in the burghs lying on the high roads, hostellers. Sometimes, their lords would allure skilful artisans—to embroider the stole or forge the armour; and these men could not but have some liberty allowed them, since they carried their all in their hands and arms, and would otherwise have fled the country.

Liberty, then, was to have its beginning in the towns, in the towns of the centre of France*, which were to be called privileged towns, or communes, and which would either receive or extort their franchises. The general pretext was the necessity of securing the inhabitants from the oppression and robbery of the feudal lords: the special, the defence of the Isle of France against the pre-eminently feudal country, Normandy. "At this period," says Orderic Vital, "the popular community was established by the bishops, so that the priests accompanied the king to sieges and battles, with the banners of their parishes and their parishioners." According to the same historian, it was a Montfort (an illustrious family, which, in the following century, destroyed liberty in the south of France and founded that of England), Amaury de Montfort, who counselled Louis-le-Gros, after his defeat at Brenneville, to oppose the Normans with the men of the communes arrayed under the banners of their respective parishes. (A. D. 1119†.) But when these commons returned to the shelter of their own walls, they rose in their demands. It was death to their humble thoughts of themselves when they saw flying before their parochial banners mighty horses and their noble horsemen, when, with Louis-le-Gros, they had put a stop to the robberies of the Rocheforts, and had forced the den of the Coucys. With the poet of the twelfth century, they could exclaim, "We are men as they are; as great heart have we; as much endure can we ‡." All coveted a few franchises or privileges,

* Order. Vit. l. ii. Tunc ergo communitas in Francia popularis statuta est a præsulibus, ut præbyteri comitantur regi ad obsequium vel pugnam cum vexillis et parochianis omnibus.

† Id. l. xii.

‡

"Li paisan e li vilain
Cil del boscage e cil del plain,
Ne sai par kel entichement,
Ne ki les meu primierement;
Par vinz, par trentaines, par cens
Unt tenez plusurs parlemenz. . . .
●Privèement ont porparle
E plusurs l'ont entre els juré
Ke jamez, par lur volenté,
N'arunt seingnur ne avoé.
Seingnur ne lur font se mal nun;
Ne poent avoir od els raisun?
Ne lur gaainz, ne lur laburs;
Chescun jur vunt à grant dolurs. . . .
Tuz jur sunt lur bestes pries
Pur aies e pur services. . . .
●Pur kei nus laissum damagier?
Metum nus fors de lor dangier;
Nus sumes homes cum il sunt,
Tex membres avum cum il unt
Et altres grans cors avum,
N

and offered to purchase them; for, needy and wretched as they were, poor artisans, smiths, and weavers, suffered to cluster for shelter at the foot of a castle, or fugitive serfs crowding round a church, they could manage to find money; and men of this stamp were the founders of our liberties. They willingly starved themselves to procure the means of purchase; and king and barons rivalled each other in selling charters which fetched so high a price.

This revolution took place all over the kingdom under a thousand different forms, and with but little disturbance; so that it has only attracted notice with regard to some towns of the Oise and the Somme, which, placed in less favourable circumstances, and belonging to two different lords, one a layman, the other ecclesiastical, resorted to the king for a solemn guarantee of concessions often violated, and maintained a precarious liberty at the cost of several centuries of civil war. To these towns the name of *communes* has been more particularly applied; and the wars they had to wage form a slight but dramatic incident in this great revolution, which was operating silently and under different forms in all the towns of the north of France.

'Twas in brave and choleric Picardy, whose communes had so soundly beaten the Normans—in the country of Calvin, and of so many other revolutionary spirits—that these explosions took place. Noyon, Beauvais, Laon, three ecclesiastical lordships*, were the first communes; to these may be added St. Quentin. Here the church had laid the foundations of a powerful democracy. We shall afterwards have occasion to inquire, when we come to the revolutions of the commons of Flanders, of far greater importance, whether the example was set by Cambrai and the Belgian towns. We could only now show in little what we shall descry further

Et atretant sofrir poun.
Ne nus faut fors cuer sument,
Alium nus par serement,
Nos avoir e nus defendum,
E tuit ensemble nus tenum.
Es nus volent guerreier,
Bien avum, contre un chevalier,
Trente u quarante paisanz
Maniables e combatans."

Rob. Wace, Roman de Rou, vers. 5979—6038.

(The peasant and the villain, this from the wood, that from the plain, I know not by what inducement, nor what first moved them, by twenties, thirties, and hundreds, have held several parliaments. . . . Privily have they conferred together, and many of them have sworn that never, of their will, will they have lord or patron. The lords work them nothing but evil, nor do they receive any thing from them either for their gains or their labour. Each day they suffer heavy griefs. . . . Each day their cattle are taken for aids and for service. . . . "Why do we suffer ourselves to be injured, nor place ourselves out of danger from them? We are men as they are, we have such limbs as they have, and quite as great hearts, and can endure as much. Nor do we need great hearts only, but to take oath to defend our having and ourselves, and to keep ourselves all together. And, should they choose to fight, we can bring, against one knight—thirty to forty handy and fighting peasants.")

* See Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*.—Had I entered at length into the subject here, I could only have copied his admirable narratives, which are familiar to all. However, the questions concerning the *communes*, the *bourgeoisie*, and the origin of the *tiers-état*, have been cleared up and accurately settled by M. Guizot alone, in the fifth volume of his *Cours*. I shall return to the subject.

on of colossal size. What is the commune of Laon by the side of the terrible and stormy city of Bruges, which could send forth her thirty thousand armed men, defeat the king of France, and imprison the emperor*†! However, great or little, our Picard communes were heroic, and fought bravely. They had also their belfry and their tower, not leaning and clad in marble, like the *miranda* of Italy†, but set off with a sonorous clock, which did not summon the citizens to battle against the bishop or lord in vain. Women went to battle against the men. Eighty women would join in attacking the castle of Amiens, and were all wounded‡; as, at a later period, Jeanne Hachette was at the siege of Beauvais—a jovial and merry race of fiery soldiers and joyous ballad-singers, a country of light morals, licentious *follies*, capital songs, and of Béranger. 'Twas their delight, in the twelfth century, to see the count of Amiens on his big horse risk himself beyond the drawbridge, showing off his heavy caracoles; when the hostellers and the butchers would boldly stand at their doors, and startle the feudal brute with their loud laughter§.

The king has been said to be the founder of the communes; but the reverse is rather the truth||: it is the communes that established the king. Without them, he could not have beaten off the Normans; and these conquerors of England and the Two Sicilies would probably have conquered France. It was the communes, or to use a more general and exact term, the *bourgeoisie*¶, which, under the banner of the saint of the parish, enforced the common peace between the Oise and the Loire; whilst the king, on horseback, bore in front the banner of the

* This was the emperor Maximilian, in 1492.

† See Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 362. *Miranda*; that is, the wonder.

‡ Guibert, Nov. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 263. § *Id. ibid.* p. 261.

|| Louis VI. was opposed to the cities holding of the crown forming themselves into communes, and Louis VII. followed up the same policy. The latter, on his way to Orléans, repressed efforts which he considered as seditious:—"Here, he crushed the pride and silliness of certain idlers of the city, who, for the sake of the commune, appeared in rebellious wise, and stood against the crown; but many of them paid dearly for it, for he put many to a shameful death, as they deserved." Gr. Chron. de St. Denis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 196.—Hist. Ludov. vii. p. 124. 126, &c. He dissolved the commune of Vezelay. Chron. de St. Denis, p. 206.

¶ "No where," says M. Guizot, "has the *bourgeoisie*, the *tiers-état*, been so completely developed, have its destinies been so vast, or its results so fruitful as in France. All Europe had its *communes*; they were to be found in Italy, Spain, Germany, and England, just as in France. And not only were communes universal; but the communes of France are not those which, as communes, under this name and in the middle age have played the greatest part, and enjoy the highest place in history. The Italian communes gave birth to glorious republics; the German communes became free and imperial cities, which have a history of their own, and have had a great influence on the general history of Germany; the communes of England, connecting themselves with a branch of the feudal aristocracy, constitute, in conjunction with it, the influential house of the British Parliament, and early played an important part in the history of their country. The French communes in the middle age, and as they existed whilst bearing this name, were far from rising to the same height of political importance, or to the same historical dignity. Yet it is in France, that the population of the communes, the *bourgeoisie*, has been most thoroughly and efficiently developed, and has ended by acquiring the most decided preponderance in society. There have been communes in all Europe, but no

abbey of St. Denis*. The vassal in his capacity of count of the Vexin, and as abbot of St. Martin of Tours, and canon of St. Quentin, defender of the church, he warred in holy wise to put down the robberies of the lords of Montmorency and of Puiset, and the detestable cruelties of the Couceys.

He was supported by the rising *bourgeoisie* and by the church—all the rest, both strength and glory, belonged to feudalism. He was lost, poor little king as he was, among the vast domains of his vassals†. And many of the latter were great men—at least, men powerful by their valour, energy, and wealth. What was a Philippe I., or even the brave Louis VI., the fat pale man‡, between the red William of England and of Normandy, the Roberts of Flanders, conquerors and pirates§, the wealthy Raymonds of Toulouse, the Williams of Poitiers, and Fulk of Anjou—troubadours and historians; and, lastly, the Godfreys of Lorraine, intrepid antagonists of the emperors, sanctified in the minds of all Christendom by the life and death of Godfrey of Bouillon.

What had the king to oppose to all this glory and power! Not much, apparently; nothing sensible to sight or touch—right: an old right, revived by Charlemagne, but preached by the priests, and renewed by the poems of the day; and, indeed, the

true *tiers-état* except in France. This *tiers-état*, which, in 1789, brought about the French Revolution, is a destiny, a power, that belongs solely to our history, and will be vainly sought elsewhere.* Leçon i. t. v. p. 128.

* This was the famous Oriflamme, which became the standard of the kings of France when Philippe I. had acquired the Vexin—a dependency of the abbey of St. Denis. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 394; xii. 50.—See note, p. 149.

† “The sovereignty proper of the king of France extended over the Isle of France, and a part of the Orléanais—answering to the five departments of the Seine, the Seine and Oise, the Seine and Marne, the Oise, and the Loiret. Still, small as this district was—it was but thirty leagues from east to west, and forty from north to south—it was far from being wholly subject to the crown. We find, on the contrary, that it was the great business of Louis-le-Gros's life, during his whole reign, to reduce to obedience the counts of Chaumont and of Clermont, the lords of Monthéry, Montfort l'Amaury, Coucy, Montmorency, Puiset, and numerous other barons, who, within the precincts of the duchy of France and the royal demesnes, refused all obedience to him.

“To the north of this small district, the countship of Vermandois, in Picardy, which belonged to Philip's brother, only answered to two of our present departments, and the countship of Boulogne to one only. But the countship of Flanders comprised four; equalling Philip's kingdom in extent, and by far surpassing it in population and riches. The house of Champagne, divided between its two branches of Champagne and Blois, covered of itself six of our present departments, and hemmed in the king on the south and the east. The house of Burgundy occupied a territory equal to three departments, the king of England, as duke of Normandy, possessed one equal to five, the duke of Brittany the same, and the count of Anjou's was nearly equivalent to three; so that the king's nearest neighbours of the great lords were his equals in power. As to the countries lying between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and which now comprise thirty-three departments, although they recognized the sovereignty of the French monarch, they were in strictness as alien from him as the three kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence, which held of the emperor, and which answer to twenty-one of our present departments.” Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, t. v. p. 7.

‡ He was poisoned when young, and remained pallid ever after. Order. Vit. l. xi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 693.

§ See the story of Robert le-Frison (the Frieslander).

feudal rights seemed an usurpation of this royal right. According to it, the fief of every vassal who died childless, reverted to the sovereign as to its source. This gave him a commanding position, and secured him many friends, for it was to one's interest to be on good terms with him who was the bestower of vacant fiefs; and this claim to universal heirship secured him immense popularity. Meanwhile the Church supported and maintained him. She had too much need of the services of a military chief against the barons, ever to desert the king. This was seen when Philippe I. scandalously married Bertrade de Montfort, whom he had seduced from her husband, Fulk of Anjou. (A. D. 1092.) Whilst the bishop of Chartres, the famous Yves, thundered against him, the pope laid him under interdict, and the council of Lyons condemned him, the whole of the northern Church remained faithful to him, and he had on his side the bishops of Reims, Sens, Paris, Meaux, Soissons, Noyon, Senlis, Arras*, &c.

Louis VI., who, in his old age, was styled the Fat, had been at first surnamed the Sprightly, or Awakened (*l'Eveillé*). His reign, indeed, is the awakening of the monarchy. Braver than his father, and more obedient to the Church, it was in her cause, in defence of the abbey of St. Denis and the bishoprics of Orléans and of Reims†, that he fleshed his maiden sword; and when we reflect that the lands of the Church were then the only asylums of order and of peace, we appreciate the charity and humanity of the task undertaken by their defender. 'Tis true that he found his account in it, since the bishops, in their turn, armed their men for him. It was he who protected the pilgrims, and the merchants who flocked to their fairs and their festivals, and who secured the safety of the high road from Tours and Orléans to Paris, and from Paris to Reims. Together with the counts of Blois and of Champagne, he strove to place in some degree of peace and security the country between the Loire, the Seine, and the Marne—a small circle hemmed in by the large feudal masses of Anjou, Normandy, and Flanders: the latter reached as far as the Somme. The circle comprised between these large fiefs was the first arena of loyalty, the theatre of its heroic history. Here the king maintained immense wars and terrible struggles against those pleasant spots which are now our faubourgs. Our prosaic plains of Brié and of Hurepoix have had their *Iliads*. The Montforts and the Garlandes often supported the king, whilst the Couceys, the barons of Rochefort, and especially the lords of Puiset, were arrayed against him. They troubled the whole neighbourhood with their rapine. There was some possibility of going in safety from Paris to St. Denis; but beyond, one could only ride lance in rest—for here was the sombre and unlucky forest of Montmorency, whilst, on the other side, the tower of Monthéry exacted its tolls. The king could not travel from his city of Orléans to his city of Paris, without an army at his back.

The crusade made the king's fortune. The terrible lord of Monthéry took the cross, but did not go farther than Antioch. When the Christians were

* Sismondi, t. iv. p. 522.

† Sugerii Vita Ludovici Grossi, c. 2–6, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. initio.

besieged there, he left his companions in arms, his brother pilgrims, let himself down from the walls by a rope, after the example of some others, and returned from Asia to Hurepoix with the nickname of *Rope-dancer*. All this humanized the haughty baron, and he gave his daughter in marriage to one of the king's sons, with his castle as her dowry *—which was, in fact, to give him a clear road between Paris and Orléans.

Nor was the absence of the great barons less advantageous to the king. Stephen of Blois, who had acted like the lord of Mouthéry, chose to return to Asia. The brilliant count of Poitiers, the libertine and the troubadour, felt the impossibility of being an accomplished knight without a journey to the Holy Land; besides, he relied on meeting many romantic adventures, together with material for some good stories†. His duchy of Aquitaine did not cost him many sighs; and he offered it to the king of England for a sum of ready money. He set out with a large army, all his men, and all his mistresses‡. As to the Languedocians, the crusade between Tripoli and Toulouse went on uninterruptedly. The count of Tripoli was Alphonse Jordan, whose father had had an escape of the crown of Jerusalem; which, being offered to the count of Anjou, he took it, and was ruined. The Angevins had no business with the Holy Land; but with the commercial and industrious natives of Languedoc, the case was different. It was an excellent market for them; and they drew from it the provisions of the Levant, rivalling the Pisans and Venetians.

Thus, ponderous feudalism had begun to move and to uproot itself from the soil. It went, and came, and lived upon the beaten highway of the crusade, between France and Jerusalem. As for the Normans, they wanted no other crusade than that of England; which gave them full occupation. The king alone remained faithful to the soil of France, and became more powerful daily through the absence of the barons, and their devotion to external objects. He began to become something in Europe. He received—he, the opponent of the petty barons of the banlieue of Paris,—a letter from the emperor, Henry IV., who complained to the *King of the Celts* of the violence of the pope §. So deceptive was his title, compared with his means, that the count of Barcelona sent from the Pyrenees to ask his assistance to repel the terrible invasion of the Almoravides, which threatened Spain and Europe. In like manner, when the hero of the crusade, the glorious Bohemond, prince of Antioch, came to rouse the compassion of the people for the Christians of Asia, he thought he did a popular act in marrying the sister of Louis-le-Gros||. He took care not to solicit the aid of his countrymen, the Normans; and the count of

Barcelona mistrusted his neighbours of Toulouse. No one doubted the king of France.

The danger of his position arose from his proximity to the Normans; but this very proximity rendered him dear to the Churches, and to the *bourgeoisies* of central France. The Normans had taken Gisors in despite of treaties; and from it commanded the Vexin almost up to Paris. These conquerors respected nothing. But for the jealousy of Flanders and of Anjou, the poor royalty of France would have been unable to make head against them. The count of Anjou demanded and obtained the title of seneschal of the king of France*—this gave him the privilege of laying the dishes on the royal table, but feudalism held all domestic offices noble, and the count of Anjou was too powerful to admit of this voluntary servitude's being ever made a handle against him; it was simply equivalent to his entering into a strict league against the Normans.

The latter gained no decisive advantage. They employed against the French king only the smallest part of their forces. In point of fact, Normandy was no longer on the continent, but in England. Their victory at Brenneville in an engagement between cavalry, in which the two kings encountered and acquitted themselves soldierly and well, was followed by no result. There were not three men slain, according to Orderic Vital†, in this celebrated battle of the twelfth century. (A. D. 1119.) Who, after this, will say that the times of chivalry are the heroic times!

Cruel vengeance was taken for this defeat by the militia of the communes, who entered Normandy, and committed fearful ravage there. They were headed by the bishops themselves, who dreaded nothing so much as becoming subject to Norman feudalism. The king hoped to derive a much greater advantage still from the protection of the Church, when Calixtus II. excommunicated the emperor, Henry V., in the council of Reims, where fifteen archbishops and two hundred bishops sat. Louis appeared there, and humbly accused before the pope, Henry Beauclerc, the Norman king of England, as the violator of the people's rights, and the ally of the barons who laid waste the country. "The bishops," he said, "detested, and with reason, Thomas de Marne, a seditious brigand, who plundered the whole province, and therefore ordered me to attack this scourge of travellers, and of the weak. The loyal barons of France joined me in curbing the breakers of the laws, and they fought for the love of God together with the whole array of the Christian army. The count of Nevers returning peaceably, with my permission, from this expedition, was taken, and is detained to this day by count Thibaut, although many barons have applied to Thibaut, in my name, to release him, and the bishops have laid all his land under anathema." When the king had ended, the French prelates deposed to the truth of his whole statement; but the pope had enough on his hands with his contest with the emperor, without making another enemy in the person of the English monarch.

However it be, the king of France was so far

* Philippe the First said to his son, Louis-le-Gros—"Now, my son, keep heedful watch over this tower, the trouble caused me by which has made me almost an old man, and through whose craft and deceitful wickedness I have never known thorough peace and quiet." Sugerii Vita Lud. Grossi, c. 3, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 16.

† He occasionally travelled for this purpose only.

‡ Guibert. Nov. l. vii. Examina contraxerat puellarum.

§ Siebert. Gemblac. ap. Struv. l. 856.

|| Sugerii Vita Lud. Grossi, c. 9, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 18.

"For the active valour of the Franks and their king, Louis, was so loudly blazoned forth, that the Saracens themselves felt alarmed at the alliance."

* Hugo de Cleeris, de Senescalcia, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 494.

† Order. Vital. l. xii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 722. Tres solummodo interemptos fuisse comperi.

the man of the Church, that she allowed him the undisputed exercise of that right of investiture, for claiming which the pope excommunicated the emperor*. No inconvenience arose from this right, in the hand of one protected by the bishops. Besides, Louis inspired so much confidence! He was a prince after God's heart, and after the world's.

Henry Beaulerc had supplanted his brother Robert. Louis-le-Gros took William Clito, Robert's son, under his protection. He vainly endeavoured to settle him in Normandy, but succeeded in making him count of Flanders; for when Charles the Good, the late count, had been massacred by the inhabitants of Bruges, Louis undertook this distant expedition, avenged the count in a signal manner, and persuaded the Flemings to take the Norman, William Clito, for their count. Men were thus habituated to regard the French king as the minister of Providence.

His expeditions into the South were more distant, and not less brilliant. At the commencement of the crusade, the count of Bourges had sold his countship to the king†; and this possession, from which the king was separated by so many broad lands, more or less hostile, acquired importance when in 1115 the lord of the Bourbonnois, which bordered on Berry, summoned the king to his aid against his predecessor's brother, who disputed the lordship with him. Louis-le-Gros marched thither with an army, and protected him most effectually. From this time, he secured a footing in the South. Twice afterwards he made a kind of crusade thither in favour of the bishop of Clermont, who had complained of violence from the count of Auvergne. He was willingly followed by the great vassals of the North, by the counts of Flanders, Anjou, and Brittany, and several Norman barons, to whom it was a high treat to make a campaign in the South. He would not listen to the protests of the count of Poitiers, duke of Aquitaine, and suzerain of the count of Auvergne; and, some years afterwards, the bishop of Puy-en-Velay sought a grant from the king of France, making the absence of his lord, the count of Toulouse, who was then in the Holy Land (A. D. 1134), his pretext for so doing.

The power at which the king of France had arrived was evidenced from the year 1124, in which the emperor, Henry V., who had been excommunicated at the council of Reims, and who cherished, therefore, a bitter hatred of the bishops and the king, and had been urged to the undertaking by his son-in-law, Henry Beaulerc, prepared to invade France. The report spread that the emperor sought to wreak his vengeance on the city of Reims. Instantly, the whole militia of the kingdom flew to arms‡. The great barons sent their retainers; and the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, Vermandois, and even of Champagne—who was at

the time in arms against Louis-le-Gros in favour of the Norman king,—and the counts of Flanders, Brittany, Aquitaine, and of Anjou, hastened to drive back the Germans, who durst not advance. This unanimity of Northern France under Louis-le-Gros, against Germany, seemed to announce a century beforehand the victory of Bouvines, as his expedition into Auvergne directs one's thoughts to the conquest of the South in the thirteenth century.

ABELARD.—HIS DOCTRINES. (A. D. 1102—1140.)

Such, after the first crusade, was the resurrection of king and people. People and king set out under the banner of St. Denys: *Montjoie St. Denys* was the battle-cry of France. St. Denys and the Church, Paris and the throne, face each other. Here was the centre to which life flowed: a nation's heart beat here. The first sign, the first pulsation, is the rise of the schools and the voice of Abelard. Liberty, which rung so faint an alarm in the belfry of the communes of Picardy, spoke aloud in Europe through the voice of the Breton logician. Arnold of Brescia, Abelard's disciple, was the echo which awakened Italy. Though they knew it not, the petty communes of France had sisters in the Lombard cities, and in Rome—that great commune of the ancient world.

The chain of freethinkers, broken, seemingly, after John Scotus*, was linked together again by our great Gerbert, who was pope in the year 1000. A pupil at Cordova, and a professor at Reims†, Gerbert was succeeded by his disciple Fulbert of Chartres, whose pupil, Bérenger of Tours, terrified the Church with the first doubt touching the Eucharist. Shortly afterwards, the canon, Roscelin of Compiègne, dared to question the doctrine of the Trinity. He taught, moreover, that general ideas were only words—"The virtuous man is a reality, virtue only a sound." This bold reform shook all poetry, all religion, to the centre; and accustomed the world to see only personifications in ideas which the mind had been wont to consider realities. It was no less than the transition from poetry to prose. This logical heresy horrified the age of the first crusade; and Nominalism, as it was termed, was stifled for a time.

The Church did not lack champions against these

* The succession of historians is less interrupted. The most distinguished among the earlier were Germans, as Otho of Freysingen, who celebrated the deeds of the great emperors of the house of Saxony; then, the Italian and French Normans, Guillaume Malaterra, Guillaume de Jumièges, and William of Poitiers, chaplain to the conqueror of England. France, properly so called, had had the shrewd Raoul Glaber, and, a century afterwards, amongst a crowd of historians of the crusade, the eloquent Guibert de Nogent. Raymond d'Agiles belongs to the South.

† Schools of theology had long been opened in the great ecclesiastical centres—first at Poitiers, and at Reims, then at Bec, Mans, Auxerre, Laon, and Liège. Law was taught almost exclusively at Orléans and Angers. At Béziers, Lunel, and Marseilles, Jewish schools had been ventured to be opened. Learned rabbis taught at Carcassonne; and even in the North, under the protection of the count of Champagne, at Troyes and Vitry, and in the royal city of Orleans.

‡ St. Anselm speaks "of those heretical dialecticians who make essential substances consist in words only, who conceive no colour but in a body, or wisdom but in a soul." De Fide Trinitatis, c. 2.

* The monks of St. Denys having elected Suger their abbot, without waiting for the royal presentation, Louis expressed great anger at the circumstance, and threw several of the monks into prison. Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, p. 48.—Thus, the exception proves the rule.

† Chronica Reg. Fr. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 394. The price was 60,000 livres. Foulques-le-Réchin (the Grim) ceded the Gatinais to him, to secure his keeping neutral.

‡ Suger, Vita Lud. Gr. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xlii. 50. Rex ut eum tota Francia sequatur, potenter invitat. Indignatus igitur hostium inusitatum audaciam usitata Francie animositas, circumquaque movens militarem delectum. . . .

innovators. Bérenger and Roscelin found opponents in the Lombards, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, both archbishops of Canterbury. St. Anselm, an original thinker, had already discovered the famous argument of Descartes for the existence of God—"If God did not exist, I could not conceive him*." Great was his transport on making this discovery after a long fit of wakefulness; and he chose as the motto of his book, "The fool has said in his heart, there is no God." A monk had the presumption to think the proof inconclusive, and entitled his reply, "A little book for the fool †." These were but the preludes to sharper disputes. Gregory VII. forbade any persecution of Bérenger ‡: it was the time of the dispute concerning the right of investiture, and the material struggle, the war against the emperor, was all absorbing. Another struggle was on the eye of commencement, and a much more serious one, within the sphere of intellect, when the dispute would be transferred from politics to theology and morals, and the very morality of Christianity would be brought into question. Thus Arius was succeeded by Pelagius, and Bérenger by Abelard.

The Church appeared tranquil. Two pupils of St. Anselm's of Canterbury, Anselm of Laon, and William of Champeaux, presided over the schools of Laon and of Paris. However, great signs were made manifest. The Vaudouis had translated the Bible into the vulgar tongue §, and the Institutes, also, were translated ||. Law was taught, equally with theology, at Orleans and at Angers ¶. The existence alone of the school of Paris constituted a portentous and dangerous novelty. Ideas, till this time scattered, or watched over in the various ecclesiastical schools, began to converge to a common centre. The great name of University was recognized in the capital of France, at the moment that the French tongue had become almost universal. The conquests of the Normans, and the first crusade, had spread its powerfully philosophic idiom in every direction, to England, to Sicily, and to Jerusalem. This circumstance alone invested France, central France, Paris, with an immense attractive power. By degrees, Parisian French became a proverb **. Feudalism had found its political centre in the royal city; and this city was about to become the capital of human thought.

The beginner of this revolution was not a priest, but a handsome young man ††, of brilliant talents,

amiable, and of noble family *. None wrote love verses, like his, in the vulgar tongue: he sang them, too †. Besides, his erudition was extraordinary for that day. He alone, of his time, knew both Greek and Hebrew. May be, he had studied at the Jewish schools (there were many in the South), or under the rabbins of Troyes, Vitry, or of Orleans. There were then in Paris two leading schools; the old Episcopal school of the parois Notre Dame, and that of St. Geneviève, on the hill, where shone William of Champeaux. Abelard joined his pupils, submitted to him his doubts, puzzled him, laughed at him, and closed his mouth. He would have served Anselm of Laon the same, had not the professor, being a bishop, expelled him from his diocese. In this fashion this knight-errant of logic went on, unhorsing the most celebrated champions. He himself declared that he had only renounced tilt and tourney through his passion for intellectual combats ‡. Henceforward, victorious and without a rival, he taught at Paris and Melun, the residence of Louis-le-Gros, and the lords flocked to hear him; anxious to encourage § one of themselves, who had discomfited the priests on their own ground, and had silenced the ablest clerks.

Abelard's wonderful success is easily explained. All the lore and learning which had been smothered under the heavy, dogmatical forms of clerical instruction, and hidden in the rude Latin of the middle age, suddenly appeared arrayed in the simple elegance of antiquity, so that men seemed for the first time to hear and recognize a human voice. The daring youth simplified and explained every thing; presenting philosophy in a familiar form, and bringing it home to men's bosoms. He hardly suffered the obscure or supernatural to rest on the hardest mysteries of faith. It seemed as if till then the Church had lisped and stammered; whilst Abelard spoke. All was made smooth and easy. He treated religion courteously and handled her gently, but she melted away in his hands. Nothing embarrassed the fluent speaker: he reduced religion to philosophy and morality to humanity. Crine, he said, consists not in the act, but in the intention ||. It followed, that there was no such

* Born at Palais, near Nantes, in 1079. He was the elder son, and renounced his right of primogeniture.

† Abel. Lib. Calam. p. 12. "Now (he alludes to the time of his love) whatever songs I devised were amatory, not the secrets of philosophy. Many of these songs, as thyself knowest, are yet commonly sung in many countries: chiefly by those who find enjoyment in existence."—Heloïsse Epist. i. "Two qualifications, indeed, you peculiarly enjoyed; a tone of voice, and a grace in singing, which engaged every female heart. These are not common to philosophical men: seldom do they vary their severer studies by the composition and performance of love sonnets. In both these you were so eminent as to charm all of every rank: I was usually the subject of them; my name was thus celebrated, and envied, in every city and region."

‡ Liber Calam. p. 4. Et quoniam dialecticorum rationum armaturam omnibus philosophiæ documentis prætuli, his armis alia commutavi et trophæis bellorum confictus prætuli disputationum. Improinde diversas disputando perambulans provincias. . . .—From another of his letters we learn that he had at first devoted himself to the study of the law.

§ Id. p. 5. Quoniam de potentibus terræ nonnullos ibidem habebat (Guillelmus Campellensis) emulos, fretus eorum auxilio, voti mei compos extiti.

|| P. Abelardi. *Ethica*, seu Liber Dictus, *Scito te ipsum*,

* Proslodium, c. 2.

† Libellus pro Insuperante.

‡ Greg. Epist. Spicileg. d'Achery, ed. 2. t. iii. p. 413.

§ The emperor's friends accused Gregory of having ordered the cardinals to fast, in order to obtain some sign from God who was in the right with respect to the body of Christ, Bérenger or the Roman Church—*quis reus sentire de corpore Domini, Romanave ecclesia, an Berengarius?* Ecardi Corpus Histor. Mediæ ævi, t. ii. p. 170.

|| See l'Histoire Littéraire de France.

¶ Ibid.

¶ Ibid. See also, Savigny, *Geschichte des Roemischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 1822, b. iii. p. 369.

** Chaucer says of an English abbess of noble birth—

"And Frenche she spake ful fayre, and fetisly,

After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,

For Frenche of Paris was to hire unknowe."

†† Epistola i. Heloïssæ ad Abel. (Abel. et Hel. opera, ed. Duchesne.) "For what gift of soul or body was wanting to adorn thy youth?"—Abelardi Liber Calamitatum Mearum, p. 10.—*Juventutis et formæ gratia*.

thing as sins of habit or of ignorance—*They who crucified Jesus, not knowing him to have been the Saviour, were guilty of no sin* *. What is original sin?—*Less a sin, than a punishment* †. But then, wherefore the redemption and the passion, if there was no sin?—*It was an act of pure love. God desired to substitute the law of love for that of fear* ‡.

What is sin? It is not God's will, but in God's contempt §. The intent is all; the act, nothing: a slippery doctrine, safe only for sincere and enlightened minds. How it was abused by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century is well known; but how far more dangerous must it not have been in the ignorance and rudeness of the twelfth!

The doctrine spread instantaneously, crossing at once sea and Alps, and penetrating amongst all classes. The laity began to handle sacred topics; and the most important mysteries were eagerly canvassed—no longer in the schools only—but by all, great and little, men and women, in market-places and in highway ¶. The tabernacle, as it were, was broken into; and the Holy of Holies dragged into

(apud Bern. Pezli Thesaur. Anecdotorum, pars 2^a, p. 627.) Operationem peccati nihil addere ad reatum.—Nihil animam, nisi quod ipsius est, coinquinat: hoc est consensus, quem solummodo peccatum esse diximus. P. 638. 652.—Opera indifferentia sunt in se, scilicet nec bona nec mala, sive remuneratione digna, videntur, nisi secundum radicem intentionis, quæ est arbor bonum vel malum proferens fructum. Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (ap. Abel. et Hel. opera, p. 522.)

* Ibid. p. 655. Non possumus dicere martyrum vel Christi persecutores (quum placere Deo crederent) in hoc peccasse. "We must suppose, then," he adds, "that God has only punished them temporarily, and by way of example."

† "When we say that original sin is inherent in children, or that we have all ~~fallen~~ in Adam, it is equivalent to saying, that his sin was the origin of our punishment, and condemns us to damnation." See, also, Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (Abel. et Hel. opera, p. 598.) "But does God punish the innocent? That is unjust and cruel."—"Perhaps," is his answer, "it is not so in God." Ibid.

‡ Commentar. in Epist. ad Rom. p. 530. 533. Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio. . . . ut amore ejus potius quam timore cuncta impleamus.—"Then what is it that Jesus Christ has come to redeem? It can only be the elect. And, then, where the good?" Ibid.—St. Bernard taunts him in a strain of vehemence with this error. S. Bernardi Opera, ed. Mabillon, 1690, t. i. p. 650. 655.

§ Ethica, ap. B. Pezli Th. t. iii. p. 627. Peccatum contemptus Creatoris est. See, also, p. 638.—Abelard, in his Ethics, (p. 632, &c.) employs the word *voluntas* in the sense of *desire*. He distinguishes, it is true, the will (*consensus*) from desire; but this confusion of terms must have frequently occasioned a dangerous misprision of meaning. In the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, he uses *voluntas* for the will.

¶ Guill. de S. Theodor. Epist. ad S. Bern. (ap. S. Bernardi Opera, t. i. p. 302.) Libri ejus transeunt maria, transvolant Alpes.—St. Bernard writes to the cardinals at Rome, in 1140: "I pray you to read Peter Abelard's Book of Theology, as he calls it. You must have it at hand, since he boasts that it is read by many of the college."

¶ The French bishops wrote to the pope, in 1140: Cum per totam fere Galliam, in civitatibus, vicis et castellis, a scholaribus, non solum inter scholas, sed etiam triviatum, nec a literatis aut provecitis tantum, sed a pueris et simplicibus, aut certe stultis, de S. Trinitate, quæ Deus est, disputaretur. . . . S. Bernardi Opera i. 309.—S. Bern. Epist. 88, ad Cardinales: Irridentur simplicium fides, eviscerantur arcana Dei, questiones de altissimis rebus temerarie ventilantur.

the street. The simple were shaken, the saints staggered, the Church was silent.

All Christianity, however, was at stake, for its very foundations were attacked. If original sin were no longer a sin, but a punishment, the punishment was unjust, and Redemption useless. Abelard protested against the inference; but he justified Christianity by such weak arguments, that he only injured it the more when he averred that he knew no better answers. He suffered himself to be pushed *ad absurdum*, and then threw himself upon authority and faith.

Thus, man ceased to be guilty; the flesh was justified and rehabilitated. The manifold sufferings by which men had sacrificed themselves, had been superfluous. To what end, the hosts of voluntary martyrs, the fasts and macerations, the vigils of monks, the tribulations of hermits, the unnumbered tears poured out in the sight of God—all had been vanity and folly. This God was a kind and easy God, indifferent to every thing of the sort.

The Church was then swayed by a monk, a simple abbot of Clairvaux—St. Bernard. Like Abelard, he was of noble birth. Originally from Upper Burgundy *, from the country of Bossuet and of Buffon, he had been brought up in that powerful abbey of Cîteaux, the sister and the rival of Cluny, which sent forth such a host of illustrious preachers, and which, fifty years later, originated the crusade against the Albigéois. But Cîteaux was too splendid and too wealthy for St. Bernard; and he descended into the poorer region of Champagne, and founded the monastery of Clairvaux in the Valley of Wormwood †. Here, he could lead at will the life of suffering to which he cleaved, and from which nothing could tear him, for he would never hear of being any other than a monk, when he might have been archbishop or pope. Forced to reply to the various monarchs who consulted him, he found himself all-powerful in his own despite, and condemned to govern Europe. It was a letter of St. Bernard's which caused the king of France to withdraw his army from Champagne ‡; and when the simultaneous elevation of Innocent II. and of Anaclet to the papal throne had given rise to a schism, the French church referred the judgment to St. Bernard, and he decided in favour of Innocent §. England and Italy opposed his choice: the abbot of Clairvaux wrote to the king of England; then, taking the pope by the hand, he led him through all the cities of Italy, which received him on bended knee. The people rushed to touch the saint, and would struggle with each other but for a thread drawn out of his gown. His whole road was marked by miracles.

But, as we learn from his letters, these things were not his chief business. He ~~loved~~, but did not give himself to the world—his heart and treasure were elsewhere. He would write ten lines to the

* His mother belonged to Montbar, the birth-place of Buffon; which is no great distance from Dijon, Bossuet's native place. He was born in 1081. 1098.

† Neander, Hefme Bernhard und sein Zeitalter, p. 7.

‡ Arnald. de Bonneval, Vita S. Bern. l. iv. c. 3.—Chronicle. Turon. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 473.—See S. Bern. Epist. 220, 221. 226. S. Bernardi Opera, ed. Mabillon, 1690, fol. p. 203—210.

§ See St. Bernard's Letters to the towns of Italy—Genoa, Pisa, Milan, &c.—to the empress, the king of England, and the emperor, p. 138, sqq.

king of England, and ten pages to a poor monk. Abstracting himself from all outward concerns—a man of prayer and sacrifice; no one knew better how to be alone, though surrounded by others: his senses took no note of external objects. Having, his biographer tells us, walked the whole day along the lake of Lausanne, he inquired in the evening whereabouts the lake might be. He would mistake oil for water, and coagulated blood for butter*. Almost every thing he took, his stomach rejected. He quenched his hunger with the Bible, his thirst with the Gospel. He could scarcely stand upright; yet found strength to preach the crusade to a hundred thousand men. He seemed rather a being of another world than mortal, when he presented himself to the multitude with his white and red beard, his white and fair hair, meagre and weak, hardly a tinge of life on his cheeks, and with that singular transparency of complexion so admired in Byron†. So overpowering was the effect of his preaching, that mothers kept their sons from hearing him, wives their husbands‡; or all would have turned monks. As for him, when he had breathed the breath of life into the multitude, he would hasten back to Clairvaux, rebuild his hut of boughs and leaves§, and sooth in studies of the Song of Songs, the interpretation of which was the occupation of his life, his lovesick soul||.

Think with what grief such a man must have learnt the successes of Abelard, and the encroachments of logic on religion, the prosaic victory of reason over faith, and the extinguishing of the flame of sacrifice in the world—it was tearing his God from him.

St. Bernard was far inferior to his rival as a logician; but the latter laboured at his own ruin. He took upon himself to prove the consequences of his doctrine, by applying it in his own conduct. He had reached that height of prosperity, when infatuation commonly hurries us into some great fault. All had prospered with him. Men were mute in his presence; and the women gazed with looks of love on the fascinating and restless youth, a model of manly grace, and all-powerful in intellect, who drew the world after him at pleasure. "To such a pitch had I arrived,"—these are his own words,—"that I had not to fear a repulse from any woman whom I honoured with my love¶."

* Guillelm. de S. Theodorico, l. i. c. 7, l. iii. c. 2.

† Ibid. l. iii. c. 1.—Odo de Diglio, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 92.—Gaufridus, c. i. In oper. S. Bernard. t. ii. p. 1117. *Subtilissima cutis in genis medico rubens.*

‡ Ibid. l. i. c. 3.

§ Arnald. de Bonneval, l. ii. c. 6.—Guill. de S. Theod. l. i. c. 4. "Up to this period, all that he has read in the Holy Scriptures, and the spiritual sense he affixes to it, has been suggested to him praying and meditating in the fields and woods, and he is accustomed to say pleasantly to his friends, that he has never had any other masters than the oaks and beeches."—St. Bernard writes to one Murdoch, whom he is persuading to become monk—"Believe one who has tried;—on you will find something more in woods than in books. Rocks and stones will teach you what you cannot hear from teachers. . . . Do not the mountains distil sweetness, and the hills flow with milk and honey, and the valleys abound with corn!" Opera, t. i. p. 116.

¶ Arnald. de Bonneval, l. ii. c. 6.

¶ Abel. Liber Calamit. Meaurum, p. 10. *Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram, et juvenitatis et formæ gratia præeminēbam, ut quæcumque feminarum nostro dignarer amore, nullam vereretur repulsam.*

Rousseau makes the very same boast, where he describes in his *Confessions* the success of his *Nouvelle Heloise*.

The Heloise of the twelfth century was niece to the canon, Fulbert. Young, lovely, accomplished, and even then celebrated*, her uncle put her under the tuition of Abelard, who seduced her. The crime had not even love for its excuse. Coldly, deliberately, and as the whim of an idle hour, did Abelard abuse Fulbert's confidence†—his cruel punishment is known. He renounced the world, and joined the Benedictines of St. Denys (about A. D. 1119). Here he found not peace, for clerical prosecution sought him out. The archbishop of Reims, a friend of St. Bernard's, summoned a council to sit in judgment upon him at Soissons, where he narrowly escaped being stoned by the mob. Abelard felt alarmed, even condescended to tears, burnt his books, and subscribed to whatever was desired. He was condemned without examination; and his enemies asserted that his having taught without licence from the Church were sufficient grounds for the sentence‡.

He was confined in St. Médard's abbey at Soissons; and flying thence to the abbey of St. Denys, was obliged to quit this asylum as well, having taken it into his head to doubt whether St. Denys the Areopagite had even set foot in France. To touch this legend was to attack the religion of the crown§; and henceforward he lost the support of the court, which had previously been his. He fled to the territory of the count of Champagne, and concealed himself in a desert spot on the Ardusson, two leagues from Nogent. He was at this time poor, and had only one clerk with him. Building a hut of reeds, and an oratory in honour of the Trinity, whom he was accused of denying, he named this hermitage, the Comforter, the Paraclete. But his disciples, discovering his retreat, flocked to him. They built themselves huts||. A town soon sprang up in the desert, sacred to learning and liberty; and he was necessitated once more to mount the professorial chair, and lecture. But again he was compelled to desist, and to accept the priory of St. Gildas in Brittany *bretonnante*, when he was unacquainted with the language of the country. It was his fate to find no rest. His Breton monks, whom he desired to reform, endeavoured to give him poison in the communion cup; and from this time, the hapless man led a wandering life, and is even said to have entertained the idea of seeking refuge on infidel ground. Yet, first, he wished to measure his strength once for all with the redoubted adversary whose zeal and sanctity pursued him every where. Instigated by Arnold of Brecon, he chal-

* Ibid. "Not the last in beauty, she was first in extent of learning; and the rarer this gift of literary knowledge is in women, the more it distinguished her youthful self, and made her name known throughout the kingdom."

† Heloise wrote to him—"Desire drew thee to me more than friendship, and lust rather than love"

‡ See Liber Calamitatum, p. 20, 21.—Gaufrid. Claravall. l. iii. c. 5.

§ He likewise endeavoured to reform the morals of the abbey of St. Denys, which was offensive to the court. Abelard says himself—"I knew it to be the royal desire that the abbey should be disorderly, since it was the more submissive and useful, as far as regards the disposal of its revenues." Liber Calam. p. 27.

|| Ibid. p. 28. *Ceperunt undique concurrere, et relictis civitatibus et castellis solitudinem inhabitare, etc.*

lenged St. Bernard to a logical duel before the council of Sens; where the king, the counts of Champagne and of Nevers, and a crowd of bishops, were to be present and judge the combat. St. Bernard, conscious of his inferiority, attended with reluctance*; but the threats of the mob and his rival's pusillanimity came to his rescue. Abelard shrank from defence, and contented himself with appealing to the pope (A.D. 1140). Innocent II. owed every thing to St. Bernard, and hated Abelard in the person of his disciple Arnold of Brescia†, who was at that moment making the tour of Italy and calling on the towns to assert their freedom: he, therefore, condemned Abelard to imprisonment. The latter, however, had anticipated his sentence by seeking refuge in the monastery of Cluny; whose abbot, Peter the Venerable, became answerable for him, and where he died two years after.

Such was the end of the restorer of philosophy in the middle age, the son of Pelagius, the father of Descartes, and, like them, a Breton. Under another point of view, he may be considered as the precursor of the humane and sentimental school, which reappeared in Fénelon and Rousseau. Bossuet, during his dispute with Fénelon, is known to have had St. Bernard's works constantly in his hands. To feel how Rousseau stands with regard to Abelard, we must view the latter in his two disciples, Arnold and Heloise—the personifications of classical republicanism, and of impassioned eloquence. In Arnold is the germ of the *Contrat Social*, and in the letters of the ancient *Heloise* we trace the *New (Nouvelle)*.

There are none whose memory is more popular in France than is that of Abelard's mistress. This forgetful people, from whose minds every trace of the middle age has been obliterated, and who are more mindful of the gods of Greece than of our national saints, have not forgotten Heloise, but still

visit the graceful monument which unites the two spouses, with as much interest as if their tomb had been dug but yesterday*. Of all our love legends, 'tis the sole survivor.

The fall of man made the greatness of woman: without Abelard's misfortune, Heloise would have been unknown; she would have remained obscure and in the back ground, and would have desired no glory apart from that of her spouse. At the time of their separation he made her take the veil, and built her the Paraclete; of which she became the abbess, and opened there a famous school of theology, Greek, and Hebrew. Many similar convents rose around, and, some years after Abelard's death, Heloise was named by the pope, head of the order. But her glory consists in her constant and disinterested love, which is heightened and set off by its contrast with the hardness and coldness of Abelard. Compare the language of the two lovers—

"Fulbert," says Abelard, "delivered her unreservedly to my care, in order to her instruction by me on my return from the schools, and with license to chastise her severely, should she be idle. Was not this to give full scope to my desires? So that if I did not succeed by caresses, I might bend her to my will by threats and blows†."

Striking is the contrast of this cowardly brutality of a pedant of the twelfth century, with the exaltation and disinterestedness of the sentiments expressed by Heloise:—"Never, and God knows it, did I seek any thing in thee, but thyself; thyself, solely, and not what was thine, I desired. I wanted not marriage, nor dowry, nor did I seek to satisfy my own will, or pleasures, but thine. And though the name of wife is more holy and forms a firmer bond, yet did that of thy mistress seem sweeter to me, or that—be not angry—of thy concubine or harlot (*concubinae vel sortiti*). The more I humbled myself for thee, the greater my claim, I thought, upon thy favour‡, and the less chance of injuring thy high reputation. . . . I call God to witness that if the master of the world, if the emperor, should have wished to honour me with his hand and to confer on me the government of the universe, dearer and sweeter would it have been to me to have been called thy whore than his empress (*tua dici meretrix, quam illius imperatrix* §). She gives a singular reason for her constant refusal to become Abelard's wife:—"Would it not have been an unseemly and grievous thing, that a wife should take and appropriate to herself him, whom nature had created for all. . . . What mind devoted to the meditations of philosophy or the contemplation of heavenly things, could endure the cries of children, the gossiping of nurses, the trouble and noise of serving men and women || ?"

* At Paris, in the Eastern cemetery.

† Abel. Liber Calamit. p. 11. Eam toto magisterio nostro commisit, ut quoties mihi a scholis reverso vacaret, ei docende operam darem, et eam, si negligentem sentirem, vehementer constringerem.—Qui cum eam mihi non solum docendam, verum etiam vehementer constringendam traderet, quid aliud agebat, quam ut votis meis licentiam penitus daret, et occasionem, etiam si nollemus, offerret, ut quam videlicet blanditissimam non possem, minis et verberibus facillius flecterem?

‡ Heloise's Epist. 1^a, p. 45.

§ Ibid.

|| The above has been preserved by Abelard, Liber Calam. p. 15.

* S. Bernard. Epist. 189. "I declined, both because I was young in such things, and he an experienced warrior from his earliest days; and because I thought it unmeet that matter of faith should be entrusted to the decision of poor human reason."

† S. Bern. Epist. ad Papam, p. 182. "Goliath (Abelard) stalks forth . . . preceded by his armour-bearer, Arnold of Brescia. Scale is joined to scale, so that there is not a breathing place between the two; for as much as the bee which was in France has hissed to the bee in Italy, and they have come together against the Lord." (Squama squama conjungitur, et nec spiraculum incedit per eas. Sic uideim sibilavit apis, quæ erat in Francia, api de Italia, et venerunt in unum adversus Dominum.)—Epist. ad Episc. Constant. p. 187. "Would that his doctrine were as sound as his life is strict! For you must understand, that the man is neither gluttonous nor a wine bibber, but eats and drinks the blood of souls with the devil only"—Epist. ad Guid. p. 188. "He with a dove's head and a serpent's tail, whom Brescia has vomited forth, Rome abhors, France rejects, Germany abominates, Italy will not harbour."—He (Arnold of Brescia) was a disciple of Pierre de Bruis as well. Buleus, Hist. Universit. Paris. ii. 155. Platina says, that no one knew whether he were priest, monk, or hermit.—Trithemius relates, that he said from his professor's chair, addressing himself to the cardinals, "I know that ye will soon privily murder me. . . . I call heaven and earth to witness, that I have taught you even as the Lord has commanded me. But you despise me and your Creator. Nor is it strange that you should deliver up to death me, a sinner, who proclaim the truth to you, when, if Peter should arise, and condemn your unnumbered vices, you would not spare him." Ibid. 106.

The form alone of the letters between the two indicates the poor return the passionate love of Heloise met with. Abelard divides and subdivides his mistress's letters, so as to reply to them methodically, and by heads. He subscribes his own, "To the bride of Christ, the slave of Christ," or else, "To his dear sister in Christ, Abelard, her brother in Christ *." How different, Heloise! who writes, "To her lord, no, to her father; to her husband, no, to her brother;—his servant, his wife, no, his daughter, his sister—to Abelard, Heloise †!" Passion tears from her words, altogether alien from the religious reserve of the twelfth century:—"In every situation in which I am placed, I dread offending thee, God knows, more than God himself: thee do I desire to please, more than him. It was thy will, not the love of God, which induced me to become nun ‡." She repeated these strange words at the very altar. At the very moment of taking the veil, she uttered the apostrophe of Cornelia, in Lucan—"O my husband, greatest of men, who didst deserve a far happier bride than I. Fate had thus much power over thy illustrious head! Why, wretch that I am, did I marry thee to thy undoing! Now art thou avenged; willingly do I sacrifice myself to expiate my crime §!"

Before the mystics, and before Fenelon, Abelard had laid down in his writings this high ideal of pure and disinterested love, as the aim and end of the religious soul ||. Woman raised herself to it, for the first time, in the writings of Heloise—still, it is true, devoting it to man, to her husband, to her living god. Heloise was to revive, under a spiritual form, in St. Catherine and St. Theresa,—who fixed their affections on high.

The restoration of woman, which Christianity had begun, was principally effected in the twelfth century. A slave in the East, shut up, too, in the gynæceum of the Greeks, but emancipated by the jurisprudence of the empire, she was recognized by the new religion, as man's equal. Christianity, however, hardly freed from the sensuality of paganism, still feared woman and mistrusted her. Man knew himself to be weak and tender. He kept her at a distance; the more he felt his heart sympathize with her. Hence, the hard, and even contemptuous expressions, by which he strives to fortify himself against her power. The common term for woman in ecclesiastical writers, and in the capitularies, is the degrading yet profoundly expressive phrase—*Vas infirmum* (the weaker vessel). At the period of Gregory the Seventh's efforts to emancipate the clergy from their double bonds—woman and territorial possessions, there was a new

outbreak against the dangerous Eve whose seductions lost Adam, and who is ever persecuting him in his sons.

With the twelfth century began a movement, the direct reverse of this. The free spirit of mysticism, undertook to raise up what sacerdotal severity had dragged in the mire; and this mission was chiefly discharged by a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel. He led back woman to the bosom of Christ, founded asylums for her, and built Fontevault; and Fontevaults soon arose throughout all Christendom *. Robert's venturous charity led him to address himself preferably to great sinners; and he preached in the most abandoned and repulsive quarters God's clemency, and his immeasurable mercy. "One day that he was at Rouen, he entered a notorious house, and seated himself by the hearth to warm his feet. The courtizans surround him, supposing that he had come through wantonness. He begins to preach the words of life, and to promise the intercession of our Saviour. Then, the mistress of the house exclaims, 'Who art thou, who sayest these things? Truly for twenty years I have lived in this house to commit crime, and during all this time no one ever entered it to speak of God and of his goodness. Yet, were I but sure these things were true!' . . . On the instant, he took them out of the city, and joyfully led them to the desert, where he made them do penance, and transferred them from the devil to Christ †."

* There were thirty abbeys of the order of Fontevault in Brittany. Daru, l. 321.—Only founded about the year 1100, it numbered, according to Suger (Epist. ad Eugen. 11), nearly five thousand nuns as early as 1145. Buleaux, ii. 7.—Acta SS. Februar. t. iii. p. 607. "It had more than two, or close upon three thousand servants and handmaids of God."—The women were shut up, sang, and prayed: the men worked.—When he fell ill, Robert calls his monks and says to them, "Consider with yourselves, whilst yet I live, whether ye will abide by your purpose, and, for the health of your souls, be obedient to the handmaids of Christ. For ye know, that all the religious houses which, by God's aid, I have raised, I have placed under their rule. . . . On this, almost all with one voice exclaimed, 'Far from us,'" &c. He was anxious to give his followers a leader before he died. "Ye know, my best beloved, that I have dedicated all the houses I have built to the service of our holy virgins, and have placed all my possessions at their disposal; and, which is far more, have submitted myself and my disciples, for the health of our souls, to their rule. Wherefore, I have determined to name an abbess." Reflecting that a virgin, brought up in the cloister, and familiar with spiritual things and contemplation only, would be incompetent to mundane affairs, and would be at a loss in the busy maze of life, he nominated a widow, and advised that the abbess should never be chosen from such as might be brought up within conventual walls. He also exhorted to scant speech, the avoidance of meat, and to coarse raiment.

† Quadam die, cum venisset Rothomagus, lupanar ingressus, sedensque ad focum, pedes calfacturus, meretricibus circumdatus æstimantibus cum causa fornicandi esse ingressum. Sed prædicante eo verba vite, ac misericordiam Christi eis promittente, una a meretricibus, quæ cæteris præerat, dixit ei: Qui es tu qui talia loqueris? Scias pro certo quia per viginti quinque annos, quibus hanc domum ad perpetranda scelera sum ingressa, nunquam aliquis huc adventit qui de Deo loqueretur, vel de ejus misericordia presumere nos faceret. Tamen si scirem vera esse, etc. Statim eas de civitate eduxit, et ad eremum cum eis gaudens perrexit, ibique, præcâta penitentiâ, Christo feliciter transmisit.—Manuscript in the abbey of Vaulx Cernay, quoted by Bayle, in his article, FONTEVRAULT.

* Heloise dilectissimæ sorori suæ in Christo, Abelardus frater ejus in ipso.

† Domino suo, imo patri; conjugi suo, imo fratri; ancillæ suæ, imo filiæ; ipsius uxori, imo sorori; Abelardo Heloissæ. Epist. 1^a.

‡ Heloissæ. Epist. 2^a, p. 60. In omni (Deus scit!) vitæ meæ statu, te magis adhuc offendere quam Deum vereor; tibi placere amplius quam ipsi appeto. Tua me ad religionis habitum jussio, non divina traxit dictio.

§ Lucan, l. viii.

|| Maxime conjux!

O thalamis indigne meis! hoc juris habebat
In tantum fortuna caput! Cur impia nupsi,
Si miserum factura fui! Nunc accipe pœnas,
Sed quæ sponte luam.

¶ Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, p. 622.

'Twas a fantastic sight to see the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel teaching night and day, in the midst of a crowd of disciples of both sexes, who slept around him * ; but neither the bitter sneers of his enemies nor the disorderly scenes to which these meetings gave rise, could check the charitable and courageous Breton. He covered all with the large mantle of grace.

As grace prevailed over the law, a great religious revolution insensibly took place. God, if I may so speak, changed sex. The Virgin became the world's God ; and took possession of almost all the temples and altars. Piety was converted into the enthusiasm of chivalrous gallantry. The mother of God was proclaimed to be pure, and spotless ; and the mystic church of Lyons celebrated the festival of the immaculate conception (A. D. 1134+), thus exalting the ideal of maternal purity ; at the very moment Heloise was expressing in her famous letters the pure disinterestedness of love.

Woman reigned in heaven, and on earth. She is seen interfering in the things of this world, and ordering them. Bertrade de Montfort governed at one and the same time her first husband, Fulk of Anjou, and her second, Philippe I., king of France. The first, excluded from her bed, thinks himself too happy to be suffered to sit on her footstool †. Louis VII. dates his acts from the coronation of his wife, Adele ‡. Women, the natural judges of the contests of poetry and the courts of love, sit likewise as judges, equally with their husbands, in serious matters. The king of France makes especial recognition of this right || ; and

* Letter of Marbodius, bishop of Reims, to Robert d'Arbrissel :—" You are said to be more given to cohabiting with women, in which kind you have formerly sinned. . . . They say, that you not only place them at one common table in the day, but in one common resting-place at night, your herd of disciples lying round, whilst you lie between the two, and set the laws of sleeping and waking to both sexes." D. Morice, i. 499.—" You are said to suffer certain women to live too familiarly with you, and to blush not frequently to lie with them, and between them of nights. If you do, or have done this, you have discovered a new and unheard of, but bootless kind of martyrdom. . . . You are reported to torment yourself privily with a new kind of martyrdom, by laying with certain women, as we have said before." Letter of Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme, to Robert d'Arbrissel, given by father Sirmond. (Daru, Histoire de Bretagne, i. 320.)—" I say nothing of the heifers whom you have allowed to profess without examination, and whom, after change of dress, you have shut up in different cells. Their wretched fate proves the extravagance of the act, for some, on the eve of parturition, have escaped their prisons, whilst others have been confined there." Cyprianus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebraldensis, t. i. p. 69.

† According to some writers, this festival was celebrated in Normandy as early as the year 1072, under the name of the Norman's Festival (*Fête des Normands*). Gilbert, Description de la Cathédrale de Rouen. Dom Pommeraye, Histoire de la Cathédrale de Rouen.

‡ Vita Lud. Gros. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 31. Licet thoro omnino repudiatum, ita mollicaveat, ut . . . scabellum pedum ejus sæpius residens, ac si præstigio fieret, voluntati ejus omnino obsequeretur.

§ Chart. ann. 1115, pro Bellov. ap. Guizot, t. v. p. 323. "If any complaint is laid before him or his wife. . . .—The seventh year of our reign, and the first of that of queen Adele."—Adele took the cross together with her husband. Odo de Diog. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 94.—When Philippe-Auguste joined the crusade, he left her regent.

|| In 1134, Ermengarde of Narbonne, succeeding to her

we shall see Alice de Montmorency leading an army to her husband, the famous Simon de Montfort.

Hitherto barred all right of inheritance by the barbarous customs of feudalism, woman recovers it every where in the first half of the twelfth century—in England, Castile, Arragon, Jerusalem, Burgundy, Flanders, Hainault, Vermandois, Aquitaine, Provence, and Lower Languedoc. The rapid extinction of the male lines, the amelioration of manners, and the progress of justice open the way to her right of inheritance. Women carry crowns with them into foreign houses, bring the world together, accelerate the union of states, and prepare the centralization of the great monarchies.

One alone among royal houses, that of the Capets, did not recognize the right of woman ; and so remained sheltered from the changes which transferred the other states from one dynasty to another. It received, and gave not. Foreign queens might come in, and the feminine, the mobile element be renewed ; but the male element came not from without, but remained the same, preserving identity of spirit, and perpetuating traditional feelings *. This fixity of the dynasty is one of the causes which has most contributed to secure the unity and personality of our mobile land.

The predominant characteristic of the period succeeding the crusade, which we have just reviewed, is a struggle for enfranchisement. The opportunity, the impulse was presented by the vast movement of the crusade ; and, the opportunity presented, the struggle took place—enfranchisement of the people by means of the communes, enfranchisement of woman, enfranchisement of philosophy and pure thought, was the result. Nor could this reaction of the crusade fail to display,

brother, seeks and obtains from Louis-le-Jeune full power to administer justice, from which women had been interdicted by Constantine. Lib. 21, de Procur. Justinian. Lib. Ult. de Rec. et Arbitr. See, too, the Digest, l. xii. § 2, de Judic. l. li. de Regul. Juris. Duchesne (t. iv.) gives the king's reply. . . . "With you, the laws of the Empire have prevailed. Far more kindly is the law of our kingdom, in which, on failure of the worthier sex, women can succeed, and govern their inheritance."

* "States cannot come together by succession, except by allowing women to inherit thrones. Let us suppose all fiefs to be male, or that all states shall adopt the principle which subsequently took the name of Salic law, it is clear that each sovereignty will have a national chief, as its vital element—the French, a Frenchman; the English, an Englishman; the Spaniards, a Spaniard. An indivisible sovereignty always devolving on the eldest, the head of each family can never have but one state at once; the heads of the younger branches will remain fellow-citizens and subjects. If, by failure of the eldest branch, they succeed to the throne, the most they can add to it is the spanage which had been detached from it, but never an independent state. If we now see members of the same family occupying at the same time several thrones, the reason is, that whilst one follows the Salic law, all the rest have acknowledged the right of woman to inherit. No circumstance could have given a Frenchman the crown, either of Spain or of Naples, had not this crown been taken from the Spaniard and the Neapolitan by a woman. It is not the Salic law of France, but the contrary law in force at Madrid and Naples, which has produced the danger to Europe of a union of three crowns; the danger to Spain or to Naples of losing their independence; the danger to France of making a conquest, which shall cost her her liberty." Sismondi's Histoire des Français, t. v. p. 189.

like the crusade itself, its fullest power and effect in France, amongst the most sociable of all earth's people.

CHAPTER V.

THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE KING OF ENGLAND: LOUIS-LE-JEUNE AND HENRY II. (PLANTAGENET).—THE SECOND CRUSADE; HUMILIATION OF LOUIS.—THOMAS BECKET; HUMILIATION OF HENRY. (SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.)

THE struggle between France and England which began with William the Conqueror in the middle of the eleventh century, did not reach the height of its violence till the twelfth, till the reigns of Louis-le-Jeune (the Younger) and Henry II., of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Philippe-Auguste. Its catastrophe was about the year 1200—the epoch of John's humiliation and the confiscation of Normandy. France maintained the ascendant for a century and a half (A. D. 1200—1346).

If the fate of nations depended on their kings, undoubtedly the English monarchs would have conquered. From William the Bastard to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, they were all heroes, at least in the worldly acception of the word. The heroes were beaten; the men of peace were the victors. To explain this, we must try to estimate the true character of the king of France and the king of England, as visible in the collective aspect of the middle age.

The first, the suzerain of the second, preserves, in general, a certain immovable majesty*. Compared with his rival, he is calm and insignificant. With the exception of the petty wars of Louis-le-Gros and the unfortunate crusade of Louis VII., which we are about to relate, the king of France seems buried in his ermine. He lords it over the king of England as over his vassal and his son: an unnatural son, who beats his father. The descendant of William the Conqueror†, whoever he may

be, is of sanguine complexion, white, and smooth-haired, with large belly, brave and greedy, sensual and ferocious, gluttonous and scornful, surrounded by evil men, a robber and a violator, and on bad terms with the Church. It must be owned that he has not so easy a time as the king of France. He has much more business on hand, having to govern with blows of his lance three or four nations whose language he is ignorant of. He has to coerce the Saxons by means of the Normans, the Normans by means of the Saxons, and to keep in check the Welsh and Scotch mountaineers as well. During this time, the king of France, seated in his arm-chair, can play him more than one trick. In the first place he is his suzerain; then, he is the eldest son of the Church, the lawful son: the other is the bastard son, the offspring of violence. They are Ishmael and Isaac. The king of France has the law on his side; "*the rusty curb of old father antic, the law* *." The other laughs at it and him; he is strong, and, inasmuch as he is a Norman, a master of chicane. In this great mystery of the twelfth century, the king of France may be said to represent God, the other, the devil. On one side, the legendary genealogy of the English monarch traces

complexion; from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the Red." Lingard, vol. ii. p. 147. "His death," says Orderic Vital, "was the ruin of the abandoned and debauched, and of the prostitutes. The bells of many of the churches, which had tolled for the needy or for poor women, did not toll for him." Ser. R. Fr. xii. 679.—Ibid. "He never had a lawful wife, but was a foul and insatiable fornicator and adulterer," p. 635. "Self-willed and lascivious," p. 624. "He was but little Godward, and a scant attendant at public worship."—Suger, *ibid.* p. 12. "Addicted to lasciviousness and desire . . . a cruel spoiler of churches," &c.—Huntingd. p. 216. "His debaucheries were such as cannot be spoken of, yet he did not attempt to conceal them, but indulged in them openly," &c.—"Henry Beaulieu, his younger brother, is known to have been attached to several mistresses, and of his illegitimate children no fewer than seven sons and eight daughters lived to the age of puberty. Many writers affirm, that his death was occasioned by the excess with which he ate a dish of lampreys. Lingard, vol. ii. p. 212. William and Richard, his sons, were sullied by the most infamous vices. Huntingd. p. 213. Sodomitica labe dicebantur et erant irretiti. Gervas. p. 1339. Luxuria et libidinis omni tabe maculati. (Lingard remarks in a note—vol. ii. p. 137, that from Anselm's expression, "nefandissimi Sodome scelus nociter in hac terra divulgatum," he should infer that this sin of sinners was introduced by the Normans. TRANSLATOR.)—Glaber (ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 51.) observes, that from the period of their arrival in Gaul, the Normans had almost always bastards for their princes.—The Plantagenets seem to have continued this sullied race. Henry II. was red-faced, and disfigured by the enormous size of his belly, but always on horseback and hunting. Petr. Bles. p. 98. "Leo was," says his secretary, "more raging than a lion." Leo et leone truculentior, dum vehementius exandescit. Id. p. 75. In his fits of passion, his blue eyes became bloodshot, his countenance flushed, and his voice trembled with rage. Girald. Cambren. ap. Camden, p. 783. In one of these fits he bit a page's shoulder; and his favourite, Rumet, having one day contradicted him, he ran after him as far as the staircase, and not being able to catch him, he gnawed in his rage the straw with which the floor was strewn. "Never," said a cardinal, after a long conversation with Henry, "did I witness this man's equal in lying." Epist. S. Thom. p. 566. His successors, Richard and John, will be noticed hereafter.—The ideal of these monarchs is Richard III., the Richard the Third of Shakspeare, as well as the Richard of history.

* Shakspeare, First Part of King Henry IV. sc. 2.

* This is very striking on their seals. The king of England is represented, on one side, seated; on the other, on horseback, brandishing his sword. The king of France is always seated. If Louis VII. is sometimes represented on horseback (A. D. 1137, 1138, Archives du Royaume, K. 40), it is as duke of Aquitaine. The exception proves the rule.

† The enormous size of William is well known. "When will that fat man be brought to bed!" said the king of France. At his burial, the grave was found to be too narrow, and his body burst. He laid out enormous sums on his table. "He wasted," says William of Malmesbury, "the wealth of churches on his extravagant banquets." (Guill. Malm. l. iii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 188.) The authors of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, relate, on the authority of a manuscript chronicle, a singular instance of his violence. When Baldwin of Flanders refused him his daughter Matilda, "he forced his way to the countess's chamber, found the count's daughter, took her by her tresses, dragged her about the room, and trampled her under his feet," t. xiii. c. 15.—His eldest son, Robert, was surnamed Short-Hose (*Courte-Hewe*). "He had," says Orderic Vital (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 596), "a bloated countenance, and was fat and short, whence his common epithet of *Gambaron* and *Brevis Cere*. He wasted his substance on mummings and prostitutes." (*Ibid.* pp. 602, 681.)—The Conqueror's second son, William Rufus, was "short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy

him up to Robert the Devil; on the other, to the fairy Melusina. "It is the use and wont of our family," said Richard Cœur-de-Lion, "for the sons to hate the father; from the devil we came, and to him shall return." Patience; the holier king will have his day. He will suffer much, undoubtedly, and is born to suffer. The king of England may take his wife and provinces from him †; but he will recover all some morning. His claws are beginning to show from under his ermine. The *saintly man of a king* (le saint homme de roi) will presently be Philippe-Auguste, or Philippe-le-Bel.

An immense power, which but waits the moment of development, dwells within that pale and unimportant figure. He is the king of the Church and of the *bourgeoisie*, the king of the people and of the law. In this sense, divine right is his. His strength does not burst forth in heroic guise, but waxes great with a vigorous growth, and with a constant progression, as slow and as fated as nature. The general expression of an immense diversity, the symbol of a whole nation, the more fully he represents it, the more insignificant he himself seems. Personality is weak in him; he is less a man than an idea. An impersonal being, he lives in universality, in his people, in the Church, the daughter of the people. He is a profoundly catholic personage in the etymological sense of the word.

The good king Dagobert, Louis the Meek, Robert the Pious, Louis the Younger, and Saint Louis, are the types of this worthy king—all true saints, although the Church has only canonized the last ‡, who was the powerful one. The scrupulous Louis-le-Jeune is already Saint Louis, but less fortunate than he, and rendered ridiculous by his political and conjugal misfortunes. Woman holds a prominent place in the history of these kings, and, in this point of view, they are men. Nature is strong in them, and woman is almost the sole cause of their ever embroiling themselves with the Church—as Louis le Débonnaire for his Judith; Lothaire II. for Valdrade; Robert for queen Bertha; Philippe I. for Bertrade; and Philippe-Auguste for Agnes de Meranie. As regards St. Louis—the purified type of the monarchy of the middle age, woman's power is that of a mother, as exemplified in Blanche of Castile. We know that he hid himself in a closet, when the haughty Spaniard, his mother, surprised him with his wife, the good Marguerite.

Louis the Fat, on his death bed, received the reward of that reputation for worth, which he had gained for his family. The wealthiest sovereign of France, the count of Poitiers and of Aquitaine, who also felt himself on the point of death, thought that he could not better dispose of his daughter Eleanor and his large domains, than by bestowing them on the young Louis VII., who shortly after succeeded to the throne (A. D. 1137). Undoubtedly, too, he was not sorry to make his daughter a queen. The young king had been piously brought

up in the cloister of Notre Dame*. He was without any bad qualities, and much devoted to the priests. His preceptor, Suger, the abbot of St. Denys, was the true king †. Yet, at first, the addition to his dominions, which were enlarged to almost thrice their previous extent by his marriage, seems to have puffed up his heart. He endeavoured to enforce his wife's claims to the countship of Toulouse; but his best friends among the barons, and even the count of Champagne, refused to follow him to this conquest of the South. At the same time, pope Innocent II., thinking that he might safely presume on so pious a young king, had hazarded the nominating his nephew to the archbishopric of Bourges, the metropolis of the Aquitaines; a usurpation against which St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable vainly protested. The pope's nephew fled to the states of the count of Champagne; whose sister had just been divorced by a cousin of Louis VII. Louis and his cousin, anathematized by the pope, avenged themselves on the count of Champagne, by laying waste his lands and burning the burgh of Vitry. The flames unfortunately caught the principal church, where the greater number of the inhabitants had sought refuge; in all, thirteen hundred—men, women, and children ‡. Their cries were quickly heard, but the victor could not save them—they all fell victims.

This dreadful catastrophe broke down the king's

* See a charter of Louis VII. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 90. . . . "The church of Paris, in whose cloister, as in a mother's bosom, we passed the earlier years of our life."

† See his Life, by William, monk of St. Denys, l. i. c. 8, 9, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 195.—A poet says of him,

Qui dum Francorum populus cum rege gubernas,
Post regem, quasi rex, accepit secunda tenes.

(Whilst governing the Franks and their king, thou holdest, right kingly, place next to the king.)

See Caseneuve, *Traité du Franc-Aleu*, p. 178.

Suger was born, most likely, in the neighbourhood of St. Omer, in 1081. His father, a man of mean birth, was named Helinand.—When Philippe I. entrusted the monks of St. Denys with the education of his son, Louis the Fat, the abbot named Suger his tutor.—At one time St. Bernard found fault with Suger's conduct, and that of his monks (Ep. 78, ed. Mabillon); but afterwards, St. Bernard himself confessed that his life was exemplary. (Ep. 309).—He wrote a description of the buildings erected by himself at St. Denys. "The abbot of Cluny, after spending some time in admiration of the works and buildings of Suger's erection, going into the small cell which this man, eminently the friend of wisdom, had set apart for his own use, is said to have groaned deeply, and to have exclaimed, 'We are all condemned in this man; he builds, not like us, for himself, but solely for God.' During the whole of his abbotship he used only this humble cell, which was scarcely ten feet wide and fifteen long, and which he made ten years before his death, in order to live unto contemplation and himself, after the many years waste of his time in worldly affairs. Here, he gave himself up in his leisure hours to reading, tears, and contemplation; here, he escaped from worldly bustle and the society of worldlings; here, as the sage says, he was never less alone than when alone; here, in short, he devoted himself to the reading of the greatest writers, of every age, discourses with them and studied with them; here he slept, instead of on down, on straw, over which was laid, not fine linen, but a coarse coverlet of simple wool, which was covered, in the day time, by decent carpets." Vita Sugerii, l. ii. c. 9, p. 108.

‡ Anonym. Hist. Franc. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 116. Et mille trecentæ animæ diversi sexus et ætatis sunt igne consumptæ.

* De Diabolo venientes, et ad Diabolum transeuntes. J. Brompton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 215.

† He bore off from Louis VII. his wife Eleanor, Poitou, Guyenne, &c.

‡ Yet, according to some authors, Louis VII. is a true saint. In a French chronicle, inserted in the twelfth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 226, we read—"He died . . . a saint, well do we know it" and, in a Latin chronicle (ibid.), "And he is esteemed a saint, as we read in the book of his life."

pride. He suddenly became submissive to the pope, and sought to be reconciled with him at any cost. But his conscience was harassed by distracting scruples. He had sworn never to suffer Innocent's nephew to occupy the see of Bourges, whilst the pope required him to revoke his oath, and Louis repented at once of having taken an impious oath, and of not having kept it. The pope's absolution was not enough to appease his conscience. Louis believed himself responsible for all the sacrileges committed during the three years that the interdict lasted. In the midst of these agitations of a timorous mind, he learnt the fearful massacre of the whole Christian population of Edessa, who were slaughtered in one night. Every day came lamentable complaints from the French beyond the sea. They declared that without succour, they could only look for death. Louis VII. was moved; and he believed himself the more obliged to go to the rescue of the Holy Land, from his elder brother's having taken the cross (this brother died in their father's lifetime), and so laid upon him the apparent obligation, as his successor, of fulfilling his vow. (A. D. 1147.)

The difference between this crusade and the first is palpable, although the contemporary writers seem emulously to have striven to shut their eyes to the fact. The idea of religion, of everlasting salvation, was no longer attached to one city, to one spot. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre had been seen, and closely; and men had begun to doubt, whether religion and sanctity were confined to that little corner of the earth which lies between Libanus, the Desert, and the Red Sea. The materialist point of view which localized religion, had lost its empire. Vainly did Suger try to divert the king from embarking in the crusade*. St. Bernard himself, who preached it at Vézelay and in Germany, was not convinced of its being necessary to salvation, and refused to go to the Holy Land and guide the army, as he was prayed to do†. The

wondrous enthusiasm of the first crusade was wanting. St. Bernard clearly exaggerates when he tells us that there remained but one man to every seven women*. The army which descended the Danube in two divisions under the leading of the emperor Conrad and king Louis VII.†, may be estimated at two hundred thousand men; and the Germans, especially, mustered at this time in large numbers. However, numerous princes, who held of the empire, the bishops of Toul and Metz, the counts of Savoy and Montserrat, and all the barons of the kingdom of Arles, joined, by preference, the French army; in which there marched, under the king's command, the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, Blois, Nevers, Dreux, the lords of Bourbon, Coucy, Lusignan, Courtenay, and a host of others. With them, too, was queen Eleanor, whose presence was, perhaps, necessary to secure the obedience of her Poitevins and her Gascons. This is the first time that a woman is of this importance in history.

It would have been wiser to have taken the sea passage, as counselled by the king of Sicily; but that by land, besides being consecrated by the remembrance of the first crusade, and the traces of so many martyrs, was the only one which could be taken by the crowds of poor, who sought to visit

Jerusalem, in 1128. Operum, t. i. p. 85. 323.—In 1129, he writes to the bishop of Lincoln, on the subject of an Englishman, of the name of Philip, who had stopped at Clairvaux on his way to the Holy Land, and taken the cowl there—"Your Philip, in his desire to reach Jerusalem, has found a short road, and has quickly reached his journey's end. . . . for his feet now stand in the halls of Jerusalem; and him whom he had heard of by the Euphrates, discovered in the glades of the wood, he cheerfully worships in the place where his feet have stopped (et quem audierat in Euphrate, inventum in campis silvæ libenter adorat in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus.—The allusion appears to be to Philip and the Ethiopian, Acts viii. 26—39). . . . He became, then, not only a curious spectator, but a devout inhabitant, and conscript citizen of Jerusalem, though not of that earthly Jerusalem, with which Sinai of Arabia is joined, serving it with her sons, but of that freed Jerusalem, which is our mother above. And if you seek to know, this is Clairvaux. (Factus est ergo non curiosus tantum spectator, sed et devotus habitator, et civis conscriptus Jerusalem, non autem terrene hujus, cui Arabiæ mons Sina conjunctus est, quæ servit cum illis suis, sed libera illius, quæ est sursum mater nostra. Et si vultis scire, Clara-Vallis est.)" P. 64.—The following is a passage from an Arab writer, which presents a remarkable coincidence with the ideas just expressed by St. Bernard:—"They who fly to seek the Caaba, when they have attained the object for which they have undertaken so much fatigue, see a lofty and sacred house of stone, in the midst of a desert valley. They enter, that they may see God; they seek him long, and see him not. When they have sorrowfully sought through the house, they hear a voice above their heads, 'O worshippers of a house! why adore stone and mud? Adore the other house—that sought by the elect.'" (This beautiful fragment, for which we are indebted to a young oriental scholar, M. Ernest Fournet, was inserted by M. Victor Hugo, in the notes to his *Orientales*, p. 416, ed. pr.)

* S. Bern. Ep. 246, ap. Baron, xii. 321.

† Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, t. v. p. 326. William of Tyre (l. xvi.), on the authority of many of the crusaders, states that there might have been in each of the two armies about seventy thousand men, armed with cuirasses, without counting the footmen and light cavalry.—Odon de Deuil goes much further—"The Greeks have assured me that the crusaders crossed the sea, to the number of nine hundred thousand five hundred and sixty-six."

† He dissuaded an abbot from going on pilgrimage to

* "At a later period he wished to put himself at its head. Convinced that it was of the first necessity to spare the king of the French, and the army which had just returned from the Holy Land, from new dangers, and that they both had scarcely had time to recover from their fatigues, he persuaded the bishops of the kingdom to meet to deliberate on the subject, exhorting and inspiring them to aspire themselves to the glory of a triumph, denied to the most powerful monarchs. Having thrice failed to rouse the bishops, and conscious of their deplorable weakness and cowardice, he thought it became him, in default of all the rest, to take upon himself alone the accomplishment of his noble desire. He would, indisputably, have preferred to keep secret, for a time at least, the magnificent extent of his pious devotion, on account of the uncertainty of all things, and the fear of his being accused of vain glory; but his immense preparations betrayed his magnificence. He then ardently busied himself in sending to Jerusalem, by the hands of the knights of the holy temple, all the money necessary to the success of so great a project, and in raising it upon the increase of the revenues produced to his monastery by his services and skill; and, certainly, no one can justly complain of this, seeing how the care of Suger raised the returns of all the possessions of his church, and how many new domains and churches his monastery acquired under his administration. Apparently, he seemed intent, by all these dispositions, on sending his retainers in his stead; but the truth is, that if his life had been spared, he would himself have gone to the East." Vita Sugerii, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 101.

the holy places under the protection of the army. The French king preferred this route ; and had made certain of the good will of the king of Sicily, of Conrad, the emperor of Germany, of the king of Hungary, and of Manuel Comnenus, the emperor of Constantinople, while the relationship of the two emperors, Manuel and Conrad, seemed to augur some success for the crusade. Thus the expedition was not blindly undertaken ; and Louis strove to preserve some discipline in the French army *. The Germans had already set out with the emperor Conrad and his nephew at their head ; and their impatience and brutal impetuosity were without example. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, whose victories had restored the Greek empire, met their wishes. He transported these barbarians with the utmost haste across the Bosphorus, and launched them on Asia by the shortest but most mountainous road, that by way of Phrygia and Iconium. Here, they found ample opportunity for their heady ardour. With their heavy arms, they were soon exhausted in mountain warfare against the Turkish cavalry, which flew from point to point, now on their flanks, now in their van. They perished, scoffed at by the Greeks, and by the French themselves, who would cry, *Push on, push on, German*. 'Tis a Greek historian who has preserved us these two words without translating them †.

The French were not more fortunate. They at first took the long and easy route by the shores of Asia Minor. But losing patience at its windings, they too, plunged into the interior of the country, and experienced the same disasters. The vanguard, first, having pushed too quickly on, was like to have been cut off. Each morning, the king, after strict confession and absolution, cut his way through the Turkish horsemen ‡ ; but to no purpose. The army would have been destroyed in these mountains but for a knight, named Gilbert, to whom the command was entrusted as to the most worthy, and of whom, unfortunately, no information has come down to us §. The crusaders accused the perfidious Greeks, who gave them worthless guides, and sold at their weight in gold the provisions which Manuel had engaged to supply, as the authors of their misfortunes ; and the historian Nicetas himself confesses that the emperor betrayed them ||. The fact was evident when they reached lesser Antioch ; where they found that its Greek inhabitants had given shelter to the Turkish fugitives ¶. Yet the conduct of Louis towards Manuel had been unimpeachable ; and, as Godfrey of Bouillon had done, he had turned a deaf ear to those counsellors who exhorted him by the way to seize Constantinople **.

At length they arrived at Satalia, in the Gulf of Cyprus. They had still forty days' march to reach

Antioch by land in following the circuit of the gulf ; but the patience and the zeal of the barons were worn out, and the king found it impossible to detain them. They would go by sea to Antioch, and the Greeks furnished all who could pay with vessels. The rest were left under the escort of the count of Flanders, of the Sire de Bourbon, and of a body of Greek cavalry which the king hired to protect them * ; then, giving all that was left him to these poor people, he embarked with Eleanor. But the Greeks who were to defend them, were the first to give them up, or they else made them their own slaves. Those who escaped owed it to the prosecuting spirit of the Turks, who made them embrace their religion †.

Such was the shameful termination of this expedition ; yet those who had embarked constituted the real strength of the army, and might have been of great service to the Christians of Antioch or of the Holy Land. But shame, and the recollection of the hapless beings whom they had deserted in Cilicia, weighed heavily on them. Louis VII. would do nothing on behalf of the prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers, the uncle of his wife Eleanor. This Raymond was the handsomest man of his time, and his niece seemed to be on too good terms with him. Louis, fearing his wishing to detain her, suddenly left Antioch and repaired to the Holy Land. He did nothing worthy of note here. Conrad joined him ; and their rivalry caused the failure of the siege of Damascus which they had undertaken. They returned with disgrace to Europe, and the rumour ran that Louis, taken prisoner for a moment by Greek vessels, owed his deliverance to a casual meeting with a fleet of Sicilian Normans ‡.

A return of this kind was melancholy, and was the theme of universal derision. What had become of the thousands of deserted Christians, abandoned to the fury of the infidels ! Could such levity and hard inhumanity meet in the same persons ! All the barons were guilty ; but the disgrace was the king's. The sin rested on him alone. During the crusade, the haughty and violent Eleanor had shown the store she set by such a husband. From the time of their arrival at Antioch she had declared that she could not continue the wife of one whose relative she was §, and that, besides, she would not have a monk for her husband ||. Some say that she was smitten with Raymond of Antioch ; others, with a handsome Saracen slave ; and it was, moreover, rumoured that she had received presents from the Sultan ¶. On her return she sought a divorce from the council of Beaugency ; to whose decision Louis deferred, and lost at one swoop the extensive provinces which Eleanor had brought him. The South of France was once more isolated from the North ; and a female is about to carry to the object of her choice the whole weight of the West.

The lady seems to have secured another husband beforehand. The divorce was pronounced on the 18th of March ; and by Pentecost, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Anjou, grandson of William the

* Sismondi, t. v. p. 331.

† Πούτιν, Ἀλαμάνε. Joann. Cinnam. l. ii. c. 18.

‡ Odon de Deuil. . . . "And, on his return, he always asked for vespers and complines, ever making God the Alpha and Omega of all his doings."

§ Odo de Diog. l. vi. p. 64. 69.

|| "The emperor," he says, "sent pressing letters to the sultan of the Turks, praying him to march against the Germans." See Biblioth. des Croisades, t. iii. p. 406.—The crusaders named him the Idol of Constantinople. Odon de Deuil.

¶ Odo de Diog. l. vii.

** Ibid. p. 48.

* Ibid. p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 71. 76.

‡ Joann. Cinnam. l. ii. c. 19. See Sismondi, p. 355, note.

§ Guill. Nangii Chronic. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 737.

|| Guill. Neubrig. l. i. ap. Scr. R. F. xiii. 102. See monacho, non regi nupsisse.

¶ Vincent. Belvac. Specul. Hist. t. iii. c. 128, ap. Sismondi, t. v. p. 351.

Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, and soon to be king of England, had married Eleonora, and with her Western France from Nantes to the Pyrenees. Even before his becoming king of England, his states were more than twice as extensive as those of the king of France. He was not long in England ere he triumphed over Stephen of Blois, whose son had married a sister of Louis the Seventh *; and thus all turned out against the latter and in favour of his rival.

Let us inquire what this royalty of England might be, whose rivalry with France is about to claim our attention.

The hideous basis of the Anglo-Norman power was the spoliation of a whole people. That life of robbery and violence which each baron exercised on a petty scale round his manor, was carried out on the largest on the other side of the channel. There a whole people was the serf; and the horrors of this slavery approximated to those of the ancients, or of our own colonies. There was no tie to unite the conquered and the conquerors; they spoke a different language, and were of different races. The consciousness of unlimited power gave rise to an execrable ferocity; and the conquerors were equally irrespective of human considerations and uncured by legal restraints, for, as sharers in his conquest, the barons were almost equals of the king—Robert earl of Moreton alone had above six hundred fiefs†. These barons were ready to be called the king's *men*; but, in reality, he was only the first of themselves, and, on great occasions, they would sit in judgment on him. Yet the risk was too serious for them to arrogate perfect independence. Few in number, and in the midst of a large population whom they brutally trampled under foot, they needed a central point, a chief who could rally them in case of revolt, and represent the Norman party in the heart of the conquered. Hence the strength of feudal order in the very country, in which the more powerful vassals must have had the greatest temptations to despise it.

The situation of this king of the Conquest was extremely critical, and exposed to sudden violence. The new order of things, built up of murder and of rapine, was maintained by him. He was its bond of union. Against him were directed the "curses, not loud but deep," of an outraged people. For him the Saxon outlaw of the *Nor* ‡ *Forest*, pursued by the sheriff, kept his last arrow: forests were unlucky to the Norman kings. As a protection against him, quite as much as against the Saxons, the barons built those gigantic castles, whose haughty beauty still attests how little was thought of the sweat of men's brow in their erection. A king so detested, could not fail to be a tyrant. Terrible, measureless, and pitiless, were the laws which he promulgated against the Saxons§; but more care was required in dealing with the Normans, to secure himself against whom he was ever engaging mercenaries from the continent, Flemings

and Bretons, who were wholly at his disposal, and who were the more formidable to the Norman aristocracy, inasmuch as the Flemings spoke a kindred dialect to that of the Saxons, and the Bretons to that of the Welsh. On several occasions he did not hesitate to employ the Saxons themselves*; but this he was soon compelled to discontinue. He could only have become dear to the Saxons by overthrowing the whole work of the conquest.

Such is the situation in which the Conqueror's son, William Rufus, found himself. Burning with all the impatience of a tyrannical disposition which found itself checked on every side; terrible both to Saxons and to barons; crossing and recrossing the sea; hurrying with the rapidity of a wild-boar from one end to the other of his dominions; grasping to excess, and, as the chronicle has it, a *marvellous dealer in soldiers*†; a speedy waster of wealth; the outrager of humanity, of law, and of nature; beastly in his pleasures, a murderer, and blasphemous scoffer—when his red and bloated face flushed with rage, and his speech became precipitate and unintelligible, woe to those who chanced to be present; his words were decrees of death‡.

Tons of gold passed through his hands, as so many shillings. He was the prey of an incurable poverty: with all his violence and his passion he was poor. He had to pay for pleasure; and to pay for murder. The ingenious and inventive friend, who ever knew how to find gold for such occasions, was a certain priest, who had at first thrust himself into notice as an informer. He became William's right hand; his purveyor. But to undertake to fill this bottomless gulf was a hard task. He set himself about effecting it in two ways. He recast, revised, and corrected the book of the Conquest, *Domesday Book*, so as to be sure that nothing had escaped§; and then went carefully over the work of spoliation, set himself about gnawing the already well-gnawed bones, and managed to get something off them. He left nothing, though, for those who came after him; and so was well surnamed the *Flambard* || (devouring torch). From the conquered he transferred his labours to the conquer-

* For instance, William Rufus, and his successor Henry Beauclerc, both summoned the English to oppose the favourers of their elder brother, Robert Short-Hose. Guill. Malmsh. p. 120. 156. Hoved. 461. Chronic. Sax. 193. Math. Paris. 42.

† *Mirabilis militum mercator et solidator.* Suger, Vita Lud. Gross. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 12.

‡ Lingard, vol. ii. p. 147. (The entire passage is as follows: "In person he was short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy complexion: from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the red. In ordinary conversation his utterance was slow and embarrassed: in the hurry of passion, precipitate and unintelligible. He assumed in public a haughty port, rolling his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavouring by the tone of his voice and the tenor of his answers to intimidate those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself, and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses, by making them the subjects of laughter.") TRANSLATOR.

§ Order. Vital. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 635. *Regem incitans ut totius Angliæ reviseret descriptionem, Angliæque telluris comprobans iteraret partitionem.*

|| *Id. ibid. Unde . . . Flambardus cognominatus est.* "The which surname," adds the good chronicler, "seems to have been prophetically applicable to his deeds and habits."

* Chronic. Puren. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 468.

† Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 438. These possessions, it is true, were scattered—248 manors in Cornwall, 54 in Sussex, 196 in Yorkshire, 99 in Northamptonshire, &c. (Hallam observes, that "this was more like a great French fief, than any English earldom.")

‡ To form this royal chase, thirty-six parishes were cleared of their inhabitants, and afforested.

§ Thjerri, Conq. de l'Angleterre, t. iii. p. 269. 337. sqq.

ors, and, first, to the priests; and he so laid hands on the goods of the Church, that the archbishop of Canterbury would have died of hunger but for the charity of the abbot of St. Alban's*. No scruples checked Flambard. Grand justiciary, grand treasurer, and the king's chaplain as well (just the chaplain William wanted), he sucked England with three mouths; and he went on on this wise, until William had met his end in that beautiful forest, which the Conqueror seemed to have planted for the ruin of his descendants. "Shoot, in the devil's name," said Rufus to his good friend, who was hunting with him. The devil took him at his word, and bore off the soul to which he had so just a claim†.

Robert, the elder brother, did not succeed. The stolen kingdom of the bastard William was to descend to the ablest and boldest—to whoever could steal it in his turn. When the dying Conqueror gave Normandy to Robert, and England to William: "And I," exclaimed Henry, the youngest, "am I to have nothing?" "Be patient, my son," said the dying king, "and thou wilt inherit the fortunes of both thy brothers‡." The youngest was likewise the wisest. He was called *Beauchere*; equivalent to the able, the competent, the scribe, the true Norman. He begun by unbounded promises to the Saxons and the priests; and lavished charters, franchises, whatever was asked of him§. Having defeated Robert with the aid of mercenary soldiers, and taken him prisoner, he kept him well lodged and well fed in a strong castle (Cardiff), where he lived to the age of eighty-four; and Robert, who was given up to the joys of the table, would have consoled himself, had not his brother had his eyes put out||. But fratricide and parricide were hereditary in the family. Already had the Conqueror's sons warred with and wounded their father¶; and, under pretence of executing feudal justice, Beauchere, who piqued himself on his stern and impartial administration of the laws, delivered up his own grand-daughters, two children, to one of his barons, who tore out their eyes, and cut off their noses. Their mother, Beauchere's daughter, endeavoured to avenge them, by directing an arrow with her

own hand at her father's breast*. The Plantagenets, who descended from this diabolical race by the mother's side only, did not degenerate from it.

After Beauchere (A. D. 1135), the struggle lay between his nephew Stephen of Blois, and his daughter Matilda, the widow of the emperor Henry V., and wife of the count of Anjou. Stephen belonged to that excellent family of the counts of Blois and of Champagne, who at this very period encouraged the commercial communes, led off at Troyes the Seine into canals, and protected at one and the same time St. Bernard and Abelard. Freethinkers and poets, from them will descend the famous Thibaut, the *trouveur*—he who had his poems to queen Blanche painted in his palace of Provence, amongst roses transplanted from Jericho. Stephen was able to keep his ground in England by the aid of foreigners only, Flemings and Brabanters, and he even sought assistance among the Welsh. The clergy and London alone were on his side (the other communes of England had yet to be created), though, indeed, he did not long remain on good terms with the clergy, having forbade the teaching of the canon law†, and dared to imprison bishops. Then Matilda appeared on the scene. She landed almost alone. True offspring of the conqueror, insolent and intrepid, she affronted every one and braved every one. Thrice she had to fly in the night, on foot, with the snow on the ground, and destitute of all resources. Stephen, once that he held her besieged, thought himself bound as a knight to leave the road open to her to join her friends‡; though she did not treat him the better for it when she took him in her turn, on his being deserted by his barons (A. D. 1153), but compelled him to recognise as his successor, her son by the count of Anjou, that fortunate Henry Plantagenet, on whom, as we have just seen, Eleanor of Guyenne bestowed her hand and vast domains.

Such was the growing greatness of the young Henry when the king of France, humiliated by the result of his crusade, lost Eleanor and so many provinces. This spoilt child of fortune was in a few years overwhelmed with her gifts. King of England, and master of the whole sea-coast of France, from Flanders to the Pyrenees, he also exercised over Brittany that suzerainship which the dukes of Normandy had never succeeded in enforcing; and taking Anjou, Maine, and Touraine from his brother, he left him by way of indemnification to make himself duke of Brittany (A. D. 1156). He reduced Gascony, and governed Flanders, as its defender and guardian, in its count's absence; he took the Quercy from the count of Toulouse, and would have taken Toulouse as well, had not the French king undertaken its defence (A. D. 1159), and thrown himself into the town§; though the Toulousan was nevertheless obliged to do him homage. The ally of the king of Arragon, and count of Barcelona and of Provence, Henry sought a princess of Savoy for one of his sons, in order to obtain a footing in the Alps, and so turn

* Brompt. p. 988. Ead. p. 20. Lingard, vol. ii. p. 138.

† See Thierry's animated narrative, *Conq. de l'Anglet.* t. iii. p. 338, seq.

‡ Order. Vit. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 621. *Æquanimus esto, fili, et confortare in Domino.* . . . tempore tuo totum honorem quem ego nactus sum, habebis, et fratribus tuis divitiis et potestate partabis.

§ "I intend," were his words, "to secure you your ancient liberties; and if you desire it, will sign a charter to this effect, and confirm it by oath."—The charter was drawn up, and as many copies made as there were counties. but the king retracted and resumed them all, with the exception of three. *Matth. Paris.* p. 42. Thierry, t. iii. p. 344.

|| *Matth. Paris.* p. 50. Lingard (vol. ii. p. 206) doubts the fact. from its being unnoticed by any contemporary writer. But does the man who suffered his grand-daughters' eyes to be put out (*Ord. Vit. loc. cit.* p. 717, *Angl. Sacra.* A. D. 699), and obliged his daughter to cross a frozen fosse, half naked, in the depth of winter—deserve the doubt?—(For these two barbarous deeds, see Lingard, vol. ii. p. 176, 177, and the note to p. 177.) TRANSLATOR.

¶ Huntingdon, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 910. Hoveden, *ibid.* 315. It was Robert, who, in one of his rebellious attempts, encountered his father, not knowing who he was, and wounded him. They were reconciled, but quarrelled again, and William cursed his son. *Matth. Paris.* p. 10.

* Order. Vit. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 716. . . . Sagittam ad patrem traxit.

† "From John of Salisbury we learn that Stephen prohibited the lectures of Roger. *Joan. Salis. De nugis cur.* viii. 22." This note is Lingard's, vol. ii. p. 301.

‡ *Guill. Malm. ap. Lingard.* vol. ii. p. 244.

§ *Hist. du Languedoc.* L. xviii. p. 484.

France on the south, whilst in its centre he reduced Berry, the Limousin, and Auvergne, and bought the Marche*. He even managed to detach the counts of Champagne from their alliance with the French king; and, finally, at his death, he possessed countries corresponding with forty-seven of our departments, whilst the king of the kingdom had a territory corresponding with fewer than twenty†.

From his birth, Henry II. had found himself the object of singular popularity, without his having in any way deserved it. His grandfather, Henry Beaulere, was a Norman—his grandmother, a Saxon—his father, an Angevin; and he thus united in his own person all the western races. He formed the link between the conquerors and the conquered; between the south and the north. The conquered, in particular, had indulged the highest hopes, believing that in him was fulfilled Merlin's prophecy, and that Arthur had again come to life. It happened, to strengthen the prediction, that he obtained, forcibly or otherwise, the homage of the princes of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Brittany, that is, of the whole Celtic world; and he had Arthur's tomb sought and found out‡, that mysterious tomb, whose discovery was to mark the term of Celtic independence, and the fulfilment of time.

Every circumstance conspired to fan the belief that the new sovereign would realize the hopes of the conquered. He had been brought up at Angers, one of the cities in which jurisprudence had been earliest professed. It was the epoch of the revival of the Roman law, which was in so many ways to promote the consolidation both of monarchical power and of civil equality. The idea of equality under one ruler, was the last legacy bequeathed us by the ancient world. In the year 1111, the celebrated countess Matilda, the cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, and friend of Gregory VII., had given her licence to the school of Bologna, founded by Irnerio, of that city§; and the emperor, Henry V., had confirmed the license, well aware of all the advantages which the imperial power might derive from the traditions of the ancient empire. The young duke of Anjou, Henry Plantagenet, son of the Norman Matilda—who was the widow of this same Henry V.—found at Angers, at Rouen, and in England, the traditions of the school of Bologna. As early as the year 1124, the bishop of Angers was a learned jurist||. The famous Italian, Lanfranc, William the Conqueror's right hand, the primate of the conquest, had first taught at Bologna, and had been one of the revivers of Roman

* Bened. Petroburg. p. 167.—He paid fifteen thousand marks of silver for it. The count was leaving for Jerusalem, and did not know what to do with his possessions. Gaudred. Vosiens, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 447.

† See Sismondi, t. vi. p. 4.

‡ See Thierry, t. iii. p. 86.

§ Abb. Urspergensis Chron. ap. Savigny, Geschichte des Römischer Rechts im Mittelalter, iv. 10. Dominus Wernerus libros legum, qui dudum neglecti fuerant, ad petitionem Mathildæ commisit renovavit.

|| In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the whole of the clergy of this city were legists: When Guillaume Le Maire was bishop (A. D. 1290—1314), nearly all the canons of his Church were professors of law. Bodin, Recherches sur l'Anjou, ii. 232. Four out of the nineteen bishops who formed the assembly of the clergy in 1339, had filled the law chair at the university of Angers. Ibid. 233.

jurisprudence. "It was," says one of the continuators of Siebert of Gemblours, "it was Lanfranc of Pavia, and his companion, Garnerius, who, having discovered at Bologna the laws of Justinian, began to read and lecture upon them. Garnerius continued so to do. But Lanfranc, who professed the liberal arts and theology in Gaul, and had many disciples there, repaired to Bec, where he turned monk*."

The principles of the new school were proclaimed precisely at the period Henry II. mounted the throne (A. D. 1154). The jurisconsults, who had been summoned by the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, to the diet of Roncaglia (A. D. 1158), addressed to him, by the mouth of the archbishop of Milan, these remarkable words: "Know that the right of making laws which belonged to the people is yours; your will is law, for it is said—*the prince's pleasure is law, since the people have given up all their empire and power into his hands*†."

On opening the diet, the emperor himself had said—"We, who are invested with the regal title, rather desire to rule according to law for the preservation of the rights and liberty of all, than to follow our own pleasure with impunity. To give oneself every licence, and to change the office of government into a haughty and violent sway is tyranny‡." This pedantry of republicanism, which is taken textually from Livy, gave an erroneous explanation of the ideal aimed at by the new jurisprudence; which did not seek for liberty, but for equality under a monarch, and the suppression of that feudal tyranny which weighed down Europe.

Their doctrines may teach us how dear these legists must have been to princes, and so will history; for we shall henceforward see them by the side of monarchs, as if fastened to their ear, whispering their lesson to them. William the Bastard, as has been already shown, attached Lanfranc to himself. During his frequent absences, he confided the care of England to his charge§; and, more than once, bore him out against his own brother. The Angevin, Henry, the new conqueror of England, took for his Lanfranc a scholar of Bologna, who had studied jurisprudence at Auxerre as well||. Thomas Becket, so was he named, was

* Robert de Monte, ap. Savigny, Römischen Rechts, &c., iv. 10.—Order. Vital. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 242. "He was famed for his learning over all Europe, and crowds of disciples flocked to him from France, Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders."

† Radevicus, ii. c. 4, ap. Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte, ii. P. 2, p. 72. Scias itaque omne jus populi in condendis legibus tibi concessum, tua voluntas jus est, sicuti dicitur: "Quod Principi placuit, legis habet vigorem, cum populus et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concesserit."—Henry the Second's councillor, the celebrated Ranulf de Glanville, repeats this doctrine. De Leg. et Consuet. Reg. Anglic. in procem.

‡ Radevicus, ibid.

§ Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Quando gloriosus rex Willelmus morabatur in Normannia, Lanfrancus erat princeps et custos Angliæ, subjectis sibi omnibus principibus.

|| Lingard, vol. ii. p. 281.—Vita Quadrip. p. 6. Juri civili operam dedit.—John of Salisbury seems to reproach Becket with carrying into his quarrel with the king the spirit of a legist rather than that of a priest. . . . "Therefore, my counsel, . . . and my most earnest prayer is, that you commit yourself wholly to the Lord . . . omit, meanwhile, all other studies . . . laws and canons are, indeed, profitable; but trust me, they are not now needed."

at the time in the service of the archbishop of Canterbury; whom he had influenced to side with Matilda and her son. Having only taken deacon's orders, and being thus neither priest nor layman, he was fit for every thing, and ready for every thing; but his birth stood much in his way. He is said to have been born of a Saracen woman, who had followed her Saxon lover when he had left the Holy Land *. Thus, his birth, on his mother's side, seemed to shut him out from the dignities of the Church, and, on his father's, from those of the State. He could have no hope, but from the king. The latter needed such men, for the execution of his projects against his barons. In the first year of his arrival in England, Henry razed to the ground a hundred and forty castles. He carried all before him. He married the heiresses of the more powerful families to men of inferior rank †, lowering the former, elevating the latter, and leveling all. The Norman nobles had exhausted their strength in Stephen's wars; and the new king arrayed against them the men of Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine. Wealthy, from his patrimonial lands, and those of his wife, he could buy soldiers, too, in Flanders and in Brittany. "Tis the advice Becket gave him ‡; who had become indispensable to him both in his business and pleasures. Supple, bold, a man of experience, a man of expedients, and a boon companion into the bargain §, partaking or else copying his master's tastes,—Henry had given himself unreservedly up to him, and not himself only, but his son and heir. Becket was the son's tutor, the father's chancellor ||; and, in the latter capacity, he strongly maintained the king's rights against the Norman barons and bishops, compelling the latter to pay *scutage*, despite their protests and clamour. Then, feeling that a brilliant war was essential to making the king master in England, he led him to the south of France to conquer Toulouse, to which Eleanor of Guyenne had pretensions. Becket led in his own name, and as if at his own expense, twelve hundred knights and more than four thousand soldiers, without including his own special retainers, who were numerous enough to garrison many places in the South ¶. It is clear that an armament so disproportioned to the fortune

of the richest private individual, was sent in the name of an unimportant person, to give the less alarm to the barons.

A vast league had been formed against the count of Toulouse, who was the object of universal jealousy; and the powerful count of Barcelona, the regent of Arragon, and the counts of Narbonne, Montpellier, Beziers, and Carcassonne, had entered into a mutual understanding with the king of England, who seemed on the point of conquering what Louis VIII. and St. Louis reaped without difficulty after the crusade against the Albigenses. It was essential to carry Toulouse by assault, without allowing the count breathing time; but the French king had thrown himself into it, and laid his commands on Henry, as his suzerain, to forbear attacking a town under his protection. Becket felt no scruple of the sort †, and advised an immediate assault; but Henry feared being deserted by his vassals, if he risked so startling a violation of the feudal law, and the warlike chancellor had no other satisfaction than the honour of having fought with and disarmed a knight of the opposite party ‡.

The maintenance of the mercenary troops which Henry employed by Becket's advice, and which he so much needed for the coercion of his barons, was beyond the means of the Norman exchequer. Their cost could only be defrayed out of the clergy, whom the conquest had largely enriched. Henry longed to have the Church within his grasp; and for this, it was essential to make sure of its head, that is, of the archbishopric of Canterbury—which was almost a patriarchate; an Anglican papacy, an ecclesiastical royalty, without which the other, the temporal royalty, were incomplete. Henry, therefore, resolved to take it for himself, by giving it to a second self §, to his good friend, Becket. The two powers thus united, he would have raised the sovereign authority to that pitch which it reached in the sixteenth century, in the hands of Henry VIII., of Mary, and of Elizabeth. It was a convenient thing for him to make Becket the

gons, each drawn by five horses, and attended by five divers in new frocks. Every wagon was covered with skins, and protected by two guards, and a fierce mastiff either chained below, or at liberty above. Two of them were loaded with barrels of ale to be given to the populace: one carried the furniture of the chancellor's chapel, another of his bed-chamber, a third of his kitchen, and a fourth his plate and wardrobe; the remaining two were appropriated to the use of his attendants. These were followed by twelve sumpter horses, on each of which rode a monkey, with the groom behind on his knees. Next came the esquires bearing the shields, and leading the chargers of their knights, then other esquires, gentlemen's sons, falconers, officers of the household, knights and sergeants riding two and two, and last of all, the chancellor himself in familiar converse with a few friends. As he passed, the natives were heard to exclaim, 'What manner of man must the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!' Stephan. 20, 21.

* Lingard, vol. ii. p. 286.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Becket's predecessor in the see of Canterbury wrote to him, "It is in every one's mouth that you two are one heart and soul." Bles. Epist. 78.—"Who knows not that you are next to the king in the four kingdoms?" Petrus Cellensis, Marten. Thes. Anecd. iii.—The English clergy wrote to Thomas, "His affection is so unbounded that he has willed you to be master of all subject to him, from the northern ocean to the Pyrenees; so that they alone are deemed fortunate who have found favour in your sight." Epist. 8. Thom. p. 190.

Who rises from the reading of laws and canons with his conscience touched? . . . Rather would I that you would meditate on the Psalms, and revolve the moral writings of the blessed Gregory, than philosophize in scholastic fashion," &c. Epist. p. 47, and ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 510.

* She knew but two words that could be understood by the natives of the West: these were *London* and *Gilbert*, her lover's name. By help of the first she managed to reach the capital, where she traversed the streets, repeating "Gilbert, Gilbert," until she found the desired object. Brompton, p. 1054. Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angleterre*, t. iii. p. 112.

† Radulphus Niger, ap. Wilk. Leg. Sax. 338 (as quoted by Lingard, in note, vol. ii. p. 278). Servis generosas copulans pedaneis conditionis fecit universos.

‡ Lingard, vol. ii. p. 285.

§ Brompton, Chron. p. 1058. J. Sarsburiensis Ep. ap. Epist. S. Thomæ, edit. Lupus, 1682, p. 414.

¶ Scr. R. Fr. xiv. 452. Filiis sui Henrici tutorem fecit et patrem.

¶ Newbridge. ii. 10 Chronic. Norm. 994. Lingard, vol. ii. p. 286.—Lingard says in a note (vol. ii. p. 284), "The reader will be amused with the following account of the manner in which the chancellor travelled through France. Whenever he entered a town, the procession was led by two hundred and fifty boys, singing national airs: then came his hounds in couples; and these were succeeded by eight wag-

nominal head of the Anglican Church, as he had recently made him the nominal commander of his army. Becket, it is true, was a Saxon; but then the Saxon *Breakpear** (Adrian IV.), had just been elected pope as Henry II. ascended the throne. Becket would have declined the honour: "I have a care," were his words, "I shall be your greatest enemy†." But the king would not listen to him, and made him primate, to the great scandal of the Norman clergy.

Since the time of the Italians, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, the see of Canterbury had been filled by Normans; since to none other durst kings and barons have entrusted the dangerous dignity. The archbishops of Canterbury were not simply primates of England; but were likewise invested with a kind of political character. From the time of the famous Dunstan‡, the pitiless humbler of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, down to Stephen Langton, who compelled King John to sign Magna Charta, we find them ever the leaders of the national opposition. They were more particularly the guardians of the liberties of Kent; which had preserved more of its franchises than any other English county. Let us take a momentary survey of the history of this singular district.

The country (*pays*) of Kent, which comprehended a much wider range than the county of the same name, embraced a large portion of the South of England. Lying at the angle of Great Britain, opposite to France, it constituted its vanguard; and, indeed, it was the privilege of the Kentish men to form the vanguard of the English army. In all times they have been first to meet invaders—their county offering the readiest landing-place. Here Cæsar disembarked; then Hengist; then William the Conqueror. Here, too, Christianity first shed its light. Kent is sacred ground. St. Augustine, the English Apostle, founded his first monastery here; and its abbot and the archbishop of Canterbury were the lords of the district and the guardians of its privileges. It was they who set the men of Kent against William the Conqueror; when the latter on his march from Dover to London after the battle of Hastings, thought he saw, as the legend runs, a moving wood, which was, in fact, a moveable rampart of branches borne by the Kentish men: falling on the Normans, they forced from William a guarantee of their liberties§. How-

* The only Englishman who has sat in the chair of St. Peter

† *Citissime a me auferes animum; et gratia, quæ nunc inter nos tanta est, in atrocissimum odium convertetur.* Ser. R. Fr. xiv. p. 453.

‡ When Dunstan and Edgar were reconciled, after the latter's doing penance, the saint insisted upon two points as essential to their perfect good understanding:—1st, That Edgar should promulgate a code of laws; 2dly, That he should distribute at his own expense, throughout the different provinces, copies of the Holy Scriptures for the edification of the people.—Indeed, according to Lingard, the true reading of Osborn's text ought to be *Justas legum rationes sanciret, sanctas conseriberet, scriptas per omnes fines imperii sui populis custodiendas mandaret* (that he should enact just laws, and, when ratified, have copies distributed throughout his empire) instead of *sanctas conseriberet scripturas*, (that he should have copies made of the Holy Scriptures). Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. i. p. 489.

§ Thorn. 1786, as cited by Lingard, *History of England*, vol. II. p. 6.

ever doubtful this triumph of theirs may be, it is certain that in the midst of the general servitude they preserved their freedom, and recognized no other dominion than that of the Church; just as our Bretons of la Cornouaille were comparatively free under the bishops of Quimper, and insulted feudalism in their yearly mockery of the statue of old king Grallo.

The principal of the customs of Kent, and which is still kept up in the county, is the law of succession—of the equal division of property between the children of the same parent, called by the Saxons *gavel-kind*, by the Irish *gabhall cine*, (family settlement), and which, with certain modifications, is common to all Celtic races—to Ireland, to Scotland, to Wales, and, in part, to our Brittany*.

The great Italian legists who were the first archbishops of Canterbury, were the more inclined to favour the customs of Kent from their affining, in many respects with the principles of the Roman law; and when Eudes (Odo), the Earl of Kent, William the Conqueror's brother, began to degrade the Kentish men to the same servile footing as the natives of the other provinces, "Lanfranc withstood him to the face and proved before all the world the liberties of his land by the testimony of aged Englishmen, versed in the customs of their country, and he delivered his men from the evil usages which Eudes wished to impose on them†." On another occasion, (Odo's seizure of many manors belonging to the archbishopric of Canterbury, during Stigand's disgrace,) a shire-mote was held, at Lanfranc's request, at Pennenden, in which Geoffry, bishop of Coutance, presided by order of William; where, after a hearing of three days, the lands in question were adjudged to the Church‡.

St. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, shewed himself still more favourable to the conquered. One day

* See p. 37.

† ("Gavelkind," says Lingard—vol. II. p. 352,— "is that species of tenure, by which lands descend to all the sons equally, and without any consideration of primogeniture. It prevailed in former ages among all the British tribes, and some relics of it in an improved form remain in England, even at the present day. Among the Irish it existed as late as the reign of James I.; and still retained the rude features of the original institution. While it excluded all the females, both the widow and the daughters, from the possession of land, it equally admitted all the males without distinction of spurious or legitimate birth. Yet these did not succeed to the individual lands held by their father. At the death of each possessor the landed property of the sept was thrown into one common mass: a new division was made by the equity or caprice of the cannyin, or chief; and their respective portions were assigned to the different heads of families in the order of seniority. It is evident that such a tenure must have opposed an insuperable bar to agricultural improvement, and to the influence of agriculture, in multiplying the comforts of civilized life.")

‡ Vita S. Lanfranci, ap. Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.

§ Spence, *Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 452, ed. 1826. "The king ordered the whole county to assemble without delay, and that all the men of the county, Frenchmen, and especially Englishmen well acquainted with the ancient laws and customs, should be present. When they met at Pennenden, all sat down, and the whole county was detained there for three days—and by all those honest and wise men there present, it was decided, ordained, and judged, 'That just as the king himself, the archbishop of Canterbury should possess full jurisdiction over his lands, and should hold them in quiet and freedom.'"

that Lanfranc was speaking to him of the Saxon Elfeg (or Alphege), who had sacrificed himself in defending the liberties of his country against the Normans, "For my part," was Anselm's remark, "I think him a true martyr, for he preferred death to seeing his countrymen wronged. John died for truth's sake, Elfeg for that of justice; and so both died for Christ, who is both truth and justice *." Anselm was the chief promoter of Henry Beauclerc's marriage with Edgar's niece, the last of the Saxon line of sovereigns: a match which, despite all argument to the contrary, must have led to the rehabilitation of the conquered race. Anselm, as representative of the English people, in his capacity of archbishop of Canterbury, administered the oaths to Beauclerc, when he swore, for the second time, to observe his charter confirming the ancient immunities of the Church and the feudal privileges †.

DISPUTE BETWEEN HENRY AND BECKET.

Great was the surprise of the English monarch when he learnt that his creature, his boon companion, Thomas Becket, took his new dignity in earnest. The chancellor, *the w. clerk*, the courtier, had suddenly recollected that he was one of the people. A son of the Saxon, he had turned Saxon; and his sanctity caused his Saracen mother to be forgotten. He surrounded himself with Saxons, with the poor and the beggar—wore their coarse dress, and eat with them, and as they did. From this time he resigned the great seal, and dropt his intercourse with the king. There were, thus, as if two kings; and the king of the poor, who held his court at Canterbury, was not the least powerful of the two §.

Henry, deeply offended, obtained from the pope a bull, rendering the abbot of St. Augustin's monastery independent of the archbishop: indeed, he had been so under the Saxon kings. By way of reprisal, Thomas summoned several of the barons to restore to the see of Canterbury estates which their ancestors had received in fee from their sovereigns; declaring that he knew no law which could sanctify injustice, and that what had been taken without a just title ought to be given up ||. This was neither more nor less than mooting the question whether the whole work of the conquest were to be destroyed, and the Saxon archbishop were to wreak vengeance for the battle of Hastings on the descendants of the conquerors. The episcopate which William the Conqueror had strengthened for the support of the conquest, was now turned against it. Fortunately for Henry, the bishops were rather barons than bishops. Their temporal interests touched these Normans much more closely than those of the Church; and the majority declared in the king's

favour, and were ready to swear to whatever pleased him. Thus the alarm which Becket's conduct occasioned this thoroughly feudal church, enabled the king to extort from her an extent of power far beyond what he would otherwise have dared to seek.

The following are the principal points stipulated by the constitutions of Clarendon (A.D. 1164):—"The custody of every vacant archbishopric, bishopric, abbey and priory of royal foundation, shall be given, and its revenues paid, to the king; and the election of a new incumbent shall be made in consequence of the king's writ, by the chief clergy of the Church, assembled in the king's chapel, with the assent of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king may call to his assistance.—In suits, in which each or either party is a clergyman, the proceedings shall commence before the king's justices, who shall decide whether the cause is to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts: in the latter case a civil officer is to be present to report the proceedings, and if the defendant be convicted in a criminal action he is to lose his benefit of clergy.—No tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household or of his demesne, shall be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application shall have been made to the king, or in his absence to the grand justiciary, who is to take care that what belongs to the king's courts shall be there determined, and what belongs to the ecclesiastical courts shall be determined in them.—No archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman can lawfully go beyond the sea, without the king's permission.—Clergymen, who hold lands of the crown, hold by barony, and are bound to the same services as the lay barons."

"These constitutions were nothing less than the entire confiscation of the Church in favour of Henry. When the king was to receive the revenues in the event of a see's becoming vacant, one might be sure that it would long remain so; just as in the time of William Rufus, who had formed as one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys *. The bishoprics would become the reward, not of the barons, perhaps, but of the officials of the Treasury, of the scribes, and of complainant judges. The Church, subject to military service, would become altogether feudal. Almonries, schools, and religious obligations would go to the support of Brabanters and Cotereaux, and pious foundations discharge the costs of murder. Losing with the power of excommunication the only weapon which remained to her, the Anglican church, cut off from all communication with Rome and imprisoned in her island home, would at the same time, together with the loss of communion with the Christian world, lose all feeling of universality, of catholicism. The most serious attack upon her was the abolition of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and the repeal of the benefit of clergy. Undoubtedly, these rights had given rise to great abuses, and under their shelter the clergy had committed many crimes with impunity; but we have only to call to mind the frightful barbarism, the execrable venality of the lay tribunals of the twelfth century, to confess that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was at the period an anchor of safety. It might spare the guilty; but then how many innocent did it not save! The

* *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. p. 162. *Martyr mihi videtur egregius qui mori maluit . . . sic ergo Johannes pro veritate, sic et Elphegus pro justitia.*

† *Lingard*, vol. ii. p. 152, 158.

‡ *Vita S. Thomæ Quadripartita*, p. 19, 24, ed. Lupus, 1682.

§ *Lingard*, vol. ii. p. 314. The king's advisers insinuated that Becket designed to render himself independent; and it was reported that he had said to his confidants, "that the youth of Henry required a master; that the violence of his passions must, and might easily be tamed; and that he knew how necessary he himself was to a monarch, who was incapable of guiding the reins of government without his assistance."

|| *Gervas. Cantuar. ap. Thierry*, iii. 129.

* *Petr. Bles. iii.*, cited by *Lingard*, vol. ii. p. 135.

Church offered almost the only means by which the despised races could hope to retrieve their position; and the two Saxons, Breakspear (Adrian IV.) and Becket, are cases in point. At this time the liberties of the Church were identified with those of the world.

And, therefore, the conquered races lent the archbishop of Canterbury a stout and firm support. His struggle for liberty was imitated in Aquitaine, though with more timidity and moderation, by the bishop of Poitiers*, and, at a later period, in Wales, by the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, to whom we are indebted, among other works, for his very curious description of Ireland†. The Lower Bretons, too, sided with Becket. A Welshman followed him into exile at the peril of his life‡; as did the famous John of Salisbury§. The Welsh students seem to have been the bearers of Becket's messages; for their schools were closed by king Henry's orders, and they themselves were prohibited from entering any part of England without first receiving his permission.

To see in this contest only a struggle between two hostile races, and to find in Thomas Becket a Saxon only, would be to circumscribe this grand subject. The archbishop of Canterbury was not merely the saint of England, the saint of the conquered—Saxons and Welsh; but quite as much the saint of France and of all Christendom. His

memory was cherished by us, not less vividly than by his own countrymen. The house which he inhabited in Auxerre, and a church which he built in Dauphiny, during his exile, are still pointed out to the stranger. No tomb was more visited in the middle age than that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; no pilgrimage in greater request. A hundred thousand pilgrims are said to have visited it in a single year; and the tradition runs, that in one year nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling were laid on the shrine of St. Thomas, and only four pounds on that of the Virgin, whilst not a single offering was made to God himself.

Thomas was dear to the people above all the saints of the middle age, because by his low and obscure birth, by his Saracen mother and Saxon father, he was one of themselves. The worldly life which he had at first led, his love of dogs, horses, hawks*, and all those youthful tastes which he never entirely lost, were quite to their taste. Under his priestly robes he bore a knightly, loyal, and courageous heart, whose impulses he found it difficult to repress. In one of the most critical moments of his life, when the barons and bishops who sided with Henry seemed ready to tear him in pieces, a voice called him traitor. At the word he stopped, and, hastily turning round, rejoined, "Were it not that my order forbids me, that coward should repent of his insolence."

The great, the magnificent, and the terrible in the fate of this man, arises from his being charged, weak and unassisted as he was, with the interests of the Church universal, which were those of mankind: a post, which was of right the pope's, which Gregory VII. had maintained, but which Alexander III. feared to occupy. He had enough to do with the antipope, and with his supporter, Frederick Barbarossa, the conqueror of Italy. Alexander was the head of the Lombard league, an Italian patriot and politician, who negotiated, fought, fled, came back, stirred up party zeal, encouraged desertion from the opposite ranks, made treaties, and founded cities. It did not suit his policy to offend the greatest king of Christendom, I mean Henry II., when he had the emperor already on his hands. His whole conduct towards Henry was shamefully timid and cringing; his sole object being to gain time by wretched equivocations, by letters and rejoinders, living on daily expedients, temporizing between England and France, and playing the diplomatist like a lay prince, whilst the king of France accepted the patronage of the Church, and Becket suffered and died for her—a strange politician, who taught the world to seek any where but at Rome for the representative of religion and the type of sanctity.

In this great and dramatic struggle Becket was severely tried, and had to bear up alike against threats, allurements, and his own scruples. Hence the hesitation observable in him in the beginning of the contest—a hesitation akin to fear. He gave way at first in the council of Clarendon, either through dread of personal violence, or that he was still influenced by the sense of his obligations to

* To whom Henry II. addressed through two of his justiciaries, more stringent resolutions than even those embraced by the constitutions of Clarendon. See the bishop's letter, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 216.—See, also (ibid. 572. 575, &c.), the letters written him by John of Salisbury, to keep him informed of all that was done in Becket's case.—The bishop of Poitiers gave way in 1166, and made his peace with the king. Joann. Sarisbur. Epist. ibid. 523.

† Elected bishop in 1176 by the monks of St. David, and expelled by Henry II. in favour of a Norman; re-elected in 1190 by the same monks, and again expelled by John Lackland. Too feebly supported, he failed in his courageous struggle for the independence of the Welsh church; but his country honoured his memory for it—"Long as our country shall endure," says a Welsh poet, "they who write and they who sing will remember thy noble daring."

‡ Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 295. Thierry, iii. 160.

§ Salisbury is in the country of Kent, but not in the county of that name. (The author must surely mean that Salisbury is, ecclesiastically speaking, in the province of Canterbury. TRANSLATOR.)—In the time of archbishop Thibaut (Theobald), it was John of Salisbury who was accused of the attempts made by the church of Canterbury to recover its privileges. He writes, in 1159—"I am the mark for all the king's wrath . . . if the name of Rome is invoked by any one, I am at the bottom of the matter; and if the Anglican church dare to claim a shadow of liberty, either in the conduct of elections or of spiritual causes, all is put down to me, as if I alone instructed my lord of Canterbury and the other bishops what to do." . . . J. Sarisbur. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 496.—He contends, in his Polycraticus (Leyden, 1639, p. 206), that "it is praiseworthy and just to flatter a tyrant, in order to throw him off his guard and kill him."—In Thomas Becket's case his letters betray selfishness (he is ever uneasy about the confiscation of his property, Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 508. 512, &c.), as well as indecision and timidity (ibid. p. 509); he often gets together to intercede for him with the king (p. 514, &c.), and counsels Becket timid measures (p. 510. 527, &c.). He seems little troubled with notions of consistency; and this defender of liberty allows free will no power but for evil. (Polycrat. p. 97.) We must not draw any hasty conclusion from his having studied under Abelard, his praises are for St. Bernard and his disciple, Eugenius III. (ibid. p. 311.)

* On landing, in his subsequent flight, in France, seeing a youth with a hawk on his wrist, he could not help going up to examine the bird; an act which had nearly betrayed him. "Perhaps," says the writer of the anecdote, "the fear which it occasioned him, will have washed out the sin of his vanity." Vita Quadripartita, p. 65.

the king: a weakness, indeed, which commands our pity in a man who might be distracted between two opposing duties. On the one hand, he owed much to Henry; on the other, still more to his own see, to the Church of England, to the Church Universal, of whose rights he was the sole champion. This incurable duality of the middle age, divided between the state and religion, has been the grief and torment of the greatest minds,—of Godfrey of Bouillon, of St. Louis, and of Dante.

"Wretch that I am," exclaimed Thomas, on his return from Clarendon; "I see the Anglican church, in punishment of my sins, enslaved for ever! It was so to be; I came out of the king's palace, not out of the church; I was a hunter of beasts, before I became a pastor of men. The lover of histrions and of dogs has become the guardian of souls . . . therefore, am I utterly abandoned of God!"

Another time, Henry tried caresses instead of violence. Becket had only to say the word; he submitted every thing to him. It was a renewal of the temptation in the wilderness, when Satan took Jesus into an exceeding high mountain, and showing him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, said, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me †." All his contemporaries see in Thomas's resistance to Henry, an image of the temptation of Christ; and in his death, a reflection of the passion. Analogies of the kind delighted the men of the middle age. The last work in this style, and the boldest, is that of the *Book of Conformities between the life of Jesus Christ and that of St. Francis*.

Even the extension of the royal power, which was the groundwork of the whole dispute, soon became a very secondary object with Henry, the chief being the ruin and death of Thomas. He thirsted for his blood. That the power which stretched over so many people should fail against the will of one man—that after so many easy triumphs, an obstacle should rise in his path—all this was too much for this spoiled child of fortune to bear. He was distracted at the thought, and even reduced to tears ‡.

However, the king did not lack officious counselors to endeavour to comfort him, and satisfy his desires; and the attempt was made in the month of October, 1164. Indisposed and weak, the archbishop was compelled to attend a great council in the town of Northampton. In the morning, having previously celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr, which begins with the words, "The

princes are met in council to hold judgment on me," he proceeded to court, arrayed as he was in the pontifical robes, and bearing in his hand the archiepiscopal cross *. This embarrassed his enemies. After a fruitless attempt to take the cross from him, they resorted to the formalities of law, accused him of having made away with the public money, and of having celebrated mass in the name of the devil. They then demanded his deposition, which, once pronounced, they might have slain him with safe consciences. The king waited the result with impatience; symptoms of violence displayed themselves; and, as he walked along the hall, some of the courtiers threw at him knots of straw, which they took from the floor. The archbishop appealed to the pope, withdrew slowly, and left them speechless. This was the first temptation—the summons before Herod and Caiaphas. The crowd had been expecting him, in tears. As for him, he ordered tables to be laid, summoned all the poor of the city, and celebrated as it were the last supper with them †. That very night he set out, and with difficulty reached the continent.

The escape of his prey was a sore matter to Henry. But he seized Becket's estates, and divided the spoil. He banished all connected with him, whether in the ascending or descending line; and neither men, bowing under the weight of years, nor infants still hanging at the breast, nor pregnant women, were excepted. "The list of proscription was swelled with four hundred names; and the misfortune of the sufferers was aggravated by the obligation of an oath to visit the archbishop, and importune him with the history of their wrongs. Day after day crowds of exiles besieged the door of his cell at Pontigny ‡. Poor and famishing, they came to wring his heart with the sight of their wretchedness and rage; and, over and above, the English bishops addressed him letters full of bitterness and irony, congratulating him on the apostolic poverty to which he was reduced, and hoping that his fasts would profit his soul §. Such were Job's comforters.

The archbishop welcomed his fate, and embraced it as a penance. Taking shelter first at St. Omer, and then at Pontigny, an abbey of the Cistercian rule, he led the solitary and mortified life of a recluse ¶. From this retreat he wrote to the pope, acknowledging that he had been unduly thrust into the archiepiscopal see, and surrendering his dignity. Alexander III., who was at the time a refugee at Sens, feared taking a decided part, and bringing a new enemy upon himself. He condemned several of the constitutions of Clarendon,

* Ibid. p. 41. . . . De pastore avium factus sum pastor ovium. Dudum fautor histrionum et canum sectator, tot animarum pastor. . . . Unde et plane video me jam a Deo derelictum. "Then was he so overcome by grief," adds the writer, "that torrents of tears gushed from his eyes, and he continued weeping and bitterly sobbing."

† Ibid. p. 109. Henry's words were like those of Satan, Et certe omnia traderem in manus tuas. The bishop, repeating the king's words to Heribert of Bosaham, added, "When the king spoke thus, I remembered the words of the evangelist, *Hec omnia*," &c.

‡ Joann. Sarisbur. ap. Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 233. . . . De Cantuariensi archiepiscopo gravissime conquerens, non sine gemitibus et suspiriis multis. Et lachrymatus est, diens quod idem Cantuariensis et corpus et animam pariter auferret (he protested that Becket would destroy him, soul and body).

* Roger. de Hoveden. p. 494. Vita Quadrip. p. 58.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 50. Dixit, "Sinite pauperes Christi . . . omnes intrare nobiscum, ut epulemur in Domino ad invicem." Et impleta sunt domus et atria circumquaque discumbentium.

‡ Lingard, vol. ii. p. 326.

§ Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 189. "We were somewhat comforted when we heard that you had crossed the sea, and were wisely aiming at no ambitious project, nor plotting against our lord the king," &c.

¶ "He wore sackcloth, and used the scourge. He got the attendant lay-brother to bring him privily, besides the delicate dishes that were served up to him, the ordinary allowance of the monks, with which he contented himself. But he soon fell seriously ill, from a diet so contrary to his habits." Vita Quadrip. p. 83.

but declined seeing Thomas, and contented himself with writing him word that he reinvested him with the archiepiscopal dignity. "Go," was his cold comfort to the exile, "go, learn in poverty to be the comforter of the poor."

The only stay Thomas had, was the king of France. Louis VII. was but too well pleased at the trouble the whole business gave his rival; and, besides, he was, as we have seen, a singularly mild and pious prince. The archbishop, persecuted for defending the Church, was in his eyes a martyr; and he, therefore, received him with every mark of favour, observing, that to protect the exile was one of the ancient ornaments of the French crown*. He settled on Thomas and his companions in misfortune, a daily allowance of bread and other necessaries; and when the king of England sent to him to denounce the former archbishop—"By whom has he been deposed?" was Louis's remark. "I am a king, too; yet cannot I depose the meanest clerk in my realm†."

Abandoned by the pope, and living on the charity of the king of France, Thomas did not quail. Henry having crossed over into Normandy, the archbishop repaired to Vézelay, the very spot where twenty years before St. Bernard had preached the second crusade, and, on Ascension day, with the most solemn ceremony, with the ringing of bells, and by the light of tapers, he excommunicated the defenders of the constitutions of Clarendon, the detainers of the possessions of the see of Canterbury, and all who had communicated with the antipope, whom the emperor supported; designating by name six of the royal favourites; and though he did not name the sovereign himself, he held the sword suspended over him.

This bold proceeding threw Henry into the most ungovernable fits of passion. He rolled on the ground, threw down his cap, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and unable to do more mischief, sat down, and gnawed the straw on the floor‡. When he came to his cooler senses, he wrote himself, and made the clergy of Kent write to the pope, that he was prepared to proceed to the utmost extremities; and praying and threatening by turns. One moment he sent ambassadors to the emperor, to assure him that he would support the antipope §, and threatened even to turn Mussulman ||; the next, he sent apologetical

explanations to Alexander III., asserting that his ambassadors had exceeded their authority—and at last affirmed that he had given the emperor no such promises. At the same time, he bribed the cardinals, and sent money to the Lombards, Alexander's allies. He solicited from the juriconsults of Bologna a manifesto against the archbishop*; and went so far as to offer the pope to resign all his claims, and even to forego the constitutions of Clarendon: so did he long for his enemy's destruction.

These alternations ended in act. He obtained pontifical letters, suspending Thomas from all episcopal authority until restored to the king's favour. Henry showed these letters openly, boasting that he had disarmed Becket, and that for the future he held the pope in his purse†. The Cistercian monks, threatened by him with the loss of the possessions they held in his dominions, gave Becket gently to understand, that they could no longer offer him an asylum. Scandalized by their pusillanimity, the king of France could not refrain from exclaiming—"Religion, O religion, whither art thou fled, when they whom we have believed to be dead to the world, exalt him who is suffering exile for the sake of God, with a view to the things of this world‡?"

At last, the king of France gave way. Henry, in the excess of his rage against Becket, had humbled himself before the weak Louis, recognized him as his feudal superior, sought his daughter in marriage for his son, and promised to divide his dominions between his children§. Louis then offered his mediation between the two, and brought Becket with him to Montmirail in Perche, where they were met by Henry. Vague words passed between them. Henry was willing to preserve the liberties of the Church, "saving the dignity of his crown," and the archbishop was equally willing to obey the king, "saving the honour of God and the dignity of the Church||." "What is that you want," said the French monarch, "peace is in your hands¶." As the archbishop persisted in his reservations, all present, of both nations, accused

sequeretur erronee et profane religionis iniret consortium. quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi pateretur diutius episcopari.

* J. Sarisbur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 602. Epist. S. Thom. p. 602. Becket complains to the bishop of Ostia, "How did we ever injure the towns of Italy—how the learned Bolognese—who, indeed, solicited by prayers and promises . . . were unwilling to comply."

† Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 312. Ovans quod Herculi clavum detraxisset—*Ibid.* 592. Quia nunc D. papam et omnes cardinales habet in bursa sua.

‡ Vita Quadrip. p. 85. O religio, o religio, ubi es? Ecce enim quos credebamus seculo mortuos, &c.—*See*, also, Gervase of Canterbury, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 130. Louis sent an escort of three hundred men to meet the archbishop.

§ Ep. S. Thom. p. 424.—At Montmirail, Henry submitted himself, his children, lands, men, and treasure to the pleasure of Louis. J. Sarisbur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 595.

¶ Persecutor noster . . . adject. Salvis dignitatibus suis. Ep. S. Thom. p. 504.—Salvo in omnibus ordine suo et honore Dei et sancte Ecclesie. Roger, de Hoveden, p. 432. Ep. S. Thom. p. 562, sqq. Vita Quadrip. p. 95—"Our fathers," he said, "suffered because they would proclaim the name of Christ, and shall I, to recover the favour of one man, compromise the honour of God? Never! Never!" Gervas. Cant. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 132.

* Gervas. Cant. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiv. 460.

* Gervas. Cantuar. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 132. Rex Francie dixit: Ite, dicite domino vestro (Henrico) quod si ipse consuetudines quas vocat avitas non vult dimittere, nec ego veteranum regum Francie libertatem volo propellere, quia cunctis exultantibus, et precipue personis ecclesiasticis. . .

† *Ibid.* p. 128. Dicens, lector, "Quondam episcopum," quæsiuit quis eum deposuisset, et ait, "Ego quidem rex sum, sicut et ipse, nec tamen possum terræ meæ minimum quondam clericum deponere."

‡ Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 215. Pileum de capite projecit, balteum detraxit, vestes longius abiecit, stratum seivicum quod erat supra lectum manu proprio remisit, et cepit stramineas masticare festucas.

§ Fridrici Epist. ap. Epist. S. Thom. p. 108, 110. Legati regis Anglie . . . ex parte regis eorum baronum ejus apud Witeburgum juraverunt quod . . . papam Paschalem, quem nos tenemus, et ipse tenebit. . . *See*, also, Henry's Letter, *ibid.* p. 106; and that of John of Salisbury, p. 341.

¶ J. Sarisbur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 384. Cum papam blanditiis et promissis decipere non prævaleret, ad minas conversi sunt, mentientes quod rex eorum Noradini citius

him of obstinacy; and one of the French barons exclaimed, that the man who withstood the unanimous wish and advice of the barons of the two kingdoms, was no longer deserving of an asylum. The two kings took horse without any leave-taking of Becket, who retired in very low spirits*.

The desertion and wretchedness of the archbishop were at their height. He had no longer bread or resting-place, and was reduced to live on the charity of the people. Perhaps it was at this time that he built the church, commonly attributed to him. Architecture was one of the arts which had become traditional among the heads of the Church; and not long afterwards, at the time of the crusade against the Albigenses, we find master Theodosius, archdeacon of Notre-Dame, combining, like Becket, the honours of the legist and the architect†.

To give the finishing stroke to the primate, Henry attempted to transfer the rights of the see of Canterbury to the archbishop of York, and had his son crowned by him. At the coronation feast, in the intoxication of his joy, he would wait at table on the young king with his own hands, when, no longer knowing what he did, he suffered the thought to pass his lips, that "from that day he was no longer king‡"—fatal words, which did not fall in vain on the ears of the young king and the bystanders.

Thomas, struck by this new blow, and sold and abandoned by the court of Rome, addressed to the pope and cardinals terrible and damnable letters—"Why lay in my path a stumbling-block of offence? why strew my path with thorns? . . . How can you blind yourselves to the wrong which Christ suffers in me, and in yourself, who ought to hold Christ's place here below? The king of England has seized the possessions, has overthrown the liberties of the Church, has laid hands on the Lord's anointed, imprisoning and mutilating them, and depriving them of sight; whilst others he has forced to clear themselves by wager of battle, or by the ordeal of fire and water. And yet, with such outrages before us, we are wished to hold our peace! . . . Hirelings are and will be silent; but whosoever is a true shepherd of the Church, will with us. . . .

"I might flourish in power, abound in riches and

* But Louis repented of his conduct to Becket, and sent for him a few days after. Becket obeyed; thinking that he was about to receive orders to quit France. "He and they who accompanied him," says Gervase of Canterbury (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 33), "found the king sitting in melancholy wise, nor did he rise, as usual, to the archbishop. They all stood admiring, and, after a long silence, as if he were unwilling to dismiss him, the king, suddenly starting up to the surprise of all present, threw himself with a passionate flood of tears at the feet of the archbishop, and sobbed out, 'My lord and father, thou alone hast seen rightly.' Then, with renewed sighs, he exclaimed, 'Of a verity, thou alone hast seen rightly. We have all been blind. . . . I repent, father; pardon, I beseech you, and absolve my kingdom and myself from this fault. From this moment, my kingdom and myself are thine.' See, also, Vita Quadrip. p. 96.

† It was Lanfranc who built, by order of William the Conqueror, the church of St. Stephen of Caen, the last magnificent product of Roman architecture.

‡ Vita Quadrip. p. 102, 103. *Pater filio dignatus est ministrare, et se regem non esse protestari.* Epist. S. Thom. p. 676. 790.

pleasures, be feared and honoured by all. But since the Lord has called me—poor and unworthy sinner that I am, to the charge of souls, I have preferred, inspired thereto by grace, to be humbled in his household, and to endure unto the death proscription, exile, and the extreme of misery, rather than traffic with the liberty of the Church. Let them act thus who hope for length of days, and who find in their merits the assurance of a better time. As for me, I know that my life will be short, and that if I warn not the impious of his iniquity, I shall be answerable for his blood. Then, gold and silver will avail nought, nor presents, which blind even the wise. . . . You and I, most holy father, will soon be summoned to the judgment-seat of Christ. And, it is in the name of his majesty and fearful judgment, that I ask from you justice on those who would crucify him a second time."

Again, he writes, "We can hardly subsist on the alms of the stranger. They who aided us are exhausted, and they who took pity on our exile are in despair, seeing the conduct of our lord, the pope. . . . Crushed by the Roman Church, we, who alone of the western world fight for her—were it not for the support of grace—should be constrained to desert the cause of Christ. . . . The Lord will see this from the summit of the heavenly mountain; and that fearful Majesty which stifles the breath of kings, will judge the extremities of the earth. For us, dead or alive, we are and shall be his, ready to suffer all for the Church. Would to God he may find us worthy to endure persecution for his justice's sake!"

. . . . "I know not how it happens that in this court it is God's party which is ever sacrificed; so that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is put to death. Six years will soon have passed since my banishment and the calamity of the Church have been suffered by the pontifical court. With you, unhappy exiles and the innocent are condemned solely because they are Christ's weak and poor, and that they have not chosen to wander from God's justice. On the contrary, you have absolved sacrilegists, homicides, impenitent ravishers, and men of whom I dare frankly say, that were they to appear before St. Peter even, the world would vainly try to defend them, God would not acquit them. . . . The king's envoys promise our spoil to cardinals and courtiers. Well! let God see and judge. I am ready to die. Let them arm the king of England for my destruction, and, if they choose, all the kings of the world: God to aid, I will not stray from my allegiance to the Church, either in life or death. In fine, I trust to God the defence of his own cause; 'tis for him that I am in exile; let him provide the remedy. Henceforward, my mind is made up no more to solicit the court of Rome. Let those who prevail by their iniquity apply to her, and who, in their triumph over justice and innocence, return boasting to the grief of the Church. Would to God that the way of Rome† had not already lost so many hapless and innocent persons‡!"

* Epist. S. Thom. p. 774, &c., Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 418. 420.

† *Via Romana.* M. Thierry does not understand these words in the mystic sense, but translates, "the journey to Rome."

‡ Epist. S. Thom. p. 772, 773, Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 417. & Ne-

These terrible words found so loud an echo that the court of Rome saw it was more dangerous to desert Thomas than to support him. The king of France wrote to the pope, "It is now incumbent on you to give up all your nugatory and procrastinating measures *;" and, in so saying, he was the organ of all Christendom. The pope took the decisive resolution of suspending the archbishop of York for his usurpation of the rights of his brother of Canterbury, and threatened the king, except he restored the confiscated property of the see. Henry felt alarmed; and an interview was arranged at Chinon between the archbishop and the two monarchs. Henry promised satisfaction, and displayed the utmost courtesy to Thomas, going so far as to offer to hold his stirrup at leave-taking †. However, before they parted, bitter words passed between them, each upbraiding the other with benefits conferred; and, on parting, Thomas fixed his eyes with much meaning on the king, and said to him in a solemn manner, "I will believe I shall never see you more."—"Do you take me for a traitor, then?" was the king's quick reply. The archbishop bowed his head; and they separated ‡.

These last words of Henry's reassured no one. He refused Thomas the kiss of peace; and, instead of a mass of reconciliation, caused the mass for the dead to be said §. It was said, as it chanced, in a chapel dedicated to the martyrs; and one of the archbishop's chaplains remarking this, and observing, "Truly, I think the Church will only recover peace through martyrdom," Thomas said, "God grant that she be delivered, even at the cost of my blood ||."—The king of France, too, had given him the following warning, "For my own part, I would not for my weight in gold advise you to return to England, if he refuse you the kiss of peace;" to which count Thibaud of Champagne added—"And the kiss is not enough ¶."

Thomas had long foreseen his fate, and resigned himself to it. Being about to leave the abbey of Pontigny, says the contemporary historian, the abbot was astonished to see him shed tears at supper, and enquiring if there was any thing he was in want of, and offering whatever was in his power, "I want nothing," said the archbishop, "all is at an end with me. Last night the Lord deigned to reveal to his servant the fate that awaits him."—"What is there in common," said the abbot pleasantly, "between a sound living man and a martyr; between the cup of martyrdom and that you have just quaffed?" To which the archbishop replied, "It is true that I indulge in some degree the flesh **, but the Lord is good, and justifies the

unholy, and has deigned to reveal his mystery to the unworthy *."

After writing his thanks to the king of France, Thomas set out with his friends to Rouen, where they found neither the money nor escort which Henry had promised; but heard, on the contrary, that those in whose hands his property had been sequestered, had threatened to slay the archbishop if he set foot in England. Ranulf de Broc, who held the estates of the see for the king, had said, "Let him land; he shall not have time to eat a single loaf here †." The undaunted archbishop wrote to Henry that he knew his danger, but that he could no longer see the church of Canterbury, the mother of Christian Britain, perish on account of the hatred borne its archbishop. "Necessity brings me back, an unhappy pastor, to my unhappy church. I return thither by your permission; and there shall I perish, in order to save it, except your piety hasten to my relief. But, live or die, I shall ever be yours in the Lord. Whatever befall me or mine, may God bless you and your children ‡!"

Meanwhile, he had proceeded to the opposite coast of Boulogne. It was now the month of November, and the season unfavourable for crossing. He and his companions were detained for a few days at the port of Witsand, near Calais. Walking one day on the sea-shore, they saw a man running towards them, whom they supposed to be the master of the ship coming to give them notice to get ready to sail; but the man told them that he was a priest and dean of Boulogne cathedral, and that the count, his lord, had sent him to warn them not to embark, since he knew there to be troops of armed men on the look out on the English coast to seize or slay the archbishop. "My son," said Thomas to him, "though I were certain that I should be dismembered and cut in pieces on the opposite shore, I would not stay my foot. Seven years' absence are enough both for shepherd and flock §."—"I see England," he said another time, "and with God's help, I will go. Yet do I know of a verity that I shall meet my passion there ||." Christmas was drawing nigh, and he desired, at all hazards, to celebrate in his own church the nativity of our Saviour.

When he neared the shore, and the people discerned the archiepiscopal cross, which was always borne before the primate, they hastened in crowds

1601, Francofurti. p. 520), the austere and mortified life led by the saint. His table was splendidly served; yet he took only bread and water. He prayed during the night, yet in the morning awakened his attendants. In the night as well as day, he caused three or five strokes of the scourge to be given him, &c.

* Vita Quadrip. p. 86. Subridens abbas inquit . . . Quid esculento, temulento, et martyri! . . . Archiepiscopus inquit: Fateor, corporeis voluptatibus indulgeo; bonus tamen Dominus, qui justificat inpium, indigno dignatus est revelare mysterium.

† Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 460.

‡ Epist. S. Thom. p. 822. Sed sive vivimus, sive morimur, vestri sumus et erimus semper in Domino, et quidquid nobis contingat et nostris, benefaciat vobis Deus et liberis vestris.

§ Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 613, ap. Thierry, t. iii. p. 201.

|| Vita Quadrip. p. 111. Terram Angliæ video, et favente Domino terram intrabo, sciens tamen certissime, quod mihi imminet passio.

scio quo pacto pars Domini semper mactatur in Curiâ, ut Barabbas evadat et Christus occidatur. . . . Jam in finem sexti anni proscriptio nostra. . . . Utinam. via Romana non gratis peremisset tot miseros innocentes!

* Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 563. Ne ulterius dilaciones suas frustatorias prorogaret. See, also, Epist. S. Thom. p. 597.

† Gervas. Cant. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiv. 134. Vita Quadrip. p. 107. Epist. S. Thom. p. 804.

‡ Will. Stephanides, p. 71, ap. Thierry, t. iii. p. 200.

§ This mass was chosen because the kiss of peace is not given on reading the Gospel, as on other occasions. Vita Quadrip. p. 109.

|| Vita Quadrip. p. 102. Accessit ad eum unus de clericis suis, dicens. . . . Cui archiepiscopus sic respondit, Utinam vel meo sanguine liberetur!

* Epist. S. Thom. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 400.

** See, however, in Hoveden (ap. Scr. Angl. post Bedam,

to receive him and contend for the privilege of his blessing. Some prostrated themselves before him, with passionate cries, whilst others strewed their garments under his feet, and exclaimed, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord!" The priests went out to meet him, at the head of their parishioners; and all said that Christ was come to be crucified a second time, and that he was about to suffer for Kent, as at Jerusalem he had suffered for the world*. Their numbers intimidated the Normans, who had hastened with loud menaces, and drawn swords†. The archbishop reached Canterbury amidst the singing of hymns and ringing of bells, and, ascending the pulpit, preached upon the text, "I am come to die in the midst of you‡." He had already written to the pope, asking him to offer up on his behalf the prayers for the dying§.

At this time the king was in Normandy, and he was both surprised and alarmed when the news reached him that the primate had dared to enter England. He was told how Thomas marched surrounded by crowds of the poor, of serfs, and of armed men; how this king of the poor had resumed possession of his throne of Canterbury; how he had pushed on as far as London, and how he brought bulls from the pope to lay the kingdom once more under interdict. Such, in fact, was the double dealing of Alexander III., that he had sent absolution to Henry, and to the archbishop his permission to excommunicate him. The king, beside himself with passion, exclaimed, "What, shall one who has eaten my bread, a wretch who came to my court on a lame horse, trample the monarchy under his foot! See him triumphing, and sitting on my throne! And not one of the cowards whom I feed has the heart to rid me of this priest!!" It was the second time that these homicidal words had passed his lips; but now they did not fall from him in vain. Four of his knights felt that they would be dishonoured did they not revenge the insult offered their lord: such was the strength of the feudal tie, and the virtue of the reciprocal oath by which lord and vassal bound themselves one to the other. They would not wait for the decision of the judges, whom the king had ordered to commence proceedings against him. They considered that their honour would be compromised, did he die by any other than their hands.

* Vita Quadrip. p. 112. In navi vexillo crucis, quod archiepiscopi Cantuarienses coram se semper habebant, erecto . . . videres turbam pauperum . . . alios se humi prosternantes, ejulantes, hos plorantes; illos præ gaudio, et omnes conclamantes: *Benedictus qui venit*, &c.—P. 113. Diceret Dominum secundo ad passionem appropriare . . . et venire iterum moriturum in Christo Domini pro Anglicana ecclesia Cantuarie, qui Hierosolymis pro totius mundi salute in se ipso semel mortuus est.—J. Sarisbur. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 614. "The people rejoiced over their recovered pastor, as if Christ himself had come down from heaven amongst men."

† Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 613.

‡ Roger de Hoveden, p. 521.

§ Vita Quadrip. p. 119. Unus homo, qui manducavit panem meum, levavit contra me calcaneum suum? Unus homo, qui manicoito jumento et claudio, primò prorupit in curiam, depulso regum stemmato, viditibus vobis fortiter comitibus, triumphans exultat in solio!—Omnes quos nutrit . . . maledixit, quod de sacerdote uno non vindicaret. . . . Ibid. et J. Sarisbur. Epist. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 519.

Setting out at different hours, and from different parts, they all reached Saltwood* at the same time. Ranulf de Broc brought a large body of soldiers with him. "And lo! the fifth day after Christmas, as the archbishop was in his room, about the hour of eleven, and was settling business with some clerks and monks, the four knights entered. On being saluted by those who sat near the door, they return their salute, but in a low voice, and walk on up to the archbishop, when they seat themselves on the ground at his feet, without saluting him either in their own name or that of the king. They held their peace; and the Lord's Christ held his peace as well†."

At last Renaud-fils-d'Ours, (Reginald Fitzurse, *Beau's son*.) took up the word:—"We bear thee, from beyond sea, orders from the king. Wilt thou hear them in public or in private?" The saint dismissed his attendants; but the door-keeper left the door open, so that all which passed could be seen from without. When Reginald had delivered his message, and the archbishop saw that he had nothing pacific to expect, he called in his attendants, and said, "Lords, you may speak before these‡."

The Normans then pretended that king Henry had sent him orders to swear allegiance to the young king; and they accused him of having been guilty of high treason. They would have wished to catch him tripping, and to take advantage of his words; but they stumbled every moment, and exposed themselves. They charged him, moreover, with seeking to make himself king of England; and then, catching hastily at a word of the archbishop's, they cried out, "How, do you accuse the king of perfidy? Do you threaten us, do you wish again to excommunicate us all?" And one of them added, "So God help me, he shall never do it; too many have been anathematized by him already." They then got up like madmen, tossing their arms, and twisting their gaultlets§. Then, addressing the bystanders, they said to them, "In the king's name we bid you be answerable for that man, to produce him whenever and wheresoever demanded."—"What!" exclaimed the archbishop, "think you that I seek to escape? I will fly neither for the king, nor any living man."—"Thou sayest sooth," said one of the Normans; "God to aid, thou wilt not escape||." The archbishop called Hugh de Morville, the noblest of them, and who appeared the most reasonable, to come back; but ineffectually¶. They would not listen to

* Vita Quadrip. p. 120.

† Ibid. p. 121. . . . Salutati, ut moris erat, a nonnullis in introitu considentibus, resalutatis eis, sed voce submissa . . . et conculcatis ante pedes ejus in terra . . . per moram aliquantulam compresserunt silentio, innocentissimo Christo Domini nihilominus tacente.

‡ Ibid. p. 122.

§ Ibid. p. 126. . . . "Minae, Minae. Etiam si totam terram interdicto subijcatis, et nos omnes excommunicabitis." . . . Illis igitur exilientibus, et iræ et convicia frena laxantibus, chirotecas contorquentibus, brachia furiose jactantibus, et tam gestibus corporum quam vehementia clamorum manifesta insanæ indicia dantibus, archiepiscopus etiam surrexit.

|| Ibid. . . . "Quid est hoc? Numquid me fuga labi velle putatis?" . . . Satellites inquirunt, "Vere, vere, volente Deo, non effugies."

¶ Ibid. . . . Secutus est eos usque ad ostium thalami,

him, and went out tumultuously, and with loud threats.

The gate was immediately closed behind them; when Fitzurse armed himself before the outer court, and taking an axe from a carpenter who was working there, began to beat at the gate. Those within, hearing the blows of the axe, besought the primate to take refuge in the church, with which his apartment communicated by means of a cloister or a gallery. He refused, and they were about to force him thither, when one of them made the remark, that the hour of vespers had struck. "Since it is the hour of my duty, I will to the church," said the archbishop; and, ordering his cross to be borne before him, he traversed the cloister with slow steps, and then proceeded towards the high altar, which was separated from the nave by a half-open grating.

When he entered the church, he found the priests all in commotion, locking and bolting the doors. "By your vow of obedience," he exclaimed, "we charge you not to close the doors. A church must not be turned into a donjon-keep." He then bade enter those of his train who had remained without.

Scarcely had he put foot on the steps of the altar, than Reginald Fitzurse presented himself at the other end of the church, clad in his coat of mail, with his large two-edged sword in his hand, and crying out, "Here, here, loyal servants of the king!" The other conspirators followed at his back, armed like him from head to foot, and brandishing their swords. The primate's attendants were about to shut the grating of the choir, when he forbade them, and even left the altar to enforce his orders. They then earnestly implored him to conceal himself among the crypts, or to escape up the staircase which led, by many windings, to the roof of the building; but he positively refused to do either. Meanwhile, the armed men advanced. A voice exclaimed, "Where is the traitor?" No answer was returned. "Where is the archbishop?" Becket replied, "Here I am, but there is no traitor here. What are you come for into the house of God, so attired? What is your purpose?"—"Your death."—"I am prepared; you will not see me shun your swords; but I command you in the name of Almighty God not to touch one of my people, priest or layman, great or little." As he said this, he received a blow with the flat of a sword between his shoulders, and he who struck it said, "Fly, or thou art a dead man." He did not stir. They then endeavoured to force him out of the church, from scruples to kill him there; but he resisted them, energetically declaring that he would not move, and would force them to execute their intentions or their orders on the spot*.—Turning to another† whom he saw coming up with bared sword, he said to him, "What is this, Reginald! I have loaded you with favours, and you come to me armed, and in the church!" The murderer answered, "Thou art a dead man."—He

then raised his sword, and, with the same backstroke cut off the hand of a Saxon monk called Edward Grim, and wounded Becket on the crown. A second blow, struck by another Norman, dashed him on his face on the ground, and was given with such force as to shiver the sword on the flags. A man at arms, named William Maltravers, kicked the senseless body, and exclaimed, "Thus die the traitor who has disturbed the kingdom, and made the English to rebel."

They went away, saying, "He sought to be king, and more than king; well, let him be king now *!" But, despite their bravadoes, they did not feel assured; and one of them returning to the church, to see if he were really dead, again plunged his sword into his head, so as to make his brains spirt out†. He could not kill him dead enough for his liking.

In fact, man is tenacious of life, and is not easily destroyed. To free him from the body, and deliver him from the burden of this earthly existence, is to purify, adorn, and perfect him. No ornament becomes him better than death. Before his murderers had struck the blow, Thomas's partisans had cooled, and relaxed in their zeal; the people doubted, Rome hesitated. No sooner had he been touched by the sword, inaugurated with his own blood, and crowned by his martyrdom, than he was suddenly raised from Canterbury to the skies. As his murderers had said, unknowingly repeating the very mockery of the Passion, "He was king." The whole world,—people, kings, and pope,—were of one mind with respect to him. Rome, by whom he had been deserted, proclaimed him saint and martyr; and the Normans who had slain him, received at Westminster with hypocritical compunction and scalding tears the bulls which canonized him.

In the very hour of the murder, when the assassins plundered the archbishop's house, and found among his garments the rude sackcloth with which he mortified his flesh, they were struck with terror, and whispered to themselves, like the centurion of the Gospel, "Verily, this was a just man‡." In telling his death, all agreed that never had the Passion of our Saviour been more completely renewed in any martyrdom. If there was any difference, it was in favour of Becket. "Christ," says a contemporary, "was put to death out of the city, in a profane spot, and on a day which the Jews did not hold sacred: Thomas perished in the church, in Christmas week, and on Innocent's Day§." (Dec. 29.)

King Henry felt the danger of his position; for the whole world considered him the murderer. The king of France and the count of Champagne solemnly accused him of the act to the pope; and the archbishop of Sens, primate of Gaul, fulminated sentence of excommunication against him. Even those who owed him most, kept aloof from him in horror. By dint of hypocrisy, he appeased the public clamour. His Norman bishops wrote to Rome, that he had neither eat nor drank for three

Hugonem de More Villa, qui ceteris, sicut nobilitate generis, ita et virtute rationis debet præminere, ut secum reversus loqueretur, inclamans.

* Thierry, t. iii. p. 213.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 130.—Nearly the whole of this account is borrowed word for word from M. Thierry, t. iii. p. 211—214.

* Ibid. p. 133. . . . "Modo sit rex, modo sit rex." Et in hoc similes illis qui Domino in cruce pendenti insultabant.

† Ibid. . . . Ille quippe ethnicus latus Domini aperuit, iste vero Christianus Christi Domini capite gladium infixit.

‡ Ibid. p. 137.

§ Ibid. p. 135.

days:—"Whilst mourning the loss of the prime," they said, "we thought that we should have the king's death to mourn likewise.*" The court of Rome, which had at first affected indomitable indignation, suffered itself to be softened. The king swore that he had no share in Becket's death, offered the papal legates to submit himself to flagellation, laid at the pope's feet his recent conquest of Ireland, imposed the tax of Peter's penny upon each house in that country, renounced the constitutions of Clarendon, covenanted to pay towards the crusade, to serve himself if the pope required it †, and declared England a fief of the Holy See ‡.

It was not enough to have appeased Rome: this would have been to have escaped too easily. No long time elapsed before his eldest son, the young king Henry, claims his share of the kingdom, and proclaims his intention of avenging the death of his instructor, the holy martyr, Thomas of Canterbury. The grounds put forward by the young prince for claiming the throne, appeared of weight at the time, however trivial they may seem now. In the first place the king himself, when waiting upon him at table on the day of his coronation, had imprudently said that he abdicated. In the middle age, every word was taken seriously; and Henry's slip of the tongue was enough to make most of his subjects doubt between the two kings. The letter is all-powerful in barbarous times, in which the principle of all jurisprudence is, *Qui virgulâ cadit, causâ cadit* (a comma's loss, is the cause's loss).

Again, Henry had rendered only imperfect satisfaction for the death of the saint. To some, he still appeared sullied with the blood of a martyr. Others, remembering that he had offered to submit himself to the scourge, and seeing him pay yearly an expiatory tribute towards the crusade, believed him still to be doing penance. Such a state seemed irreconcilable with royalty. Louis the Débonnaire had been lessened and degraded by it in his subjects' eyes for ever.

Henry's sons had another specious excuse. They were encouraged and supported by the king of France, their father's lord suzerain; and the feudal tie was then held to be stronger than that of nature. We have seen that Henry thought it right to sacrifice his own children to his vassal; and, in like manner, the sons of Henry II. contended that they ought to sacrifice their father himself to their lord paramount. In reality, Henry himself seemed to consider the feudal the most powerful of bonds, since he did not think himself sure of his sons until he had forced them to do him homage.

All his family, in the course of a journey that he

took into the south, first his sons, and then Eleanor, his queen, withdrew from him, one by one. The young Henry had escaped to his father-in-law, the king of France, and when Henry's ambassadors claimed him in the name of the king of England, they found him, on their reception, sitting, attired as king, by the side of Louis, "In the name of what king of England do you speak to me?" asked the latter—"here is the king of England; but if it is to his father, the *ci-derant* king of England, that you give the title, know that he died on the day his son bore the crown, and, if he still pretend to be king, after having before the world resigned the kingdom into his son's hands, that is a matter which shall speedily be remedied*."

Henry's two other sons, Richard of Poitiers, and Geoffrey, count of Brittany, had joined their elder brother, and done homage to the French king. The danger was imminent. Henry, it is true, had provided, with singular activity, for the defence of his continental possessions. But, understanding that the young Henry was about crossing into England with an army furnished by the count of Flanders, to whom he had promised the earldom of Kent, and that the king of Scotland threatened an invasion, he began raising mercenary troops—Brabant and Welsh routiers. He purchased the favour of Rome at a reckless rate, and declared himself its vassal, as well for England as for Ireland, adding this remarkable clause: "We and our successors will hold ourselves for true kings of England, only as long as our lords, the popes, shall hold us for Catholic kings †." In another letter he implores Alexander III. to defend his kingdom, as a fief of the Roman Church ‡.

He did not yet think that he had done enough. He repaired to Canterbury. The moment that he descried at a distance the towers of Christchurch, he dismounted from his horse, put on the woollen garb of a penitent, and walked barefoot towards the city through the muddy and flinty road §. When he reached the tomb, he threw himself on his knees, weeping and sobbing. "Twas a sight to draw tears from all who looked on ||." He then divested himself of his dress, and all—bishops, abbots, and simple monks—were summoned to inflict, each in turn, some stripes on the monarch's shoulders. "It resembled," says the chronicler, "the scourging of Christ: the difference is, that the one was scourged for our sins, the other for his own ¶."—"All day and all night he remained, in prayer by the holy martyr's tomb, without taking food or going out for any natural want. He remained as he came, and would not even allow a carpet to be put under his knees. After matins, he made the round of the altars and of the holy

* Ep. S. Thom. p. 857. *Tribus fere diebus conclusus in cubiculo, nec cibum capere, nec consolatores admittere sustinuit. . . . Qui sacerdotem lamentabamur primitus, de regis salute copius desuperare.* Vita Quadrip. p. 146.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 148. Ep. S. Thom. p. 873. . . . Quod inveniet ducentos milites per annum integrum sumptibus suis . . . in terra Hierosolymitana. . . . Quod prava statuta de Clarenduna, &c. . . . dimitteret. . . . Quod si necesse fuerit, ibit in Hispaniam, ad liberandam terram illam a paganis.

‡ Præterea ego et major filius meus rex, juramus quod a domino Alexandro papa et catholicis ejus successoribus recipiemus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ. Baron. Annal. xii. 637. . . . At the close of the same year, moreover, he wrote to the pope . . . "The kingdom of England is yours; and I am bound to you, and you only, as my feudal superior." Petr. Bles. Epist. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 650.

* Guill. N. brig. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 113. *Scitote quia ille rex mortuus est. . . . porro quod adhuc pro rege se regit. . . . mature emendabitur.*

† Baron. xii. 637. Muratori, iii. 463. *Nos et successores nostri in perpetuum non reputabimus nos Angliæ veros reges, donec ipsi nos catholicos reges teneantur.*

‡ Patrimonium B. Petri spirituali gladio teneatur. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 650.

§ Vita Quadrip. p. 150. *Per vicos et plateas civitatis luteas. . . . Robert de Monte, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 318. Per paludes et acuta saxa.*

|| Robert de Monte, *ibid.* *Ut videntes ad lachrymas cogeret.*

¶ *Id. ibid.* *Imitatus Redemptorem; sed ille fecit propter peccata nostra, iste propter propria.*

relies; then descended again into the crypt, to the tomb of St. Thomas. When day came, he asked to hear mass; then drank of water blessed by the martyr, filled a flask with it, and quitted Canterbury with a light heart *." (July 11, 12, A.D. 1174.)

He had cause, it appears, to be light-hearted, since he had won the day. The self-same day he learnt that the Scottish king was his prisoner. The count of Flanders durst not attempt his threatened invasion. All the favourers of the young king, in England, were forced in their castles. The results of the war in Aquitaine were more chequered. There, the young princes had the support of the king of France, and had in their favour the hatred of a foreign yoke. In the twelfth century, as in the ninth, the wars of sons against fathers only served to cloak the hostilities of different races which sought to free themselves from a union contrary to their interests and uncongenial to their habits. Guyenne and Poitou struggled to free themselves from their connexion with England, as France in the days of the Débonnaire, and of Charles the Bald, had broken up the unity of the Carolingian empire.

The mobility of the Southern, their capricious revolutions, their easy discouragement, offered an easy game to king Henry. Besides, they were unsupported by Toulouse, which is the only rallying point for a great war in Aquitaine. Prudence forbade them to renew attempts at enfranchisement, which turned to their ruin. But it was not so much patriotism as restlessness of mind and the vain pleasure of shining in war, which impelled the nobles of the South to arms: and this is inferrible from what we know of the most celebrated of them, the troubadour, Bertrand de Born. His enjoyment was to play some good trick on his lord, Henry II., to arm against him one of his sons, Henry, Geoffrey, or Richard—then, when the train had taken and all was on fire, to compose a fair *sirvente* in his castle of Hautefort, like the Roman who, from the top of his tower, sang the fire of Troy whilst Rome was in flames. Was there but a chance of peace, this restless devil would throw off some biting satire, which would make the monarchs blush at thoughts of inactivity, and plunge them again into war.

In this family, it was a succession of bloody wars, and treacherous treaties. Once, when king Henry had met his sons in a conference, their soldiers drew upon him †. This conduct was traditional in the two houses of Anjou and Normandy. More than once had the children of William the Conqueror, and of Henri VI., pointed their sword against their father's breast. Fulk had placed his foot on the neck of his vanquished son. The jealous Eleanor, with the passion and vindictiveness of her southern blood, encouraged her son's disobedience, and trained him to parricide. These youths, in whose veins mingled the blood of so many different races, Norman, Aquitanian, and Saxon, seemed to entertain, over and above the violence of the Fults of Anjou and the Williams of England, all the opposing hatreds and discords of these races. They never knew whether they were from the South or the North: they only knew that they hated one another, and their father worse than all. They could not trace back their

ancestry, without finding at each descent, or rape, or incest, or parricide. Their grandfather, the count of Poitou, had had Eleanor by a woman whom he had taken from her husband, and a holy man had said to them, "Nothing good will be born to you *." Henry the Second's own father had been Eleanor's lover †; and the sons she presented to Henry might have been his brothers. A saying of St. Bernard's was quoted of him ‡; "He comes from the devil, to the devil he will return;" and his son Richard had held just the same language §. They felt this diabolical origin to be a family title, and justified it by their deeds. When a priest, crucifix in hand, sought Geoffrey to reconcile him with his father, and prayed him not to be a second Absalom, "What," replied the youth, "would you have me renounce my right of birth?"—"God forbid," replied the priest, "I wish you to do nothing to your own injury."—"You understand not my words," said the count of Brittany; "It is our family fate not to love one another. 'Tis our inheritance; and not one of us will ever forego it ||."

The following was the popular tradition with regard to a former countess of Anjou, the ancestress of the Plantagenets. Her husband had noticed that she seldom went to mass, and ever left the church secretly. He bethought himself of having her seized at the moment of leaving by four squires; but leaving her cloak in their hands, as well as two of her children, who were on her right hand, she bore off the two others who were on her left, concealed by a fold of the cloak, flew through the window, and never reappeared ¶. 'Tis almost the history of the Melusina of Poitou and of Dauphiny. Obligated to become every Saturday half woman and half serpent, Melusina took care to keep herself concealed on that day. Her husband having one day surprised her, she disappeared. He was Geoffrey of the *Large Tooth*, (à la Grand Dent, of the tusk?) whose likeness was still to be seen at Lusignan, over the gate of the famous castle. Whenever any one of the family was about to die, Melusina appeared in the night on the towers, uttering foreboding laments.

The true Melusina, a mixture of contradictory natures, mother and daughter of a diabolical generation, is Eleanor of Guyenne. Her husband punished her for the rebellions of his sons, by keeping her prisoner in a strong castle—her who had brought him so large an addition to his dominions. It was this severity of character which brought on Henry II. the hatred of the men of the South. One of them, in a barbarous and poetic chronicle, expresses his hope that Eleanor will soon be delivered by her sons; and, according to the practice of the age, he applies to the whole family the prophecy of Merlin **—"All these mischiefs have hap-

* "Nusquam proles de vobis veniens fructum faciet felicem." J. Brompton, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 215.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Id. *ibid.* B. Bernardus abbas, rege Franciæ præsenté, sic prophetavit: "De Diabolo venit, et ad Diabolum ibit."

§ Id. *ibid.* Richardus . . . asserens non mirandum, si de tali genere procedentes mutuo sese infestent, tanquam de Diabolo revertentes et ad Diabolum transeuntes.

|| Id. *ibid.*

¶ J. Brompton, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 215. . . . Rejecto pallio per quod tenebatur . . . cum reliquis duobus filiis per fenestram ecclesiæ . . . evolavit.

** This prophecy was—"Aquila rapti fœderis tertia nidi-

* Lætambundus a Cantuaria recessit. Gervas. Cant. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xlii. 138.

† Roger de Hoveden, p. 536, ap. Thierry, t. iii. p. 312.

pened since the king of the North struck down the venerable Thomas of Canterbury. 'Tis queen Eleanor, who is styled by Merlin, 'The eagle of the broken alliance.' . . . Rejoice, then, Aquitaine ; rejoice, land of Poitou ! The sceptre of the king of the North is about to retire. Woe to him ! He has dared to lift the lance against his lord, the king of the South. . . .

"Tell me, double eagle*, tell me, where wast thou, when thy eaglets, flying from the paternal nest, dared to plume their singles against the king of the North . . . 'Twas for this that thou wast taken from thy native country, and brought into a strange land. Songs are changed into tears ; the harp gives place to mourning. Reared in royal freedom in the days of thy tender youth, thy companions sang, and thou didst dance to the sound of their guitar . . . At length, I conjure thee, double queen, restrain thy tears at least a little. Return, if thou canst, return to thy towns, poor prisoner.

"Where is thy court ! Where are thy young companions ? Where are thy counsellors ? Some, dragged far from their country, have met with an ignominious fate ; others have been deprived of sight ; others, banished, now wander in divers places. As for thee, thou criest, and no one listeneth to thee, for the king of the North holds thee shut up, like a besieged town. Cry out, then, cry out unweariably ; raise thy voice as a trumpet, that thy sons may hear thee, for the day is at hand when thy sons will deliver thee, and thou shalt revisit thy native land †."

It was king Henry's fate, in his latter years, to be the persecutor of his wife, and the curse of his sons. He plunged into sensual pleasures without restraint. Old as he was, grey-headed, and enormously pot-bellied, he varied his days with adultery and rape. His beautiful Rosamond, whose bastards were ever about him, did not content his brutal passions. He violated his cousin, Alice ‡—heirress of Brittany—who had been placed in his hands as a hostage ; and, having obtained as his son's future wife one of the king of France's daughters, who was not yet marriageable, he polluted her, child as she was §.

However, fortune did not tire of punishing him ; He had fixed his heart on pleasure, sensuality, and the natural affections ; and was punished as lover and as father. The tradition runs, that Eleanor found her way into the labyrinth in which the aged king had thought Rosamond safe ||, and killed her

scelatione gaudet" (the eagle of the broken alliance, shall rejoice in the third nest-building, or generation). Raoul de Diceto and Matthew Paris (A. D. 1189) apply it to Eleanor.—John of Salisbury says (ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 534), "Instat tempus, ut aiunt, quo *Aquila rupti fœderis*, juxta Merlini vaticinium, frenum deauratura est quod *apud* ejus datur aut modo fabricatur in sinu Armorico" (the time draws nigh, as they say, when the eagle of the broken alliance, according to Merlin's prophecy, is about to gild the bit which is given to her wild boar, or which is making for him in Brittany). The wild boar, he takes to mean Henry II.

* *Aquila bispertita*—the name he gave to Eleanor.

† Richardus Pictaviensis, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xii. 420, 421. In the few last lines, I follow M. Thierry's translation.

‡ J. Sarisbur. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvi. 591. Impregnavit, ut proditor, ut adulter, ut incestus.

§ Bromton, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 214. Quam post mortem Rosamundæ defloravit.

|| Id. ibid. Huic puellæ fecerat rex apud Wodestoke

with her own hand. His unworthy conduct towards the princesses of Brittany and France, excited unextinguishable hates. His fatherly love was fixed, most of all, on his sons Henry and Geoffrey—both died. Henry, his eldest, had wished to see his father before his death, and implore his pardon ; but treachery was so common an occurrence among these princes, that the aged monarch delayed to go—and he soon learnt that it was too late*.

Two sons were left him ; the ferocious Richard, the cowardly and perfidious John. Richard thought that his father lived too long : he coveted the crown. As his aged parent refused to lay it down, Richard renounced his homage to his face, and declared himself the vassal of the new king of France, Philip-Augustus. Out of hatred to the English monarch, the latter affected to live on the most brotherly terms with his revolted son : they ate off the same dish, and shared the same bed. Hostilities between the father and son were for a time suspended by the preaching of the crusade ; when Henry found himself at once attacked on every side—on the north of Anjou by the king of France, on the west by the Bretons, and on the south by the Poitevins. Notwithstanding the interference of the Church on his behalf, he was obliged to accept peace on Philip and Richard's own terms, to acknowledge himself unreservedly the vassal of the king of France, and submit to his mercy. He would at once have declared John, the youngest of his sons, and, as he thought, the most attached to him—heir to all his continental dominions ; but when the French ambassadors were ushered into his presence, sick and bed-ridden as he was, and he inquired the names of Richard's supporters, (amnesty for whom was a condition of the treaty,) the first name on the list was that of his beloved John. "On hearing his name, he was seized with a sort of convulsive movement, sat up in bed, and gazing around with searching and haggard look, he exclaimed, 'Can it be true that John,

mirabilis architecturæ cameram, operi Dedalino similem, ne forsân a regina facile deprehenderetur.

* Shortly after his son's death, he took Bertrand de Born prisoner. "Before he pronounced the conqueror's doom on the conquered, Henry sought to taste for a moment the pleasure of revenge, in mocking a man who had awakened fear in his bosom, and had boasted that he did not fear him. 'Bertrand,' he said, 'you pretend that you never stand in need of half your wit, but I take it the time has come you will want all of it.'—'My lord,' replied the man of the South, with the habitual confidence inspired by his consciousness of the superiority of his mind, 'it is true that I have said so, and in so saying I have only spoken the truth.'—'And I,' said the king, 'think that you have lost your wit.'—'Yes, my lord,' replied Bertrand seriously, 'I lost them the day that the valiant young king, your son, died : on that day, I lost wits, intellect, and consciousness.'—At the name of his son, the mention of which came quite unexpectedly upon him, the king of England burst into tears, and fainted. When he came to himself, he was another man ; his plans of vengeance were forgotten, and he only saw in his prisoner the old friend of the son whose loss he mourned. Instead of bitter reproaches, and of the decree of death or of confiscation which Bertrand apprehended, 'Sire Bertrand, Sire Bertrand,' said the king, 'well may you have lost your wits about my son, for he loved you better than aught else living, and, for his sake, I give you your life, your lands, your castle. I offer you my friendship, my favour, and grant you five hundred marks of silver as compensation for the harm you have sustained'" Thierry, t. iii. p. 356.

my heart, the son of my choice, him whom I have doted on more than all the rest, and my love for whom has brought on me all my woes, has fallen away from me?"—They replied that it was even so; that nothing could be more true. "Well, then," he said, falling back on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, "henceforward let all go on as it may; I no longer care for myself nor for the world*."

The fall of Henry II. was a great blow to the power of England. She recovered, though not wholly, under Richard; but only to sink the lower under John. The papal see took advantage of the reverses of her monarchs, to compel two distinct recognitions of its sovereignty—for John, as well as Henry, avowed himself unreservedly the vassal and the tributary of the pope.

Though the temporal power of the holy see increased, can the same be predicated of its spiritual? Did it not experience some falling off in the popular respect? A high idea of the ability of the popes must assuredly have been inspired by that wily and patient diplomacy of theirs, which could at will amuse, adjourn, clutch its opportunity, and with a "hey, presto," conjure away a kingdom—but all this told ill for their sanctity. Alexander III. had defended Italy against Germany, and had with great skill defended himself against the emperor and the antipope; but, during this time, who had fought for the liberties of the Church? Who had suffered and spoken for the cause of Christianity?—A priest! at times deserted, at times betrayed by the pope. In exchange for the blood of a martyr, the pope had accepted the homage of a king; and, now, this martyr has become the great saint of the West: nay, Rome had been obliged to do him homage, and to proclaim him saint, herself. In Gregory the Seventh's time, sanctity had resided in the pope; and the religious sentiment of the people had found its echo in the hierarchy. Subsequently, mankind, emancipated as regards the external world by the crusade—of which the popes were not the leaders—and by the first movement of the communes—at which the popes had struck in the person of Arnold of Brescia—had been aroused in its innermost soul, by the voice of Abelard; and, to carry on its religious emancipation, Thomas of Canterbury had just taught it to seek elsewhere than at Rome for sacerdotal heroism and zeal for the liberties of the Church.

In reality the death of St. Thomas and the abasement of Henry did not advantage the pope, but the king of France. It was he who had given an asylum to the persecuted saint, and his desertion of him had only been momentary. Thomas, when he quitted France to meet martyrdom, had sent him a farewell message in which he had declared him to be his sole protector. The French king had been the first to denounce at Rome the archbishop's murder, and in consequence of it, had immediately attacked the king of England; and though this line of conduct was to his interest, yet the people looked up to him for it. The pope himself, when expelled by the emperor from Italy, had chosen France for his place of refuge; and thus, though he had more than once interposed to protect England when threatened by France, yet it was with the latter

country that he maintained the most intimate and most uninterrupted relations. In fact, the only prince on whom the Church could rely was the king of France, the enemy alike of the Englishman and of the German. "Thy kingdom," wrote Innocent III. to Philip-Augustus, "is so blended with the Church, that the one cannot suffer without the other's suffering also." Even when the Church chastised the king, she preserved a maternal affection for him. When Philippe I. and the whole kingdom were lying under interdict on account of that monarch's abduction of Bertrade, all the bishops of the North sided with him, and pope Pascal II. himself did not scruple to visit him*.

On all occasions, great or small, the bishops armed their feudatories for his service. Even within the states of the duke of Burgundy, Louis VII. was supported by the militia of nine dioceses on the alarm of invasion by Frederick Barbarossa†. In like manner they had risen in aid of Louis VI. on the approach of the emperor Henry V.‡, and in like manner they ranged themselves under Philip-Augustus at Bouvines. How could the clergy have done otherwise than defend kings brought up by themselves, and receiving from them a strictly clerical education? Philippe I., who was crowned when but seven years old, was able to read the oath to which he was to subscribe§. Louis VI. was brought up in the abbey of St. Denys, and Louis VII. in the cloisters of Notre-Dame||. Three of the latter's brothers were monks. No one regarded with more respect and terror the Church's privileges than himself¶. He revered the priests, and gave the precedence to the lowliest son of the Church. The protector of Thomas of Canterbury, he risked a dangerous voyage to England to visit the saint's tomb**—yet was not the king of France himself a saint? Philippe I., Louis le Gros, and Louis VII., touched for the king's evil, and could not answer the demands on their time made by the confiding people on this account. The king of England would not have dreamt of claiming the gift of working miracles††.

Thus did this good king of France was great, both God-ward and world-ward. The vassal of

* See above, p. 177.

† Radevic. Frising. ad ann. 1157.

‡ Suger, Vita Lud. Grossi, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 51.

§ Coronatio Phil. I., ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 32. Ipse legit, dum adhuc septennis esset. The oath began, "I will defend, as a king in his kingdom ought, every bishop and the church entrusted to him, &c.

|| Suger, Vita Lud. Grossi, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 14.—Frag. de Lud. vii. libid. 90.

¶ On his return from a journey (A.D. 1154), he is surprised by night-fall at Creteil. Stopping there, he quarters himself on the inhabitants, who were serfs of the church of Paris. As soon as the canons hear of it, they discontinue divine service until the monarch indemnifies their born serfs, for the charges to which he has put them. Louis, says Stephen of Paris, gave the indemnification sought; and the deed to this effect was engraved on a staff (*verge*), which the church of Paris long preserved in token of its liberties. Art de Vérifier les Dates, v. 522.

** Chronic. Normannie, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 789. Transfretavit in Angliam, peregrins ad S. Thomam Cantuariensem.—Roger de Hoveden observes, that it was the first time a king of France had been seen in England.

†† Guibert, Novig. l. i. c. i. The kings of England did not arrogate this gift, until they had assumed the title and arms of kings of France. Art de Vérifier les Dates, v. 519.

St. Denis, as soon as he has acquired the Vexin, he hoisted the banner of the abbey, the oriflamme, in his van*. He charged his arms with the mystic *fleur-de-lis*—the emblem, in the ideas of the middle age, of the purity of his faith. As protector of churches, he claimed their revenues when a see was vacant, and, under pretext of making a crusade, attempted to raise some contributions from the clergy†.

Philip-Augustus did not degenerate from his sire. Saving his two divorces and the invasion of England, no monarch was more after the priests' own hearts. Notwithstanding the acquisitions made by the crown of France, he was a cautious prince, rather pacific than warlike. The *Philippide* of Guillaume-le-Breton, a classical imitation of the *Æneid* by one of this king's chaplains, has given rise to misconceptions of his real character; and writers of romance have done their best to exalt him into a hero of chivalry. But, in fact, the great successes of his reign, and even the victory of Bouvines itself, were the fruits of his policy, and of his protection of the Church.

He was surnamed *Augustus* from his being born in the month of August. Our earliest glimpse of him shows him at fourteen years of age fallen sick through fright at having lost his way and passed a whole night in a forest‡. The first act of his reign was eminently popular, and agreeable to the Church—being the expulsion and spoliation of the Jews, in compliance with the advice of a hermit, of great repute at the time, who resided near Paris§. According to the notions of the age, this act was a profession of piety, and full of encouragement to Christians. The Jews' debtors, confined in prison, did not fail to applaud it||.

Blasphemers and heretics were delivered without pity to the Church, and religiously burnt¶. Philip hunted down the mercenary soldiers who had been scattered over the South by the English kings, and had taken to plunder on their own account, encouraging the popular association formed against them of the *Capuchons***.

* See the diploma of Louis the Fat, in the twelfth volume of the *Scr. R. Fr.*, and the note of the editors thereon.

† *Fragm. Histor. ap. Scr. R. Fr.* xii. 95.

‡ *Chronica Reg. Franc. ibid.* 214. . . . Remansit in silva sine societate Philippus; unde stupefactus concepit timorem, et tandem per carbonarium fuit reductus compendium; et ex hoc timore sibi contigit infirmitas, quæ distulit coronationem.

§ *Ibid.* . . . "He had them all spoiled in one day . . . those who refused baptism secreted themselves." They paid 15,000 marks, by way of ransom. *Rad. de Diceto, ap. Scr. R. Fr.* xiii. 204.—*Rigordus, Vita Phil. Aug. ap. Scr. R. Fr.* xvii. Philip annulled all debts due to the Jews, with the exception of a fifteenth which he claimed for himself. See, also, the *Chronicle of Mailros, ap. Scr. R. Fr.* xix. 250.

|| Shakespeare's Shylock is no vain portraiture of the hard character of the Jews, and of the hatred borne them.

¶ *Guillelmi Britonis Philippidos, l. i.* "He would not permit any one to live, throughout his kingdom, who contravened the laws of the Church, who disagreed with but one single point of the Catholic faith, or who denied the sacraments."

** The members of this association were bound by no vow: they only passed their word to labour in common for the preservation of the public peace. All wore a cowl of cloth, and suspended a small image of the Virgin from their neck. In 1183, they surrounded seven thousand *roulers* or *colereaux*, among whom were fifteen hundred women of

efforts against such of the barons as oppressed the Church; and attacked his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, in order to compel him to treat the prelates of that province with more respect, and he defended the church of Reims against similar oppression. He wrote to the count of Toulouse, requiring him to respect God's holy churches; and, in short, his victory at Bouvines was thought to be the salvation of the clergy of France—since a report had been spread that Otho the Fourth's barons sought to spoil the Church and divide its possessions among them, as did his allies, king John and the heretics of Languedoc.

CHAPTER VII.

1200. INNOCENT III. — TRIUMPHS OF THE POPE, THROUGH THE ARMS OF THE NORTHERN FRENCH, OVER THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, OVER THE GREEK EMPIRE, AND OVER THE ALBIGEOIS.—GREATNESS OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE world wore a sombre aspect at the close of the twelfth century. The ancient order of things was in peril: the new had not begun. It was no longer the material struggle between the pope and emperor, each alternately expelling the other from Rome, as in the time of Henry IV. and Gregory VII.: in the eleventh century, the evil was on the surface; in the year 1200, it lay at the heart. Christianity laboured under a deep and dreadful ill. How would it have rejoiced to return to the quarrel on the right of investiture, and to have to fight only for the straight staff, or the crook! In the time of Gregory VII., the Church was identified with the progress of freedom; and, up to the days of Alexander III., the head of the Lombard league, she had pursued the same career. But Alexander had shrunk from supporting Thomas Becket. He had defended the liberties of Italy, and betrayed those of England. Thus was the Church about to isolate herself from the great movement of the world. Instead of guiding it, and leading it the way, as she had hitherto done, she strove to stay this movement, to arrest the flight of time, to stop the earth which turned under her and bore her along with it—to strike movement motionless. Success seemed to crown Innocent III.; but Boniface VIII. perished in the endeavor.

Solemn moment, and infinitely sad. The hopes raised by the crusade had failed the world. Authority no longer seemed above attack: she had promised, and had deceived. Liberty began to

loose life. "The *coteriau*," says the *Chronicle of St. Denis* (*ap. Scr. R. Fr.* xvii. 354), "burnt the monasteries and churches, and dragged after them the priests and religious men, calling them, mockingly, *cantadors* (chanters), and when they beat and tormented them they would say, *cantadors, cantels* (chanters, chant). See, also, *Rigordus, ibid.* 11, 12.—Their women made coifs out of the communion cloths, and dashed the communion cups to pieces with stones. *Guill. de Nang. ad ann. 1183.*—See, also, *D. Vaissette, Hist. Génér. du Languedoc, t. iii. ann. 1183.*

dawn, but under twenty fantastic and repulsive aspects—confused, convulsive, multifarious, and deformed. Human will brought forth daily, and started back shocked at her progeny. It was as in the days of the great week of the creation—those days of ages: nature in her throes produced strange, gigantic, ephemeral, monstrous abortions, whose remains breathe horror.

One ray of light pierced through this mysterious chaos of the twelfth century, (the work of the uneasy and trembling Church,) a belief, of soaring audacity, in the moral power and grandeur of man. The bold doctrine of the Pelagians—*Christ received no more than I, I can make myself God through virtue*—was revived in the twelfth century, in barbaric and mystic guise. Man asserts that the end is come, that himself is that end. He believes in himself, and feels himself divine. Messiahs arise on every side. And it is not in Christendom alone, but even within the range of Mohammedanism, the enemy of the incarnation, that man esteems himself divine and worships himself. The Fatimites of Egypt had already set the example. The chief of the Assassins also declares that he is the imam who has been so long expected—the incarnate spirit of Ali; and the melodi of the Almohades of Africa and of Spain is recognized as divine by his followers. In Europe, a messiah appears in Antwerp, and is followed by the entire populace*. Another, starting up in Brittany, seems to have revived the ancient Irish gnosticism†. Amaury de Chartres, and his disciple, David of Dinan, a Breton, teach that every Christian is essentially a member of Christ‡; or, in other words, that God is perpetually incarnate in the human race. The Son has reigned long enough, they say; the reign of the Holy Ghost is come. In some degree, this

* He preached the inefficacy of the sacraments, of the mass, and of a priestly order, together with community of women, &c. He went from place to place attired in garments richly embroidered with gold, his long hair confined by filets, and followed by three thousand disciples whom he feasted sumptuously. Buleus, Historia Universit. Parisiensis, li. 98.—“He spread his errors by the mouth of matrons and poor women . . . he declaimed, attended like a king, by guards bearing sword and banner.” Epistol. Trajectens. Eccles. ap. Gieseler, ii. Second Part, p. 479.

† He was called Eon de l'Etoile. The name Eon (æon) suggests the idea of gnosticism.—He was a gentleman of Loudéac, and when a hermit in the forest of Broceliande, was exhorted by Merlin to pay attention to the first words from the gospel which he should hear at mass. He conceived that he was marked out by the words, “Per Eum qui venturus est judicare,” etc. (by Him, who is about to come, to judge, &c.) and thenceforward proclaimed himself the Son of God. He got together a number of disciples whom he called *Wisdom, Judgment, Science*, &c.—“Eudo, by birth a Briton, surnamed of the Star, illiterate and an idiot . . . in French, called Eon . . . powerful by the snares of the devil to allure the minds of the simple . . . a great troubler of churches and monasteries” Guill. Neubrig. l. i. See, also, Otho of Freysingen, c. 54, 55; Robert du Mont; Guilbert de Nogent; Budenz, li. 241; D. Morice, p. 100; Roujoux, Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne, t. ii.

‡ Rigord. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvii. 375. . . . Quod quilibet Christianus teneatur credere se esse membrum Christi.—Concil. Paris. ibid. Omnia unum, quia quidquid est, est Deus, Deus visibilibus indutus instrumentis.—Filius incarnatus, i. e. visibilis formæ subjectus.—Filius usque nunc operatus est, sed Spiritus Sanctus ex hoc nunc usque ad mundi consummationem inchoat operari.

is Lessing's notion with regard to the education of man.

The audacity of these teachers, who are mostly professors in the university of Paris (chartered by Philip-Augustus in the year 1200), exceeds all bounds. Abelard was thought to be for ever crushed; but he lives again, and speaks in the person of his disciple, Peter the Lombard, who, from his chair at Paris, exercises despotic sway over the whole philosophy of Europe: his works had nearly five hundred commentators. This spirit of innovation accepts of two auxiliaries. Jurisprudence grows up by the side of theology, which it disturbs; and the popes, by forbidding priests to profess it, open and confine the chairs of law to laymen. From Constantinople come the metaphysics of Aristotle, whilst his commentators, brought from Spain, are about to be translated from the Arabic by order of the kings of Castile, and of the Italian princes of the house of Suabia (Frederick II. and Manfred). This is neither more nor less than the invasion of Christian philosophy by Greece and the East. Aristotle ranks almost equally with Jesus Christ*. At first prohibited, and then tolerated by the popes, he reigns openly and aloud in every professorial chair; his power, however, being secretly divided with Arab and with Jew, with the pantheism of Averroës and the subtleties of the Cabala. Logic claims possession of all subjects, and opens up every bold speculation. Simon of Tournai teaches how to prove black or white, at will. One day that he had delighted and transported the school of Paris by his felicitous arguments in proofs of the truth of Christianity, he suddenly exclaimed, “Oh, little Jesus, little Jesus, how I have exalted thy law! If I chose, I could still more easily humble it to the dust†.”

Such were the pride and intoxication of the Lion in its first awaking. It attacks the *Not-I* under three forms, by philosophy, republicanism, and the spirit of industry. It breaks authority to pieces, and subdues nature. The school of Paris springs up between the young commons of Flanders and the old municipalities of the South—’tis logic between industry and commerce.

However, an immense religious movement fired the popular mind, bursting forth in two points at one and the same moment—the rationalism of the Vaudois in the Alps, and German mysticism on the Rhine and in the Low Countries.

And, in truth, the Rhine is a sacred stream, the seat of legend and of marvel. I do not allude only to its heroic course between Mentz and Cologne, where it bursts its way through basalt and granite. Southward and northward of this, its feudal career, as it approaches the holy cities, Cologne, Mentz, and Strasbourg, it puts on milder features, becomes less stately and more popular, its banks trend off gently into lovely plains, and it steals in silent current beneath the veering bark, and the sweeping

* Averroës, ap. Gieseler, Second Part, p. 378. “Aristotle is the type, formed by nature to show the perfection to which man may come.”—Cornelius Agrippa said in the fourteenth century.—“Aristotle was the forerunner of Christ in natural things, as John the Baptist was . . . in things of grace.” Ibid.

† Matth. Paris. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvii. 681. God punished him: he became so idiotical that his son could scarcely bring him to remember his Paternoster.

net of the fisher. But all that belongs to it is poetry; though a poetry not easy to define. 'Tis now the vague impression of vastness, calm, and sweetness; now, a mother's voice recalling one's elemental nature, and, like the spirit of the ballad, making one thirst to plunge to the bottom of the cooling lymph; now, perchance, the poetic attraction of the Virgin, whose churches deck the whole course of the Rhine as far as her own city of Cologne—the city of the eleven thousand virgins. Her marvellous cathedral, with its sparkling rose-windows, and aerial balustrades, whose steps soar to the sky—the Virgin's own church did not exist in the twelfth century: but the Virgin did. Not a spot on the Rhine but she was there present, a simple German woman—whether beautiful or ugly, I know not; but pure, touching, and resigned. For proof, I point to the picture of the Annunciation at Cologne—where the angel presents the Virgin, not with a lovely lily as in the Italian paintings, but a book, opened at a passage hard to bear—Christ's passion before his birth; before the conception, all the pangs of a mother's heart. The Virgin has had her passion, too. It was she, it was woman, who resuscitated the genius of Germany. Mysticism awoke through the beguins of Germany and of the Low Countries*. The knights and the noble *minnesingers* sang real woman—the charming spouse of the laudgrave of Thuringia, so celebrated in the poetic contests of Wartbourg. The people adored an ideal one; mild Germany required a God-woman. With the Germans, the symbol of mystery is the rose. Simplicity and profundity mingle in this dreamy childhood of a people to whom it is given never to grow old, because living in the infinite and the eternal.

This mystic genius, apparently, was to die away as it descended the Scheldt and Rhine, and encountered Flemish sensuality and the industry of the Low Countries. But, here, industry had herself created a world of wretched men, weaned from nature, imprisoned by their daily wants in the shades of a dark factory, laborious, poor, meritorious, and disinherited. Deprived of that cheering light of day and share in the sun's glad beams which God, of his goodness, seems to promise to all his children, they learnt by hearsay the charms of the verdure of the country, of the song of birds, and of the perfume of the flowers: a race of captives, the monks of industry, unmarried through poverty, or else, married to their misery, and suffering in the sufferings of their children. Greatly did these poor weavers stand in need of God; and, in the twelfth century, God visited them, illumined their sombre dwellings, and, at least, cradled them to rest with apparitions and dreams. Solitary and almost savage in the midst of the most populous cities in the world, they embraced God, as their only good, with all their soul. By degrees, the God of cathedrals, the rich God of the rich and of the priests, became a stranger to them. Let who would try to rob them of their faith, they died at the stake for it, full of hope, and enjoying the

future in anticipation. At times, also, pushed to extremity, they would emerge from their cellars to unaccustomed light, fierce to look upon with their large and hard blue eye, so common in Belgium, and badly armed with their tools, but formidable from their blind recklessness and numbers. At Ghent, the weavers occupied twenty-seven *carre-fours*, and constituted one of the three civic bodies*. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the weavers in and around Ypres amounted to above two hundred thousand souls†.

Rarely did the spark of fanaticism fall in vain on these large multitudes. The other trades would take part with them; less numerous, indeed, but burly men, better fed, ruddy, robust, and bold, rough and rude, who had faith in the bigness of their arms and weight of their hands, smiths, who, in a revolt, hammered on the cuirass of the knights as on their own anvils, fullers, bakers, who kneaded revolt as they did their loaves,—butchers, who had no scruple in practising their calling on men. In the mud and smoke, in the dense crowd, and in the saddening and confused hum of these huge cities, there is, and we have felt it, a something that mounts to the head—the gloomy poetry of rebellious desires. The men of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres armed, and trained to fall at once into regimental order, mustered at the first sound of the bell under the banner of the Burgomaster: wherefore they did not always know; but they only fought the better for their ignorance—the disturbance was occasioned either by the count or the bishop, or by their own people. These Flemings were not too partial to the priests; and had stipulated, in 1193, in the privileges of Ghent, for the power of unbenevolent their *curés* and chaplains at pleasure‡.

Far other were the feelings at the foot of the Alps, where a different principle brought about a similar revolution. From an earlier period, the mountaineers of Piedmont and of Dauphiny, a reasoning race, of temperament cooled down by the wind of their glaciers, had rejected symbols, images, crosses, mysteries—all the poetry of Christianity. They neither indulged in the pantheism of Germany, nor the illuminism of the Low Countries; theirs was pure good sense, dry, prosaic reasoning, and a critical turn of mind, under a rude and popular form. As early as Charlemagne, Claude of Turin had begun this reform on the Italian *versant* of the Alps; and it was resumed, in the twelfth century, on the French *versant*, by Pierre de Bruys, who came from Gap or Embrun§—the district which supplies our South-eastern provinces with schoolmasters. He came down from his mountain home to the South, crossed the Rhône, preaching every where to the people with immense success (Henri, his disciple, had still more), penetrated as far north as Maine, followed in all places by the multitude, unheeding the clergy, breaking the crosses in pieces, and

* Oudegherst, *Chroniques de Flandre*. fol. 295.

† See p. 132, and the last note, p. 137.

‡ And, as well, that no Burgess of Ghent was to be cited out of the town, on ecclesiastical matters." Oudegherst, fol. 149.

§ Petri Venerabilis Epist. ad Arelat., Ebredun., Diens., Wapic, episcopos, ap. Gieseler, ii. P. 2, p. 481.—See, too, above, p. 128.

* Matth. Paris, ann. 1250, ap. Gieseler, ii. Second Part, p. 339. "An immense number of chaste women, who called themselves Beguins, arose in Germany, so that there were a thousand or more in Cologne alone."—*Beghin*, from the Saxon *beggen*, in Ulphilas, *bedgan* (in German, *beten*), "to pray." Mosheim, de Beghardis et Beguinabus, p. 98, sqq.

teaching that worship consisted in the outpouring of the heart. These sectaries, repressed for a time, reappear at Lyons, headed by the merchant *Vaud* or *Waldus*; and, in Italy, under the teaching of *Arnold of Brescia*. No heresy, says a Dominican, is more dangerous than theirs, *because none strikes deeper root* *. He is in the right; for their doctrine is the protest of reason against authority, of prose against poetry. The Waldenses announced their design to be the restoration of the Church to apostolical purity and poverty—they were called the poor of Lyons. As we have already stated, the church of Lyons had always piqued herself on her fidelity to the traditions of primitive Christianity. The Waldenses were simple enough to seek license to preach from the pope †; which was equivalent to asking his leave for them to separate themselves from the Church. Repulsed, pursued, and proscribed, they, nevertheless, held out in the mountains and cold valleys of the Alps—the cradle of their belief—until the massacres of Merindol and of Cabrières, in the reign of Francis the First, and the birth of Zuinglianism and Calvinism, whose followers styled them their precursors, and endeavoured to make out by them a claim for their recent church to the apostolical succession, in opposition to the claim of the church of Rome, but how, is more than I can say.

The characteristics, then, of reform in the twelfth century, were rationalism in the Alps and along the Rhône, and mysticism along the Rhine. In Flanders, they were mixed; and still more so in Languedoc.

This country of Languedoc was a receptacle for all races, and was a positive Babel. Lying at the angle of the high road between France, Spain, and Italy, it exhibited a fusion of Iberian, Gallic, Roman, Saracen, and Gothic blood. These different elements clashed rudely with each other, and Languedoc was fated to be the grand arena of the contest between creeds and races. What creeds? I may say, all. Their opponents themselves could not distinguish the differences between them, and could find no other way of designating them than by the name of a town—Albi (hence Albigens, Albigenses ‡).

* Reinerus contra Waldenses, c. 4, ap. Gieseler, ii. P. 2^a, p. 507. Inter omnes sectas quæ sunt vel fuerunt . . . est diuturnior.

† Steph. de Borbone, *ibid.* p. 510. Hi multa petebant instantia, predicationis auctoritatem sibi confirmari. See, also, Chronic. Usperg. *ibid.* p. 511.

‡ (According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, by the Benedictine monks, the term is more accurately derived from Albigensium, the general denomination of Narbonnese Gaul in this century:—"Peter Waldus, or Waldensis, a native of Lyons," says Dean Waddington; (*History of the Church*, p. 353, 4), "was a layman and a merchant; but, notwithstanding the avocations of a secular life, he had studied the real character of his church with attention, followed by shame. Stung by the spectacle of so much impurity, he abandoned his profession, distributed his wealth among the poor, and formed an association for the diffusion of scriptural truth. He commenced his ministry about the year 1180. Having previously caused several parts of the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue, he expounded them with great effect to an attentive body of disciples, both in France and Lombardy. In the course of his exertions he probably visited the valleys of Piedmont; and there he found a people of congenial spirits. They were called Vaudois or Waldenses (Men of the Valleys); and as the preaching of

The Semitic element—the Jewish and Arab—was prominent in Languedoc. Narbonne had long been the capital of the Saracens in France, and Jews abounded there. Ill-treated, but still allowed on sufferance, they flourished at Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Nîmes; in which towns their rabbins opened public schools. They formed the connecting link between Christians and Mahometans, between France and Spain; and the sciences, applicable to our material wants, as medicine and geometry, were studies common to the professors of the three modes of faith. Montpellier entertained stricter relations with Salerno and Cordova than with Rome; but an active commerce brought all into constant intercourse, the sea rather approximating than dividing them. Since the crusades, especially, Upper Languedoc had inclined, as it were, to the Mediærranean, and turned towards the east—the counts of Toulouse, were counts of Tripoli. The manners, and the doubtful faith of the Christians of the Holy Land, had flowed back and inundated our southern provinces. The beautiful coins and the beautiful stuffs * of Asia, had done much to reconcile our crusaders with the Mahomedan world. The merchants of Languedoc were ever passing over into Asia, cross on shoulder; but it was to visit the market of Acre rather than the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; and so far had religious antipathies given way to mercantile considerations, that the bishops of Maguelone and of Montpellier coined Saracen money, had their profit on the minting, and discounted, without scruple, the impress of the crescent †.

Peter may probably have confirmed their opinions, and cemented their discipline, he acquired and deserved his surname by his residence among them. At the same time, their connexion with Peter and his real Lyonnese disciples, established a notion of their identity; and the Vaudois, in return for the title which they had bestowed, received the reciprocal appellation of Leonists: such, at least, appears the most probable among many varying accounts."—*Ibid.* p. 355. "The persecution of Peter Waldensis, and the dispersion of his followers, occasioned, as in so many similar instances, the dissemination of the opinions; and, notwithstanding some partial sufferings which were inflicted in Picardy by Philippe Auguste, they were a numerous and flourishing sect at the conclusion of the twelfth century. They were often confounded in name with the Vaudois, in crime and calamity with the Catharists and Petrobrussians, and other adversaries of papacy. But of these various descriptions, such as were found in France during the pontificate of Innocent III. were known by the general name of Albigens or Albigenses." TRANSLATOR.

* Richard wore at Cyprus a silk mantle, embroidered with crescents of silver.

† Epistola Pape Clementis IV., Episcop. Maglonensi, ann. 1266, in *Thesaur. Novo Anecdot.* t. ii. p. 403:—"Truly, touching the coin (de moneta Milarense) which you are having minted in your diocese, we marvel by whose advice thou doest this thing . . . For what Catholic ought to strike coin in Mahomet's name? . . . If you object custom in your defence, you accuse both yourself and predecessors of counterfeiting."—In 1268, St. Louis writes to his brother, Alphonso, count of Toulouse, reproaching him with allowing money to be struck in his county of the Venaissin, with a Mahometan inscription:—"On the superscription of which coin mention is made of the name of the perfidious Mahomet, and he is there called the prophet of God, which is to his praise and exaltation, and to the scorn and contempt of the Christian faith and name; we require you to put a stop to the practice."—According to Bonamy, (*Ac. des*

Nobility, one would think, ought to have held out better against novelties: but, far different from the ignorant and pious chivalry of the North, who, even in the year 1200, would have been ready to take the cross, these nobles of the South were men of understanding, who could form a shrewd estimate, at least the majority of them, of what their nobility was. There were few of them who, in looking over their genealogical tree, could not find, and at no long date, some Saracen or Jewish ancestress—perhaps, a grandmother. We have already seen how Eudes (Odo), the ancient duke of Aquitaine, Charles Martel's opponent, gave his daughter in marriage to a Saracen emir*. In the Carolingian romances, Christian cavaliers marry without scruple their beautiful liberator—ever the sultan's daughter. Sooth to say, in this land of Roman jurisprudence, studded with the old municipalities of the empire, there were no nobles, strictly speaking, or, rather, all were noble; that is, the inhabitants of the cities, who were held noble as compared with those of the country. The burgess, like the knight, had his house fortified and crowned with towers†. He joined in the tourney‡, and often threw the noble from his saddle, who would only laugh at it. To judge by their taunts of each other in the poems of the troubadours, there was more wit than dignity in the nobles of the South. They coolly bandy charges to and fro, for which the knights of the North would have cut their throats a hundred times over—thus, Rambaud de Vaqueiras and the marquis Albert de Malespina mutually accuse one another, in a poetical war, of treason, theft, &c. §

To form a correct idea of these nobles, we must read the remaining poems of Bertrand de Born, the Gascon, that sworn enemy of peace, who spent his life in fomenting war, and celebrating it in song. It was he who gave the son of Eleanor of Guyenne, the ebullient Richard, the surname of *Oui et Non* ||: an epithet which would have suited himself and all his restless fellow-spirits of the South.

Gay, graceful, immoral, was this literature of theirs; its only *beau-ideal*, love; a sensual love, which was never sublimated into a longing for eternal beauty—a barren perfume, an ephemeral

flower reared on a rock, and which was fading when the heavy hand of the men of the North was stretched forth to crush it. The first signs of decay had long appeared; and its poetry had turned into subtlety, and its inspiration into academical dogmatism by the period of the crusade against the Albigenes. The spirit of the schoolmen and of the legists had introduced itself into the celebrated Courts of Love, from the moment they were instituted; and the pleadings in them were tinged with the subtleties of Scotus and pedantry of Bartholus, whilst the forms of the law-courts were vigorously followed in discussing the lightest questions of gallantry*. Nor were their decisions the less immoral that they were pedantic. Ermengarde, the lovely countess of Narbonne, (A.D. 1143—1197,) the cynosure of poets and of kings, decides in a decree, which has been religiously preserved, that it is perfectly allowable for a divorced husband to become his wife's lover when she is married to another. Eleanor of Guyenne determines that true love cannot exist between the married; and allows the taking of another mistress, for a time, in order to prove the first†. Similar tribunals had been established in the north of France by the countess of Flanders, a princess of the house of Anjou, (about A.D. 1134,) and by the countess of Champagne, Eleanor's daughter; and, probably, those countries which joined in the crusade against the Albigenes, had been but moderately edified by the jurisprudence of the dames of the South.

Still more serious must have been the feelings with which the men of the North regarded the amorous impieties that occur in the poems of the troubadours. "God alone," says one of them, "has a share in that tender heart of hers—to possess which he would hold it in fee, could God be a vassal‡."

A word as to the political position of the South: a knowledge of which will throw light on its revolution in religion.

The great city of Toulouse—a republic, governed by a count—was its central point. This count added to his possessions daily. As early as the first crusade, he was the richest prince in Christendom. He had missed the throne of Jerusalem, but had got Tripoli. His power, great as it was, had much to struggle with. In the north, the counts of Poitiers, who had become kings of England, and in the south the great house of Barcelona, mistress of Lower Provence and of Arragon, treated him as an usurper, notwithstanding his many centuries of possession. These two families of Poitiers and of Barcelona traced up to St. Guilhem, preceptor to Louis the Debonnaire, the conqueror of the Moors; him, whose son, Bernard, had been exiled by Charles the Bald. The counts of Roussillon, Cerdagne, Conflant, and Bézalu claimed kindred descent, and were all enemies of the count of Toulouse. He was hardly better off as regarded the houses of Béziers, Carcassonne, Albi, and Nîmes. In the Pyrenees were

Inscript. xxx. 725; this letter should be found in a register long since lost, and restored to the *Trésor des Chartes* in 1748: however, I have ascertained that this register is no longer to be found there.

* See above, p. 75, 76.

† Aug. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*.

‡ In the Proofs, appended to the *Histoire Générale du Languedoc*, t. iii. p. 607, is an attestation made by many *Damoisels* (Domicelli), knights, jurists, &c. "That it is, and has long been—so long that there is no evidence to the contrary—the use and wont in the seneschalship of Bellecour and in Provence, for the burgesses to assume the military belt, and to have and bear military ensigns, and to claim military privileges without licence or authority from the prince."—Chron. Languedoc. ap. D. Vaissette, *Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*: "Then another baron, called Valats, took up the word, and said to the count, 'My lord, thy brother gives thee good advice (to spare the Toulousans), and if thou wilt list to me, thou wilt do as he tells and shows thee: for, my lord, thou art well aware that most of them are gentlemen, and for honour and nobleness sake, shouldst not do as thou purposeth.'"

§ Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies de Troubadours*, t. iv. p. 135.

|| *Oc et Non*, id. t. v. p. 77—97.

* Id. t. ii. p. 122. The court of love was modelled on the law-courts of the time. One of these courts still remained in the days of Charles VI., with its apparatus of auditors, masters of requests, counsellors, deputy attorneys-general, &c. &c., but no women sat in it.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 109.

‡ Sismondi, *Histoire des Littératures du Midi*, t. i. p. 165.

a race of poor, brave, and singularly enterprising barons, men whose services were on sale, a sort of condottieri, for whom fortune had great things in store—these were the lords of Foix, of Albret, and of Armagnac; and the latter likewise claimed the countship of Toulouse, and often at sword's point. The part which those Armagnacs played in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their tragic, incestuous, and impious history, are well known. Romergue and Armagnac, which lie facing each other at the two corners of Aquitaine, constitute, together with Nîmes, the energetic and often fiercely cruel party of the South. Armagnac, Comminges, Béziers, and Toulouse, were never at one, except when war on the Church was the cry. They cared little for interdicts. The count of Comminges lived, in peace, with three wives at once; and Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, kept a harem. Even as a youth, the latter addicted himself, by preference, to his father's concubines. This French Judea, as Languedoc has been called, did not remind one of its prototype by its bituminous springs* and olive-trees alone: it had its Sodom and Gomorrah, and it was to be feared that the vengeance of the Church would give it its Dead Sea as well.

It is not surprising to find that eastern doctrines had made their way in this country. Every belief had been entertained there; but their traces have been lost in Manicheism, the most hateful of all in Christian eyes. Manicheism had appeared in Spain, early in the middle age; and introduced into Languedoc from Bulgaria and Constantinople†; it easily gained footing there. This Persian dualism seemed to our southerners to explain the contradiction alike presented by the material world and man. A heterogeneous race, they willingly accepted a heterogeneous universe. Together with the God of goodness, they required a god of evil, to whom they could ascribe whatever is discordant between the Old Testament and the New‡, and to which God they imputed the degradation of Christianity and the abasement of the Church. In themselves, and in their own corruption, they recognized the hand of a maleficent creator, who made a sport of the world. To the good God they referred the spirit, to the bad, the flesh; which it behaved to immolate; and in this immolation is the great

mystery of Manicheism, since two roads might be followed to that end. Was this flesh to be subdued by abstinence, fasting, the renunciation of marriage, the diminution of human life by renouncing the power of propagation, and the depriving the demon who created it of all which human will can tear from him—according to which system, the highest principle of life is death, and suicide, its perfection? or else, was the flesh to be subdued by surfeiting it, by soothing the monster to silence, by filling its gaping jaws, and throwing it a sop to save the rest—at the risk of throwing it all, and of one's whole self being swallowed up!

We are very imperfectly acquainted with the precise doctrines of the Manicheans of Languedoc. From the accounts of their enemies, we see that many contradictory things were imputed to them, which, undoubtedly, apply to different sects. According to some, God created the world; according to others, the devil*. Some proclaim salvation by works; others, by faith†. These preach a material God; those think that Jesus Christ did not really die, and that it was a shadow which suffered on the cross‡. Elsewhere, these innovators are represented as saying that they preach to all; whilst many of them exclude women from eternal happiness§. They pretend to simplify the law; yet prescribe a hundred genuflections a day||. The one point in which they seem agreed, is hatred of the God of the Old Testament. "This God who promises, and who does not perform, is," they say, "a juggler: Moses and Joshua were roustiers in his pay¶."

"In the first place, we must premise that the heretics recognized two creators; the one, the Creator of things invisible, whom they called the good God; the other, the maker of the visible world, whom they called the wicked God. To the first they attributed the New Testament, to the second, the Old; which they wholly rejected, with the exception of some passages quoted from it into the New, and which they receive through their respect for the latter.

"They said that the author of the Old Testament was a liar, because it is said in the book of Genesis, 'But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;' and yet, they argued, after eating they did not die. They also treated him as a homicide for having reduced to ashes the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and destroyed the world by the waters of the deluge, and for having buried under the sea Pharaoh and the Egyptians. They believed all the patriarchs of the Old Testament to be damned, and ranked St.

* See, above, p. 123.

† These heretics were called *Bulgars*, or *Cathari* (Catharists), from the Greek καθάρσις, signifying pure. Mon. Antissiod. ap. Gieseler, ii. p. 24, p. 488: *Hæresis quam Bulgæorum vocant*.—Godef. Mon. ibid. p. 491. "Our Germany calls them *Cathari*, Flanders *Pipiles*, and France *Tzazant*, from their trade of weaving." The mystic Beghards also took the name of Pious Workmen, Brother Weavers. On the contrary, the clothiers exhibited a mundane and prosaic spirit. A religious brotherhood, consisting chiefly of weavers, was formed in the thirteenth century, in Lombardy and Tuscany, its origin may undoubtedly be sought in Germany. Hüllman, *Stadtwesen*, i. 234.

‡ Petrus Vall. Sarn. c. i ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 5. Duos creatores, invisibilem scilicet . . . benignum Deum, et visibilem, malignum Deum.—*Novum Testamentum benigne Deo, vetus vero maligno attribuebant*.—Alii dicebant quod unus esset creator, sed habuit filios Christum et Diabolum. (Thus, with the Magians, Ormuz and Ahriman are subordinate to a supreme God, the Eternal, Zervane Akrene. See Creuzer and Guignaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, t. i.)—Quidam dicebant quod nullus poterat peccare ab umbilico et inferius.

* Mansi, i. 251, ap. Gieseler, ii. p. 504. *Omnia quæ facta sunt, facta esse a Diabolo*.

† Ebrardi Liber *Anthæresis*, p. 501. In operibus solummodo confidentes, fidem prætermittunt.—Petrus Vallis Sarnaii, c. 2, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 6. Si morientii cullebat quantumque flagitioso manus imposuissent, dummodo *Pater noster* dicere posset, ita salvatum.

‡ Id. ibid. The latter, undoubtedly, are rather Gnostics than Manicheans: their heresy is that of the Docetæ.

§ Ebrardus, ibid. 501. *Femineo sexui cælorum beatitudinem mituntur surripere*.

|| Heriberti Mon. Epist. ibid. 487. *Centies in die genua flectunt*.

¶ Ebrardus, ibid. 500. *Eum jocularitorem esse, etc.* Petrus Vall. Sarnaii, c. 4.

John the Baptist as one of the great devils. They even said among themselves, that the Christ who was born in the earthly and visible Bethlehem, and was crucified at Jerusalem, was only a false Christ; that Mary Magdalen had been his concubine, and that she was the woman taken in adultery, mentioned in the Gospel. For Christ, they said, never ate, nor drank, nor put on a fleshly body, and was never in this world, save spiritually in St. Paul. We say, *in the earthly and visible Bethlehem*, because the heretics imagined that there was another, invisible earth, where the good Christ was brought into the world and crucified.

"They said, moreover, that the good God had two wives, Colla and Coliba, and that he begat sons and daughters.

"Other heretics said that there was only one creator, but that he had two sons, Christ and the devil. They said, too, that all creatures were originally good, but that they had been corrupted by the ——— mentioned in the Revelation.

"All these unbelievers, members of Antichrist, first-born of Satan, seeds of sin, children of crime, with their hypocritical tongue, and seducing by lies the heart of the simple, had infected by the poison of their perfidy, the whole province of Narbonne. They said that the Roman church was little else than a den of thieves, and was that harlot spoken of in the Revelation. They did away with the Sacraments of the Church so far as to teach publicly that the water consecrated for baptism is just the same as any other water, and that the host of the most blessed body of Christ is nothing more than common bread; insinuating in the ears of the simple the horrid blasphemy, that Christ's body, were it the size of the Alps, would long since have been consumed and reduced to nothing by the numbers that have eaten of it. Confirmation and confession they deemed follies, and holy matrimony, prostitution; and believed that none could be saved who wedded and begat sons and daughters. Denying the resurrection of the flesh, they forged I know not what unheard-of fables, saying, that our souls are those angelic spirits, which, precipitated from heaven for their presumptuous apostasy, left their glorious bodies in the air, and that after these souls have successively passed through seven different bodies upon earth, they return, this expiation ended, to resume their former bodies.

"We must also explain that some of these heretics called themselves *perfects* or *good men*; others styled themselves, *believers*. The former wore black raiment, affected chastity, rejected with horror the use of meat, eggs, and cheese, and professed never to lie, whilst they were uttering chiefly with regard to God, a perpetual lie; they also contended that nothing could justify the taking of an oath. The believers lived in the world, and, without endeavouring to imitate the life of the perfects, hoped, however, for salvation, through the same profession of faith: the two were divided in their way of life, but were one as regarded their creed and their infidelity. The believers gave themselves up to usury, robbery, homicide, and the pleasures of the flesh, to perjury, and every vice. In fact, they sinned with a sense of perfect safety and licence, because they believed that without restoring property wrongfully acquired, without confession or repentance, they could be saved,

provided they could repeat a *pater* when at the point of death, and receive imposition of hands, from their teachers. These heretics chose from among the perfects, rulers whom they called deacons and bishops, and believed their salvation impossible unless their rulers imposed hands upon them when they were dying. Once a dying man, however great a criminal he might have been, received imposition of hands, and was able to repeat a *pater*, they believed him saved, and, to use their expression, comforted: he was to fly straight to heaven, without having made any reparation or employed any other mediatory means.

"..... Some heretics said that no one could sin from the navel downwards. They treated images in the churches as idolatrous, and called bells, the devil's trumpets. They said, too, that it was not a greater sin to sleep with one's mother or one's sister than with any other. One of their greatest follies was to believe that if any of the perfects committed mortal sin, by eating, for instance, ever so little meat, or cheese, or eggs, or any other forbidden food, all whom he had comforted lost the Holy Ghost, and that it was necessary to comfort them over again; and that even those who had been comforted lapsed from heaven through the sin of him who had comforted them.

"There were, too, other heretics, named *Vaudois*, after one Valdsus, of Lyons. They were bad, but much less so than the rest; for they agreed with us in many things, and only differed in a few. To pass over the greater number of their heresies, their chief errors lay in four peculiarities—in their wearing sandals after the manner of the apostles; in asserting that taking an oath, or shedding man's blood, was on no account permissible; and, especially, in maintaining that the earliest arriver, in case of need, might consecrate the body of Jesus Christ, provided he wore sandals, even had he not been ordained by the bishop.

"This brief account of the sects of the heretics may suffice. When any one applies to be admitted of their brotherhood, he who inducts him says—'Friend, if thou wishest to belong to us, thou must renounce all the articles of the church of Rome.' The reply is, 'I do.'—'Receive, then, the Holy Ghost from good men.' He then breathes seven times in the convertite's mouth, and says, 'Dost thou renounce the cross which, at thy baptism, the priest has signed over thy breast, shoulders, and head, with oil and the chrism?' 'I do.'—'Dost thou believe that water works thy salvation?' 'I do not.'—'Dost thou renounce the veil which at thy baptism the priest has placed upon thy head?' 'I do.' After this fashion, the convertite receives heretical baptism, and denies that of the Church. Then he receives imposition of hands, and a kiss from all present, and is clothed with a black garment, and thenceforward is as one of themselves*."

* Petrus Vall. Sarnali. c. i. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 5—7. The following is an extract from an ancient register of the inquisition at Carcassonne: (Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc, iii. 371.) "These are the articles, in which modern heretics err, 1st, they say, that the body of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar, is simply bread; 2nd, they say, that a priest, living in mortal sin, cannot make Christ's body; 3rd, that the soul of man is only pure blood; 4th, that simple fornication is no sin; 5th, that all men in the world shall be saved; 6th, that no soul shall enter Paradise until the day

Thus, side by side with the Church, rose another Church, whose Rome was Toulouse. One Nicetas, of Constantinople, had presided as pope at a council of Manichean bishops held near Toulouse, in 1167* ; at which Lombardy, Northern France, Albi, Carcassonne, and Aran, had been represented by their pastors. Here Nicetas explained the practice of the Asiatic Manicheans ; and the people were found eager to learn. The western church was regularly invaded by the east, and by Byzantine Greece. The Vaudois themselves, whose rationalism seems to be the spontaneous birth of the human mind, had employed one, Ydros, who, to judge by his name, must have been a Greek †, to write their first publications ; and, at the very same time, the field of science was opened by the introduction of Aristotle and the Arabs. Antipathies of language, race, and nation were disappearing. Conrad, emperor of Germany, was related to Manuel Comnenus, and the king of France had bestowed his daughter on a Byzantine Caesar. The king of Navarre, Sancho the Shut-up ‡, had asked in marriage one of the daughters of the chief of the Almohades. Richard Cœur-de-Lion declared himself the brother in arms of the sultan Malek-Adhel, and offered him his sister's hand. Henry II. had already threatened the pope with turning Maho-

of judgment ; 7th, that to lend out on usury, on limited terms, is no sin ; 8th, that excommunication is not to be feared, and can do no hurt ; 9th, that to be confessed by a lay-brother is as profitable as by a priest or a presbyter ; 10th, that the law of the Jews is better than that of the Christians ; 11th, that God did not create the products of the earth, but nature ; 12th, that the Son of God did not put on true flesh in the ever-blessed Virgin's womb, but apparent ; 13th, that Easter, penances, and confession are the Church's devices to extort money from laymen ; 14th, that a priest, living in mortal sin, cannot bind or unloose ; 15th, that no prelate can grant indulgences ; that whoever is born in lawful matrimony can be saved without baptism.—The Manicheism of the West, although it may have been derived from the Paulicianism of the Greek empire, originally springs, and is more intimately connected with the ancient Manicheism, by rejecting marriage, and by the distinction of the elect, the believers, the auditors, (*electi, credentes, et auditores*), and their hierarchy. Manes was held accused by the Paulicians, and was highly honoured by the Westerns. This western Manicheism broke out in the East, at the beginning of the twelfth century, in the heresy of the Bogomiles. Ann. Comnen. (ed. Paris), i. xv. p. 486, sqq.

* See Gieseler, ii. P. 2, p. 495. "In the one thousand one hundred and sixty-seventh year of our Lord, in the month of May, the church of Toulouse brought pope Nicetas into the burgh of St. Felicius, and a great multitude of men and women of the church of Toulouse, and of the other neighbouring churches, collected together there, to hearken to the comfort, wherewith our lord pope Nicetas was about to comfort them. And after awhile Robertus de Spernone, bishop of the church of the Franks, came with his chapter, and Sicardus Cellarius, bishop of the church of Albi, came with his chapter, and Bernardus Catalani, bishop of Carcassonne, with his, and the chapter of the church of Aran was there likewise. . . . Then pope Nicetas said to the church of Toulouse, 'You ask me to tell you the customs of the primitive churches, whether in little or great matters ; and I say to you, that the seven churches of Asia were distinct and independent, and that none did any thing to the contrary of the other : and so with the churches of Rome, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, &c., which, on this wise, are at peace with each other. Do ye likewise.'—Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccles. iv. 404. Veniens Papa Nicetas nomine Constantinopolitani. . . .

† Steph. de Borb. ap. Gieseler, ii. P. 2, 508.

‡ See above, p. 122.

metan. It is asserted that John really promised the Almohades that he would renounce his religion if they would take up his cause. These English monarchs maintained close relations with Languedoc and Spain. Richard gave one of his sisters to the king of Castile, and the other to Raymond VI. of Languedoc ; and even ceded the Agenois to the latter, as well as renounced all the pretensions of the house of Poitiers to Toulouse. In this manner, heretics and infidels coalesced, drawing together from all sides : a state of things forwarded by fortuitous circumstances, such as the marriage of the emperor, Henry VI., with the heiress of Sicily, which kept up a constant communication between Germany, Italy, and this essentially Arab island. It seemed as if the two human families, the European and Asiatic, were advancing to meet each other, and that each divested herself of some of her peculiarities, in order to differ the less from her sister ; so that whilst the Languedocians adopted the civilization of the Moors and the creeds of Asia, Mahomedanism became Christianized in Egypt and over great part of Persia and Syria, by adopting, under different forms, the doctrine of the Incarnation *.

In the danger that thus threatened the Church, what must not have been the trouble and disquiet of its visible head ! Since Gregory the Seventh's time, the pope had claimed the empire of the world, and taken upon himself the responsibility of its future state. Raised to a towering height, he but saw the more clearly the perils by which he was environed. He occupied the spire of the prodigious edifice of Christianity in the middle age—that cathedral of human kind—and sat soaring in the clouds on the apex of the cross, as when from the spire of Strasbourg † your view takes in forty towns and villages on the banks of the Rhine—slippery, and fearfully dizzy position ! Thence he despatched innumerable armies coming, hammer in hand, to the destruction of the grand edifice, tribe by tribe, generation by generation. The massy fabric, it is true, was firm : the living fabric, framed of apostles, saints, and doctors, planted its foot far into the ground. But against it beat all the winds both from east and west, from Asia and Europe, from the past and the future : no cloud so small in the horizon as not to threaten tempest.

The existing pope, Innocent III. ‡, was a Roman ; and, like the danger, was the man. A great legist §, and accustomed on all questions to consult the law, he sat down to his own self-examination, and rose fully satisfied that the law was with him. In reality, the Church was indisputably

* Mahometanism is at this moment coalescing in India with the creeds of the country, as it did with Christianity in the time of Frederick II. An important work on this subject was published by a Mussulman lady, the wife of an Englishman, who came to Paris some years since.

† See above, p. 130.

‡ He was nominated pope in his thirty-seventh year. . . . "On account of the purity of his morals and skill in letters ; given to tears and heavenly apostrophes, and strenuous in the faith."—"By his mother, Clarice, he was of noble parentage, well skilled in plain-song and psalmody, of middling stature, and comely appearance." Gesta Innoc. III. (Baluze, fol. i. p. 1, 2.

§ Erfurt Chronic. S. Petrin (ann. 1215). "Nor was there his equal in knowledge, eloquence, skill in the decretals and laws, and the soundness of his judgments, nor has he yet had a successor."

supported by the immense majority and by the voice of the people, which is that of God. In every thing, and every where, it had *actual possession*; and of such high antiquity, that it might be presumed to be prescriptive. The Church was the defendant in this great suit: she was the acknowledged proprietor, established on the ground in dispute, holding the title deeds, and with the written law, apparently, on her side. The plaintiff was the human understanding—its claim advanced somewhat late. Besides, in its inexperience, it seemed to mistake its right course, quibbling upon texts instead of invoking equity. Ask what it sought, it was impossible to hear the answer—such a clamour of tongues rose in reply. All made different demands; and most wished less to advance than to retrograde. In politics, they sought for the republicanism of antiquity; that is, for the franchises of the towns, to the exclusion of the country. In religion, some were for suppressing public worship, and for returning to what they termed apostolical simplicity. Others were for going further back, and throwing themselves into Orientalism, desiring either two gods, or else the strict unity of Islamism. • The latter was on its road to Europe. When Saladin recovered Jerusalem, the African Almohades were invading Spain, not with armies, like the ancient Arabs, but with the fearful array of the migration of a whole people. At the battle of Tolosa, they were three or four hundred thousand in number*. What would have become of the world, had Mahomedanism conquered? One trembles to think of it. It had just borne its last fruit in Asia—the order of the Assassins. Already every Christian prince, and Mussulman as well, trembled for his life; and many of them are said to have entertained communications with the order, and to have instigated it to the murder of their enemies. The English monarchs were suspected of being leagued with the Assassins. Richard's enemy, Conrad of Tyre and of Montserrat, who pretended to the throne of Jerusalem, fell under their daggers in the heart of his capital. Philip-Augustus, affecting to believe his own life in danger, surrounded himself with guards,—the first entertained by our kings. Thus fear and horror had seized both Church and people, and the most horrible rumours were circulated. The Jews—a living image of the east in the midst of Christendom—seemed planted there to foster religious animosities. They were said to correspond, in seasons of natural calamities, or of political catastrophes, with the infidels, and to invite them to invasion. The wealth they hid under their rags, and their retired, sombre, and mysterious lives, furnished ever-living fuel for accusations of all kinds; and, in those close-locked houses of theirs, the busy fancy of the populace conjured up atrocious deeds. They were believed guilty of enticing Christian children in order to sacrifice them to an image of Christ†; and in

sooth, men exposed to the outrages they endured, might be tempted to justify persecution by crime.

Such seemed in those days the enemies of the Church; and the Church was the people—whose prejudices, and whose intoxication, to blood-thirstiness, of hates and alarms, acted on every rank of the clergy till they reached the pope. It would be doing too great injustice to human nature, to suppose the heads of the Church to be animated by selfishness, or the interests of their order only: no, we have every proof that in the thirteenth century, they were still convinced of the validity of their right. The right once admitted—all means were justifiable in its defence. It was not for any human interest that St. Dominic traversed the champaigns of the South, alone and unarmed, in the midst of sectaries whom he despatched to the other world—seeking and bestowing martyrdom with equal avidity*. And, however the great and terrible Innocent III. may have been tempted by pride and vengeance, other motives urged him on to the crusade against the Albigensis and the foundation of the inquisition. He is said to have seen in a dream the order of the Dominicans shadowed forth by a great tree, on which leant and was supported the Church of Lateran, on the point of falling.

The more the Church leaned, the higher towered the pride of its head. The more others denied, the more he affirmed. As his enemies grew in numbers, so did he in daring, and the more inflexible did he become. His pretensions rose with his danger, soaring above those of Gregory VII. and Alexander III. No pope dashed kings to pieces as he did. He took their wives from those of France and Leon. The kings of Portugal, Arragon, and England he treated as vassals, and made them pay tribute†. Gregory VII. had gone so far as to say, or had caused his canonists to say, that the empire had been founded by the devil, and the priesthood by God‡. Alexander III. and Innocent III. made themselves the priesthood. To hear them, the bishops were to be nominated, deposed, or assembled at the pope's pleasure, and their judgments, no matter how trivial the cause, reviewed at Rome§. There resided the Church her-

cept on Fridays (the day of Venus, *dies Veneris*), when the baths were open to mountebanks and prostitutes. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, t. ii. p. 598.

• "Whenever he passed through spots in which he suspected his enemies were lying in ambush, he wended his way with hymns and rejoicing. The heretics, being made aware of this, marvelled at his unshaken constancy, and asked him—'Do you not fear death? What would you do, should we manage to lay hands on you?'—He replied, 'I would pray you not to despatch me at once, but to protract my martyrdom by taking off my limbs one after the other, and when you had successively shown them to me, then to dig out my eyes, and so leave my trunk swimming in blood, that the slowness of my torments might win me the higher crown of martyrdom.'" *Acta SS. Dominici*, p. 549.

† Gieseler, ii. P. 2, p. 106.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 95.

§ Decretal. Greg. I. ii. tit. 28, c. ii. (Alex. iii.) De appellationibus pro causis minimis interpositis volumus te tenere, quod eis, pro quacunque levi causa fiant, non minus est, quam si pro majoribus fierent, deferendum.—Gregory VII. had already required from the metropolitans an oath of homage and fidelity. *Acta Roman. Synod. ann. 1079*, ibid. 217. Ab hac hora et inante fidelis ero B. Petro et papæ Gregorio, etc.

* Conde, *Hist. de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne*, t. ii. p. 461.

† See the ballads published by M. Michel.—The story of the box of the ear, given to a Jew every anniversary of the Passion, is well-known.—At Puy, in all disputes between Jews, the children of the choir were the umpires, "to the end that the great innocence of the judges may correct the great roguery of the litigants"—In Provence and in Burgundy they were prohibited the use of the public bath, ex-

self, the treasury of mercies and of vengeance—and the pope, sole judge of what was just and true, disposed sovereignly of crime and innocence, unmade kings, and made saints*.

The civil world was at the time struggling between the emperor, the king of England, and the king of France—the two first, hostile to the pope. The emperor was the nearest. Germany was in the habit of periodically inundating Italy †, and then flowing back, without leaving any particular mark of the deluge. The emperor advanced, lance in rest, through the defiles of the Tyrol, at the head of his large and heavy cavalry, as far as the plain of Roncaglia in Lombardy. There came the jurists of Ravenna and Bologna, to give their opinion on the imperial rights ‡, and when they had proved to the Germans, in Latin, that their king of Germany, their Cæsar, possessed all the rights of the old Roman empire, he repaired to Monza, near Milan, to the great anger of the cities, to assume the Iron crown. But it was a bootless campaign if he did not push on as far as Rome, and force the pope to crown him—points which the emperors rarely carried. The German barons were soon exhausted with the heat of the Italian sun, they had served loyally their bounden time, and they fell off by degrees—so that the emperor recrossed the mountains almost alone, as he best could §. At all events, he bore away with him a magnificent idea of his rights. The difficulty was to enforce them. The German barons, who had listened patiently to the doctors of Bologna, seldom suffered their leader to put the lessons, so given, in practice: and the greatest of the emperors, even Frederick Barbarossa, found it a hard attempt. Henry VI. was born with these notions of the greatness of his right, coupled with the consciousness of his excessive powerlessness, and all the rancours of this ancient contest. He was perhaps the only emperor who had none of the German mildness in his composition. He showed himself a sanguinary conqueror and furious tyrant to Naples and Sicily ||, which he claimed in right of his wife; and he died young, either poisoned by her, or worn out by his own passions. His son—the ward of pope Innocent III.—was a thorough Italian and Sicilian emperor, the friend of the Arabs and a scourge of the Church.

The king of England was scarcely less hostile to

the pope, being alternately his enemy and his vassal; a lion alternately breaking and wearing his chain: and as it happened, the *lion-hearted* Richard was king at this period, Richard the Aquitanian, the true son of his mother Eleanor, and whose rebellions avenged her on the infidelities of Henry I. Richard and his brother John loved their mother's country, the South, and kept up an excellent understanding with Toulouse, with the enemies of the Church. Even whilst pledging themselves to undertake the crusade, or while really engaged in it, they entertained relations with the Mussulmans.

The young Philippe, who was king at fifteen under the guardianship of the count of Flanders (A. D. 1180), and directed by one Clement of Metz, his governor and marshal of the palace †, married the daughter of the count, notwithstanding the opposition of his mother and of his uncles, the princes of Champagne. This marriage united the race of Capet with that of Charlemagne, the counts of Flanders being descended from the latter ‡; and his father-in-law gave up Amiens to him, that is to say, the barrier of the Somme, and promised him the Artois, Valois, and Vermandois. So long as the provinces of the Oise and the Somme did not belong to the king, the French monarchy could hardly be called established; but once master of Picardy, he had little to fear from Flanders, and could take Normandy in the rear. The count of Flanders endeavoured, but in vain, to regain possession of Amiens, and entered into a league with the king's uncles to that end §; but Philippe induced the aged Henry II., who feared him as the friend of his son Richard, to interfere, and he managed to get into the bargain from the count part of Vermandois (the Oise). Then, when the Fleming was about to join the crusade, Philippe, supporting Richard in his rebellion against his father, got into his power the two important posts of Mans and Tours §; the former enabling him to annoy Normandy and Brittany, the other making him master of the Loire: and by this acquisition, the great archbishoprics of the kingdom, Reims, Tours, and Bourges, the metropolises of Belgium, Brittany, and Aquitaine, were included within the royal demesnes.

Henry II.'s death was unfortunate for Philip, since it raised to the throne his bosom friend Richard, with whom he ate and slept ||, and who had helped so well to torment the aged Henry. Richard became Philip's rival; a showy rival, who had all the faults of the men of the middle

* Decretal. Greg. I. iii. tit. 45, c. i. (Alex. iii.) . . .

“Although many miracles may be wrought by him, ye must not pay him public worship as a saint, without authority from Rome.”—Conc. Later. iv. c. 62. “Let none presume to worship publicly newly-found relics, without the approbation of the pope.”—Innocent III. went so far as to say (l. ii. Epist. 209), “The Lord committed not only the Church universal, but the whole world, to Peter's rule.”

† “Germany, from the bosom of its mists, rained a shower of iron on Italy.” Cornel. Zanfluet, ap. Marten. Collect. (Biblioth. des Croisades, vi. 201.) Rome was protected by her climate—

“Roma, ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum;
Romanæ febres stabili sunt jure fideles.”

Petr. Damiani, ap. Alberic. in Leibnitz. Access. i. 123. (Rome, fruitful in fevers, is most wealthy in harvest of death; the fevers of Rome are immutably faithful.)

‡ Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, t. ii.

§ Ibid. p. 72. 168. Otto Frising. l. ii. c. 23. Baron. Annal. § 75—78.

|| See Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, ii. l. 6.

* At this period, an humble office.

† Baldwin Bras-de-Fer had carried off and then married Judith, Charles the Bald's daughter. Epist. Nicolai I. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 391. 397. Hincmar. Epist. libid. 214.

‡ When Philip was informed of these movements of his great vassals,—according to an old manuscript chronicle—he said before all his court without betraying any surprise, “Suppose that they gather strength and commit, if I choose to suffer it, their great outrages and great villainies, by God's blessing they will grow weaker and frailer, whilst I, by God's blessing, shall grow in strength and power, and then it will be my turn to take what vengeance I like.” Art de Verifier les Dates, v. 528.

§ Rigordus, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xvii. 28.

|| Roger de Hoveden, p. 635. Singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus.

age, and whom they liked the better for it. Above all, Eleanor's son was celebrated for the impetuous valour often met with among the men of the South*. Hardly had the prodigal son laid his hand on his inheritance, than he began to give, sell, lavish, destroy, and waste. He wanted ready money at any cost, and to start for the crusade; and yet he found a hundred thousand marks in the treasury at Salisbury†, the produce of a century of rapine and tyranny. It was not enough. He sold the earldom of Northumberland to the bishop of Durham during the term of his natural life‡; he sold Berwick, Roxburgh, and that glorious right of superiority over Scotland, which had cost his father so dear, to the king of Scotland§; and he gave his brother John, in the view of securing his affections, one of the Norman and seven English earldoms||, or about a third of the kingdom. He looked forward to gaining in Asia much more than he sacrificed in Europe.

The necessity for the crusade increased. Louis VII. and Henry II. had taken the cross, but had remained at home; and their delay had occasioned the loss of Jerusalem (A. D. 1187). This misfortune was an enormous sin, which weighed heavily on the souls of the departed monarchs; a stain on their memory, which their sons seemed bound to wash out. However backward Philippe-Auguste might be to undertake this ruinous expedition, there was no escaping from it. If the taking of Edessa had decided the undertaking of the second crusade half a century before, how much more urgent the call made by the capture of Jerusalem! The Christians now only held, if I may so speak, by the skirts of the Holy Land, and had laid siege to Acre, the only port which could shelter the fleets of the pilgrims, and keep open the communication with the West.

The marquis of Montserrat, prince of Tyre, and aspirant to the throne of Jerusalem, caused a representation of the unfortunate city to be paraded throughout Europe: in the centre appeared the holy sepulchre, and upon it a Saracen, whose horse defiled the tomb of our Lord. This disgraceful image and bitter reproach cut the Christians of the West to the heart; and in all directions they were to be seen beating their breasts, and crying out, "Wo is me!"

Mahomedanism had been undergoing for some fifty years a kind of reform and restoration, which had brought on the ruin of the small kingdom of Jerusalem. The Atabeks of Syria, Zenghi and his son Nouredin, two saints of Islamism**, who

came originally from Irak (Babylonia), had founded between the Euphrates and the Taurus a military power, which was at once the rival and the enemy of the Fatimites of Egypt, and of the Assassins. The Atabeks professed the strict letter of the Koran, rejecting the gloss which had led to so much abuse; and attaching themselves to the caliph of Bagdad, this old idol, so long the slave of a succession of military leaders, saw himself the object of their voluntary homage, and the recipient of their conquests. They pursued with fury, and put to death without mercy, the Alides, the Assassins, the freethinkers, the *phelassafé* or philosophers*, just as innovators in religious matters were hunted down in Europe: a strange spectacle—two hostile religions, strangers to one another, unconsciously agreeing, and at the same period, in proscribing freedom of thought! Nouredin, like Innocent III. was a legist†, and his general, Salaheddin (Saladin), was overthrowing the Mussulman schismatics of Egypt, whilst Simon de Montfort was exterminating the Christian schismatics of Languedoc.

However, the inclination to innovation was so rapid and so fatal, that Nouredin's own children allied themselves with the Alides and the Assassins, and Saladin was compelled to crush them. This Kurd‡, this barbarian, the Godfrey or the St. Louis of Mahomedanism, a great soul enthralled to infinitely small devotional practices§, a humane and generous nature that forced itself to be intolerant, taught the Christians the dangerous truth that "a circumcised dog" might be a saint, and that a

weeping, rolling on the ground, until God granted him the victory—He did penance for the licentiousness of his camp, clothing himself coarsely, lying on the bare ground, abstaining from all sensual gratification, and writing to pious men in all quarters for the benefit of their prayers. He built numerous mosques, khans, hospitals, &c. He would never raise contributions on the houses of the sofs, of the men of the law, of the readers of the Koran. "He took delight in conversing with the heads of the monks, the doctors of the law, the ulemas, he would embrace them, make them sit by his side, and turn the discourse on religious subjects. So the devout flocked to him from the most distant countries. He carried this to such an extent as to raise the jealousy of the emirs."—The Arabic historians, as well as William of Tyre, describe him to have been exceedingly crafty.

* Bibliothèque des Croisades, t. iii. (Extraits des Historiens Arabes, par M. Reinaud), p. 370.—Kilg-arslan being accused of having joined this sect, Nouredin made him make public profession of his belief in Islamism: "With all my heart," said Kilg-arslan, "I see that Nouredin is bent against the unbelievers."

† Hist des Atabeks, *ibid.* He had studied the law under Abou-Hanifa, one of the most celebrated of the Mussulman lawyers. He always said,—“We are the ministers of the law, our duty is to see it executed;” and he conducted his own causes before the cadi.—He was the first to institute a proper court of justice, prohibit torture, and substitute for it personal evidence.—In a letter to Nouredin, Saladin complains of the mildness of his laws. However, he acknowledges elsewhere, “Whatever we know as regards justice, we have learnt of him.” Saladin himself employed his leisure in administering justice; whence his surname of *Restorer of justice upon earth*.

‡ D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

§ Bohadin (Bibl. des Croisades, iii. 362, sqq.) describes him as addicted to the most trifling practices.—He fasted whenever his health permitted him, and made all his attendants read the Koran. On seeing a little child, one day, reading it to his father, he was moved to tears.

* For instance, Murat and Lannes.

† Lingard, vol. ii. p. 443.

‡ Hoveden, as quoted by Lingard, *ibid.*

§ *Id. ibid.*

|| *Id. ibid.*

** Bohadin (Boha-Eddin), Bibliothèque des Croisades, iii. 242.

** The following are extracts from Arab historians (Reinaud, *Biblioth. des Croisades*, iii. 242).—"When Nouredin prayed in the temple, his subjects believed they saw a sanctuary in another sanctuary."—He devoted much of his time to prayer: "he rose in the night, performed his ablutions, and continued in prayer till day-break"—Seeing his men give way in battle, he uncovered his head, prostrated himself, and exclaimed aloud, "My Lord and my God, my sovereign Master, I am Mahmoud, thy servant; abandon him not. In undertaking his defence, it is thy own religion that thou defendest." Nor did he desist from humbling himself,

Mahometan might be a born knight in purity of heart and magnanimity*.

Saladin had twice dealt heavy blows on the enemies of Islamism. On the one hand, he invaded Egypt, dethroned the Fatimites, and destroyed the focus of the bold beliefs which had found their way through every part of Asia; and, on the other, he had overthrown the petty Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, defeated and taken king Lusignan at the battle of Tiberias†, and gained possession of the holy city. His humanity to his prisoners formed a striking contrast to the hardness of heart displayed towards their brethren by the Christians of Asia. Whilst those of Tripoli barred their gates on the fugitives from Jerusalem, Saladin employed the money which remained from the expenses of the siege to ransom the poor and the orphans who had fallen into his soldiers' hands. His brother, Malek-Adhel, set two thousand at liberty for his own share‡.

France had carried through the first crusade, almost single-handed. Germany had largely contributed to the second. The third was popular; and most of all so in England. But king Richard brought with him only knights and soldiers; no useless hands, as in the former crusades. The king of France did the same; and both employed Genoese and Marseillaise transports. Meanwhile the emperor Frederick Barbarossa had set out with a large and formidable army. He sought to recover his reputation both as a soldier and a good Catholic, which had been compromised by his Italian wars. He surmounted the difficulties to which Conrad and Louis VII. had succumbed in their march through Asia Minor; and, old and exhausted as he was with his numerous mishaps, triumphed over nature and over Greek perfidiousness, and over the ambushes laid by the sultan of Iconium, who sustained a memorable defeat at his hands§, but it was only to end his life ingloriously in the waters of a small wretched stream of Asia. His son Frederick of Suabia survived him scarcely a year: languishing and sick, he refused to listen to the physicians who prescribed him incontinence, and bore off in death the palm of virginity||, like Godfrey of Bouillon.

However, the kings of France and England bore on their way by sea, but with very different views. From the time of their meeting in Sicily, the two

friends had quarrelled. It was a renewal of the temptation of the Normans and Aquitanians, such as we saw in the case of Bohemond and of Raymond de St. Gilles, to stop short of the object for which the crusade was undertaken. At first, they wished to stop at Constantinople, then at Antioch. The Gascon-Norman, Richard, had even desired to call a halt in the tempting vales of Sicily. Tancred, who had got himself made its king, was supported solely by the voice of the people and their hatred of the Germans, who claimed the island in the name of Constance, the daughter of the last king, and wife of the emperor; and Tancred had thrown his predecessor's widow, who was Richard's sister, in prison: Richard would have asked no better than to avenge the insult, and had already made a pretext for displaying his banner on the walls of Messina*. Tancred's only resource was to gain over Philippe-Auguste at any price; and he, as Richard's suzerain, obliged him to remove his standard. Their jealousy, in fact, had reached such a pitch, that to listen to the Sicilians, the French king had already sought their aid to exterminate the English. Richard had, perforce, to content himself with twenty thousand ounces of gold, which Tancred offered him as his sister's dower; together with twenty thousand more as the dower of one of his daughters, who was to marry Richard's nephew (Arthur, the young duke of Bretagne). The king of France did not allow him to carry off the whole of this enormous sum to his own share, but protested loudly against Richard's perfidy in bringing to Sicily a princess of Navarre as his affianced bride, after his marriage contract with his sister (Adelais), although well knowing that this same sister had been seduced by the aged Henry II.; and when Richard offered to prove the fact, and offered, besides, ten thousand marks of silver to be released from his contract, Philip pocketed the money and the disgrace without a scruple†.

Richard was more successful in Cyprus; the petty Greek king of which island had seized one of his vessels that had been stranded on the coast, and in which were his mother and his sister. The English monarch could not let slip so fine an opportunity, but conquered the island without difficulty, and loaded its sovereign with chains of silver‡. Philippe-Auguste waited for him before Acre, refusing to give the assault before the arrival of his brother in arms.

One author estimates the whole number of the crusaders, who came at different times to fight in this gladiatorial combat of the siege of Acre, at six hundred thousand§, a hundred and twenty thousand of whom perished there||; and these were not, as in the first crusade, a disorderly rabble of

* Saladin's generosity towards the Christians, is dwelt upon with more unction by the Latin historians, and chiefly by the continuator of William of Tyre, than by the Arab writers. Passages occur in the latter, which, notwithstanding their purpose of obscurity, prove the Mussulmans to have felt alarm at the generous sentiments of the sultan. Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, li. 346.

† With Lusignan were made prisoners the prince of Antioch, the marquess of Montserrat, the count of Edessa, the constable of the kingdom, the grand masters of the temple and of Jerusalem, and almost the whole nobility of the Holy Land. S. Jac. de Vitrac, c. 94. Histor. Hieros. p. 1153. Bern. Thes. c. 155, 156.

‡ Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, t. ii. p. 346, 350.

§ Hist. Hierosolym. ap. Bongars. p. 1161. The writer asserts that there were above three hundred thousand Turks engaged.

|| Godfr. Monach. ap. Raumer. Gesch. der Hohenst. "When his physicians suggested that his life might be saved by indulging in love, he answered that he preferred death to defiling his body whilst bound on a divine pilgrimage."

* Roger de Hoveden, p. 674. Et signa regis Angliæ in munitionibus per circuitum posuerunt. . . . See Thierry, Conq. de l'Angleterre, t. iv. p. 37.

† Roger de Hoveden, p. 688. "By this agreement, Richard was at liberty to marry whomsoever he liked."

‡ Bened. Petrob. p. 517. John Brumton, p. 1197.

§ Bohadin, Biblioth. des Croisades, iv. 359.

|| The return of the dead between the names of six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty-five counts, and five hundred barons. Hoveden, p. 390. Vinesauf, p. 324, ap. Lingard, vol. ii. p. 457. According to Abulpharage, a hundred and eighty thousand Mussulmans fell in this destructive siege. Biblioth. des Croisades, iv. 359.

men of all conditions, freemen or serfs, and of all races, who swept on in their blind enthusiasm wheresoever the divine rage, the *æstrus* of the crusade, led them, but knights and soldiers, the flower of European chivalry. All Europe had sent its representatives, nation by nation. A Sicilian fleet had first arrived, then Belgians, Frieslanders, and Danes; then, led by the count of Champagne, an army of French, English, and Italians; then Germans, led, on the death of Frederick Barbarossa, by the duke of Suabia. Then followed, in the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles, the French, with Philippe-Auguste, and the English, Normans, Bretons, and Aquitanians, with Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Even before the arrival of these two kings, the army was already so formidable that a knight exclaimed, "If God will but stand neuter, the victory is ours!"

On the other hand, Saladin had written for succour to the caliph of Bagdad and other Mussulman princes. The town of Acre was not the stake; but whether Europe or Asia should triumph. Minds as ardent as those of Richard and Saladin looked to the future. The latter nourished the idea of no less than a counter crusade, a great expedition, in which he would force his way through Europe, right to the heart of the land of the Franks; and rash as the project was, it would have scared Europe, had Saladin, after overthrowing the frail empire of the Greeks, appeared in Hungary and Germany at the point of time that four hundred thousand Almohades were attempting to force the barrier of Spain and the Pyrenees.

The efforts were proportionate to the greatness of the prize. All that was then known of the art of war was put in practice; the ancient and the feudal, European and Asiatic tactics, moveable towers, the Greek fire, and all the warlike "means and appliances" of the time. The Christians, say the Arab historians, had brought with them lava from Etna, which they hurled into the towns *like the bolts darted against the rebel angels*. But the most formidable of the warlike machines was king Richard himself. This wicked son of Henry II., this son of wrath, whose whole life was as if one fit of violent passion, acquired among the Saracens an imperishable name for valour and cruelty. On Saladin's refusal to redeem the prisoners when the garrison of Acre was driven to capitulation, Richard had their throats cut in sight of both camps. This fearful man spared not the enemy, nor his own soldiers, nor himself. He returned from the *guêlée*, says an historian, bristled with arrows, like a cushion stuck full of needles. Long afterwards, Arab mothers stilled their little ones with the name of king Richard; and if a horse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush?"

* Vinesauf, ap. Michaud, t. ii. p. 399.

† Bohadin relates this design as told him by Saladin himself. See M. Reinaud's Extracts, Biblioth. des Croisades, iii. 374.

‡ Vinesauf, ap. Michaud, ii. 509.

§ Joinville (édit. 1761, fol.) Le roy Richart fist tant d'armes outremur, à celle fois que il y fu, que quant les chevaus aus Sarrazins avoient pouour d'aucun bisson, leur mestre leur disoient : Cuides tu, fesoient ils à leur chevaus, que ce soit le roy Richart d'Angleterre? Et quand les enfans aus Sarrazins broïoient, elles leur disoient : Tai-toy, tai-toy, ou je irai querre le roy Richart qui te tuera.

This valour and all these efforts produced little result. We have said that all the nations of Europe were represented at this siege; but their national hatreds were represented as well. Each fought on his own account as it were, and instead of seconding, strove to injure the rest. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians, rivals in war and commerce, regarded each other with hostile eye. The Templars and the Hospitaliers could scarcely refrain from coming to blows. There were two kings of Jerusalem in the camp, Guy of Lusignan, who was favoured by Philippe-Auguste, and Conrad of Tyre and Montserrat, whose claims were supported by Richard. Philip's jealousy kept pace with the increasing glory of his rival; and falling sick, he accused Richard of having poisoned him. He claimed half of the island of Cyprus, and of the money paid by Tancred; and at last he gave up the crusade and embarked almost alone, leaving the French ashamed of his departure*. Richard succeeded no better for being left to himself. He offended all by his insolence and pride. The Germans having displayed their colours on one quarter of the walls, he ordered them to be thrown into the fosse†. He turned his victory of Asur to no use, and missed the opportunity for regaining Jerusalem by refusing to promise the garrison their lives. As he drew near to the holy city, the duke of Burgundy deserted him with the French who remained under his command. From this moment all was lost. A knight pointing out Jerusalem to him from a distance, he burst into tears, and veiling his face with his surcoat, he exclaimed, "My God, let me not behold thy city, since I am unable to deliver it!‡"

In fact, this crusade was the last. Asia and Europe had come into contact, and had found each other invincible. Henceforward it is to other lands, to Egypt, to Constantinople, any where save the Holy Land, that, under pretences more or less specious, the great expeditions of the Christians will be directed. Besides, religious enthusiasm was on the wane. The miracles and revelations which signalized the first, disappear by the third crusade, which is a great military expedition, a struggle of races quite as much as of religion. The long siege of Acre is to the middle age a siege of Troy, and its plain was long the common dwelling of both parties. There they saw each other daily, measured each other's strength, learned to know each other, and their hates diminished. The Christian camp becomes a large city, frequented by merchants of both religions§. They willingly mingle and dance together; and the

* Before Ptolemais, several of the French barons posted themselves under the English banner. From this time, the chronicle of St. Denis invariably speaks of the king of England by the name of *Trichard* (the trickster), instead of Richard.

† The chronicler says into a privy—In cloacam dejicere . . . Scr. R. Fr. xviii. 27.

‡ Joinville (édit. 1761), p. 116. Tandis qu'ils estoient en ces paroles, un sien chevalier lui esclia : "Sire, sire, venez juesques ci, et je vous monsterrai Jérusalem." Et quant il oy ce, il jeta sa cotte à armer devant ses yex tout en plorant, et dit à Nostre-Seigneur : "Biau Sire Diex, je te pri que tu ne seuffres que je voie ta sainte cité, puisque je ne la puis delivrer des mains de tes ennemis."

§ For instance, the camp before Ptolemais, in 1191. Michaud, ii. 451.

Christian minstrels lend their voices to the sound of Arab instruments *. The miners on both sides agree to do each other no injury when they meet in their subterranean task. Much more; each side gets to hate itself more than the enemy. Richard is less the enemy of Saladin than of Philip-Augustus, and Saladin detests the Assassins and the Alides more than the Christians †.

During this great movement of the world, the king of France prosecuted his private interests in the quietest manner. Leaving the honour to Richard, he took the profit, and seemed reconciled to the division. Richard remains the guardian of the grand cause of Christendom, amuses himself with adventures and deeds of "derring-do," immortalizes, and impoverishes himself. Philip, who swore when he left that he would not injure his rival, loses not a moment, but hastes to Rome to obtain the pope's dispensation from his oath ‡. He returns to France in time to divide Flanders on the death of Philip of Alsace; compels his daughter and his son-in-law to give up part of it by way of jointure to his widow, but reserves Artois and St. Omer for himself, in memory of his wife, Isabella of Flanders §. Meanwhile, he excites the Aquitanians to revolt, and encourages Richard's brother to seize the throne. The foxes make their game in the lion's absence. Who knows that he will return? The chance is, that he will either be slain or taken. And he was taken; traitorously taken by Christians. The very duke of Austria, whom he had insulted, and whose banner he had thrown into the fosse of St. Jean d'Acre, surprised him as he was passing in disguise through his territory, and gave him up to the emperor Henry VI. ¶ This was the law of the middle age. The stranger who passed through the lands of the lord without his consent belonged to him. The emperor did not disturb himself about the pri-

viliges conferred by having taken the cross. He had destroyed the Normans of Sicily, and thought it to his advantage to humble those of England. Besides, John and Philippe-Auguste offered him as large a sum as Richard would have given for his ransom *; and undoubtedly he would have kept him prisoner, had not the aged Eleanor, the pope, and the German barons themselves shamed him out of such a design towards the hero of the crusade †. However, he did not let go his hold of him until he had exacted from him a ransom of a hundred thousand marks of silver, and Richard had done him homage in a diet of the empire, by the delivery of the cap from his head ‡ (the symbolic resignation of his crown into the hands of Henry). The latter conceded to him in exchange the mockery of a title to the kingdom of Arles. The hero returned to England (A. D. 1194), after having been a captive thirteen months,—king of Arles, vassal of the empire, and ruined. He had but to show himself to reduce John and repulse Philip. The remainder of his life was passed ingloriously in a succession of truces and of petty wars. However, the counts of Brittany, Flanders, Boulogne, Champagne, and Blois sided with him against Philip. He fell whilst besieging the castle of Chaluz, whose lord he sought to compel to deliver up to him a treasure which had been discovered on his estate (A. D. 1199) §. He was succeeded by his brother John, although he had named his nephew Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, his heir.

Nor did Philip reap greater glory the while. The great vassals were jealous of the power he had attained; and he had imprudently quarrelled with the pope, whose friendship had raised his house to such a pitch. Philip had married a Danish princess, in the single view of securing a diversion of the Danes against Richard; but he had conceived a dislike to the young barbarian from his wedding-day ||, and having no longer need of her father's assistance, he had divorced her in order to marry Agnes de Méranie, of the house of Franche-Comté; and this unlucky divorce, which embroiled him for several years with the Church, had condemned him to inactivity, and rendered him a passive and helpless spectator of the great events which took place in the mean time, of Richard's death and of the fourth crusade.

The Westerns had slight hope of succeeding in an enterprise in which their hero, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, had failed. However, the momentum which had been imparted a century before, went on of itself. Politicians endeavoured to turn it to account. The emperor, Henry VI., himself preached the crusade to the diet of Worms, declaring that

* Ser. R. Fr. xviii. 38.

† Petri Blesensis ad Papam Epist. ap. Gieseler, ii. Second Part, p. 91. Regem . . . in sancta peregrinatione, in protectione Dei crucis, captum, et vinculis carceraliibus coarctatum tenet. . . .

‡ Rog. de Hoved. p. 724. Deposuit se de regno Anglie, et tradidit illud imperatori sicut universorum domino, et investivit eum inde per pileum suum.

§ TELUM LIMOLIE.
OCCIDIT LEONEM ANGLIE.

A nun of Canterbury wrote this epitaph on Richard:—"Avarice, adultery, and headstrong will have reigned ten years on the throne of England; a cross-bow has dethroned them." Rog. de Hoveden.

|| Rigord, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xviii. 38. Gesta Innoc. III. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 343.

* Id. *ibid.* pp. 450, 522. The crusaders were often admitted to the table of Saladin, and the emirs to that of Richard.

† Saladin sent presents to the Christian kings on their arrival, of Damascus plums and other fruits; they sent him jewels. Michaud, ii. 436 (citing Brumton). Philip and Richard reciprocally accused each other of holding correspondence with the Mussulmans. Richard wore at Cyprus a cloak powdered with crescents of silver. *Bibliot. des Croisades*, ii. 685.—Richard offered his sister (the widow of William of Sicily) in marriage to Malek-Adhel: and the two were to reign conjointly, under the auspices of Saladin and of Richard, over the Mussulmans and Christians, and to govern the kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin showed no repugnance to the proposition; but the imams and teachers of the law were exceedingly surprised at it, and the Christian bishops threatened Jane and Richard with excommunication. Michaud, ii. 477. Saladin wished to be made acquainted with the laws of chivalry; and Malek-Adhel sent his son to be knighted by Richard. Id. p. 522.

‡ Bened. Petroburg. p. 511. The pope refused.

§ *ibid.* p. 512. Oudegherst, c. 88.

|| When Richard reached Vienna after three days' journey, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, his page, who spoke Saxon, went to the market to buy provisions, and paid with gold bezants. He made a swaggering display of his money and affected the courtier; but what chiefly roused suspicion, was his having richly embroidered gloves at his girdle, such were worn by the great lords of the period, and a report having been current that Richard had landed, they arrested the page, and wrung the truth from him by torture. Radulph de Coggeshale, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xviii. 72. See Thierry, *Conq. de l'Anget.* t. iv. p. 70.

he desired to make atonement for the imprisonment of Richard. Enthusiasm was at its height: all the German princes took the cross. Many found their way to Constantinople: others followed the emperor, who persuaded them that the right road to the Holy Land was Sicily. He thus managed to secure important assistance towards conquering this island, which was his wife's by inheritance, but whose inhabitants, whether Norman, Italian, or Arab, were unanimous in rejecting the German yoke. He only became master of it by shedding torrents of blood; and it is even said, that his wife poisoned him in revenge for her country's wrongs. Brought up by the jurists of Bologna with the idea of the illimitable right of the Caesars, Henry relied on making Sicily his vantage-ground for the invasion of the Greek empire, as Robert Guiscard had done, and then returning into Italy to humble the pope to the level of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The conquest of the Greek empire, which he was unable to accomplish, was, indeed, the consequence and unforeseen result of the fourth crusade. Saladin's death, and the accession of a young pope full of ardour and of genius (Innocent III.), seemed to reanimate Christendom. The death of Henry VI., too, reassured Europe, alarmed at his power. The crusade, preached by Fulk of Neuilly, was, above all, popular in Northern France. A count of Champagne had just been elected king of Jerusalem. His brother, who succeeded to his countship, took the cross, and with him most of his vassals. This powerful baron was lord of no fewer than eighteen hundred fiefs*. Nor must we forget his marshal of Champagne, who marched at the head of his vassals, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, the historian of this great expedition, the first prose writer, the first historian of France who took the vulgar tongue. It is a native of Champagne, too, the Sire de Joinville, who is to relate the history of St. Louis and the close of the crusades. The barons of the north of France took the cross in crowds, and among them the counts of Brienne, of St. Paul, of Boulogne, and of Amiens, with the Dampierres, the Montmorencies, and the famous Simon de Montfort, who had returned from the Holy Land, where he had concluded a truce with the Saracens on the part of the Christians of Palestine. The impulse communicated itself to Hainault and to Flanders; and the count of Flanders, who was the brother-in-law of the count of Champagne, found himself, by the premature death of the latter, the chief leader of the crusade. The kings of France and England had their own affairs to look after; and the empire was distracted between two emperors.

The land journey was no longer thought of. The Greeks were too well known. They had but recently massacred the Latins who happened to be in Constantinople†; and had attempted to destroy the emperor Frederick Barbarossa on his march.

* Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 189. Ducange, Observ. p. 254. (Two thousand and two hundred knights owed service and homage to his peerage. Gibbon, *ibid.*)

† Wilhelm. Tyr. l. xxii. c. 11—13. A legate was massacred, and his head, fastened to a dog's tail, dragged through the streets. Even the sick in the hospital of St. John were put to the sword (ad Xenodochium . . . quotquot in eo repererunt languidos, gladio peremerunt) Only four thousand were spared, who were sold to the Turks. See, also,

Vessels were required for the voyage by sea. The Venetians were applied to*. These traders took advantage of the necessity of the crusaders, and would not supply them with transports under eighty-five thousand marks of silver. But they chose to take a share in the crusade, towards which they equipped fifty galleys, and in return for this small venture, they stipulated for a moiety of the conquests. The old doge Dandolo, an octogenarian, and almost blind†, would trust no one with the command of an expedition which might turn out so profitable to the republic, and declared his intention to sail with it‡. The marquis of

Baldwin's encyclic letter, ann. 1204, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xviii. 524.

* Villehardouin was the bearer of the message. When he had concluded it, he says, "Then the six deputies knelt at their feet with many tears; and the doge and all the rest cried out with one voice, and lifted their hands on high, and said—We grant it, we grant it. Thereupon rose so loud a shout that it sounded like an earthquake." The doge then addressed the people, and the agreement was inscribed on parchment. "And when the doge handed them the agreement, they knelt with many tears, and swore without reservation to abide by the terms there written, and to observe all its clauses, forty-six in number. And the deputies again swore to keep the terms, and their oath to their lord, and that they would observe the whole with good faith. Know that many piteous tears were shed thereat." Villehardouin (édit. Petitot), c. 17.

(Gibbon remarks in a note—vol. xi. p. 197. "A reader of Villehardouin must observe the frequent tears of the marshal and his brother knights—Sachiez que la ot mainte lerne plorée de pitie (No. xvii); mult plorant (ibid); mainte lerne plorée (No. xxvii), si ont mult pitie et plorerent mult durement (No. lx); et ot mainte lerne plorée de pitie (No. ccii). They weep on every occasion of grief, joy, or devotion.") TRANSLATOR.

† Nic. in Al. Comn. iii. c. 9, p. 347. "Dandolo, a blind man, crabb'd with years, full of plots against and envy of the Greeks, who, being full of all craft, and conceiving himself the shrewdest of the shrewd," &c.

‡ "Then they assembled on a Sunday in the church of St. Mark. It was a high festival, and there were present the people of the land, and most of the barons and pilgrims. Before high mass began, the doge of Venice, who was named Henry Dandolo, mounted the pulpit, and spoke to the people, and said to them—Signors, there have joined themselves to you the best nation in the world, and for the greatest business that ever men undertook, and I am an old man and a feeble, and should be thinking of rest, and am frail and suffering of body. But I see that no one can order and marshal you like I, who am your lord. If you choose to grant me to take the sign of the cross that I may guard you and instruct you, and that my son may remain in my place to guard the land, I will go live or die with you and the pilgrims. And when they heard him, they all cried out with one voice, 'We beg you in God's name to grant it, and to do it, and to come with us.'" Villehardouin, c. 30.

"Then great pity took possession of the men of the land and of the pilgrims, and they shed many tears, to think that this valiant man had such great cause to remain, for he was an old man and had beautiful eyes in his head, but saw not with them, having lost his sight through a wound on the crown: exceeding great of heart was he. Ah! how pitiful did they seem, who had gone to other ports to avoid the danger. So he descended from the pulpit, and walked straight to the altar, and threw himself on his knees, pitifully weeping, and they sewed the cross on a large cape of cotton, because he wished the people to see it. And the Venetians began to take the cross in large numbers and in great plenty on that day, until which very few had taken the cross. Our pilgrims were moved with exceeding joy, even to overflowing, as regarded this new crusader, on account of the sense and the prowess that were his. Thus the

Montserrat, Boniface, a brave and poor prince, who had been to the holy wars, and whose brother Conrad had distinguished himself by his defence of Tyre, was appointed commander-in-chief, and he promised to lead with him the Piedmontese and Savoyards.

When the crusaders had assembled at Venice, the Venetians protested to them, in the midst of their farewell fêtes, that they would not get under weigh until they received their freightage*. All drained themselves, and gave whatever they had brought with them: still thirty-four thousand marks were wanting to make the tale complete†. The worthy doge then interceded, and pointed out to the people that it would not be to their honour to act rigorously with regard to so holy an enterprise; and he proposed that the crusaders should, in the first instance, lay siege, on behalf of the Venetians, to the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which had withdrawn itself from the yoke of the Venetians to recognize the king of Hungary. The latter had just taken the cross, and to attack one of his towns was a bad beginning. Vainly did the pope's legate protest against the step. The doge told him that the army could dispense with his directions, mounted the cross on his ducal cap, and dragged the crusaders first to the siege of Zara‡, then to that of Trieste; and they conquered for their good friends of Venice almost all the towns of Istria.

CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS.

Whilst these brave and honest knights earn their passage by these exploits, "Behold, there happens," says Villehardouin, "a great wonder, an unhoped for, and the strangest adventure in the world." A young Greek prince, son of the emperor Isaac,—at the time dispossessed of his dominions by his brother,—comes to embrace the crusaders' knees, and to promise them immense advantages, if they will only re-establish his father on his throne. They were all to be enriched for ever, the Greek church was to submit to the pope, and the emperor, once restored, would aid them with his whole power to recover Jerusalem. Dandolo is the first to commiserate the prince's mis-

doe took the cross as you have heard. Then they began to prepare the ships and palanders, that the barons might depart, and so long had these arrangements taken, that September drew nigh." Ibid. c. 34.

* Ibid. c. 36, 31.

† Many of the crusaders, from fear of difficulties in crossing by way of Venice, had gone to other ports to embark, and those who remained being thus fewer in number than they had calculated, found themselves hard pushed to raise the sum agreed upon. "And many rejoiced thereat, who had left their fortune behind, and would contribute nothing, imagining that the army must break up, and disperse." These divisions were frequently on the point of wrecking the whole enterprise. See further on.

‡ The pope threatened the crusaders with excommunication, because the king of Hungary, having taken the cross, was under the protection of the Church. (Epist. Innoc. III. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 420, 421. Petr. Vail Sarn. c. 19.) When they had taken the city, the crusaders sent deputies to the pope to exonerate themselves.—"The barons cry you pardon for the taking of Jadres (Zara), which they did, being unable to do better through the fault of those who had gone to other ports, and as by no other means they could keep together, and therefore they send to you as to their good father, for you to lay your commands upon them, which they are ready to execute." Villehardouin, p. 169.—Epist. Innoc. iii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 432.

fortunes*. He determines the crusaders, to begin the crusade by Constantinople. Vainly does the pope launch his interdict against the intent; vainly do Simon Montfort and many others† separate from the main body, and set sail to Jerusalem. The majority follow Baldwin and Boniface, who fall in with the opinion of the Venetians.

Whatever the pope's opposition to the enterprise, the crusaders conceived that they were doing a good work in subjecting the Greek church to him, in his own despite. It would put an end to the mutual hatred and opposition of the Greeks and Latins. The old religious war, begun by Photius in the ninth century‡, had been resumed in the eleventh§ (about A.D. 1053). It seemed, however, that the common opposition to the Mahometans, who threatened Constantinople, must bring about a reconciliation. The emperor, Constantine Monomachus, made great efforts. He invited legates from the pope; the clergy of the two creeds met, and enquired into each other's opinions; but, as their adversaries said, they thought all they heard blasphemy, and the disgust felt by either with the other was increased. They parted; and, in parting, consecrated the rupture of the two churches by reciprocal excommunication. (A.D. 1054.)

Before the close of the century, the crusade to Jerusalem, solicited by the Comneni themselves, brought the Latins to Constantinople. National hatred then became added to religious; the Greeks detested the brutal insolence of the Westerns, and the latter accused the Greeks of treachery. At every crusade, the Franks, in passing through Constantinople, had deliberated on the policy of seizing it; and but for the good faith of Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis the Younger, they would have put their deliberations into act. When the nationality of the Greeks was so fearfully aroused by the

* When at Corfu, many of the crusaders resolved to remain in this "rich and pteuous island;" and when the leaders of the army were apprized of it, they resolved to dissuade them from the purpose. "Let us go to them, and beseech them for God's sake to have pity on themselves and us, and not to dishonour themselves, and not to put an end to every hope of return. This agreed upon, they repaired all together to a valley where the seceders held their council, taking with them the son of the emperor of Constantinople, and all the bishops, and all the abbots of the host. And when they came to the spot, they dismounted. And when the seceders saw them, they likewise dismounted, and walked forward, and the barons met them on foot, greatly lamenting, and said that they would not stir until they had promised not to abandon them. And when they saw this, they were moved to tears, and wept very bitterly." Villehardouin, p. 173. 177.—When the inhabitants of Zara came to propose surrender to Dandolo, "Whilst he went to speak to the counts and the barons, that party of whom you have heard who wished to break up the host, spoke to the messengers and said to them, 'Why will you surrender your city,'" &c. These underhand dealings broke off the capitulation.—When they had taken Zara, the Venetians and French came to blows in the city.

† Guy de Montfort, his brother; Simon de Nœufve; the abbot of Vaux-Sarnay, &c. Ibid. p. 171.

‡ In the year 858, the patriarch Ignatius was deposed by the emperor Michel III. in favour of the layman, Photius. Nicolas I. espoused the cause of Ignatius. (Nicol. i. Ep. 2, 9, ad Michael, 10 ad Cler. Const., 3 ad Phot. &c.) In 867, Photius anathematized the pope.

§ By a letter of the patriarch Michel's to the bishop of Trani, on the azyms, and the sabbath, and the observances of the Roman church. Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1053.

tyrant Andronicus, the Latins, settled in Constantinople, were involved in one common massacre (April, A. D. 1182)*. Notwithstanding the constant danger that hung over their heads, commercial interests tempted great numbers to return under his successors; and they formed in the heart of Constantinople a hostile colony, inviting the Westerns, and apparently holding out hopes of seconding them should they ever attempt to take the capital of the Greek empire by surprise. Of all the Latins, the Venetians alone desired and could effect this great enterprise; and rivals of the Genoese in the trade of the Levant, they feared being anticipated by them. Not to dwell upon the great name of Constantinople, and of the immense riches enclosed within its walls, in which the Roman empire had taken refuge, its commanding position betwixt Europe and Asia offered, to whoever should seize it, a monopoly of commerce, and the sovereignty of the seas. The old doge Dandolo, whom the Greeks had formerly deprived of sight, pursued this project with the untiring ardour of patriotism and of vengeance. It is even stated that the Sultan Malek-Adhel, in his fear of the crusade, had levied contributions throughout Syria for the purchase of the friendship of the Venetians, and to divert to Constantinople the danger which threatened Judea and Egypt. Nicetas, much better acquainted than Villehardouin with the negotiations preceding the crusade, asserts that the whole had been arranged, and that the arrival of the young Alexius only accelerated the impulse already given: "it was," he says, "a wave upon a wave †."

The crusaders constituted in the hands of Venice a blind and brutal force, which it launched against the Greek empire. They were ignorant alike of the motives and secret intelligence of the Venetians, and of the state of the empire they were about to attack. Thus, when they found themselves before its astonishing capital, and beheld the innumerable palaces and churches of Constantinople, with their gilded domes ‡ flashing in the

sun, and gazed on the myriads of men who crowded the ramparts, they could not help a feeling of momentary doubt. "Know," says Villehardouin, "there was none so bold, whose heart did not tremble . . . each looked to his arms . . . as the time was at hand he would have need of them."

It is true that the population was great; but the city was unprepared for defence. The Greeks had entertained the conviction, since their repulse of the Arabs, that Constantinople was impregnable; and from this conviction neglected the means of rendering it so. Constantinople had sixteen hundred fishing-boats, and only twenty ships, not one of which, however, it sent against the Latin fleet, and none attempted to fall down the stream to cast the Greek fire into it. Sixty thousand men, indeed, appeared on the bank magnificently armed; but no sooner did the crusaders show themselves, than they vanished*. In fact, this light cavalry of theirs could not have sustained the shock of the heavy men-at-arms of the Latins; and the city had no other defence than was afforded by its strong walls and a few corps of excellent soldiers, forming the Varangian guard, which consisted of Danish and Saxon refugees from England †, together with some Pisan auxiliaries: in all parts, the commercial and political rivalry between the two people, armed the Pisans against the Venetians‡.

The latter, probably, had friends in Constantinople; for as soon as they had forced the harbour and presented themselves at the foot of the walls, the standard of St. Mark appeared on them, planted by an invisible hand, and the doge was quickly master of twenty-five towers. But he had to forego this advantage in order to carry assistance to the Franks, who were surrounded by the Greek cavalry they had so despised. That very night the emperor fled in despair. His predecessor, the aged Isaac Comnenus, was released from prison; and it only remained for the crusaders to enter the city in triumph.

It was impossible that the crusade should end thus. The new emperor could only satisfy the requisitions of his liberators by ruining his subjects. The Greeks murmured, the Latins pressed and threatened. In the meantime they insulted the people in a thousand ways, as well as the emperor of their own making. One day, when playing at dice with prince Alexius, they clapped a coarse woollen or hair cap on his head §. They took pleasure in offending against all the customs of the Greeks, and were scandalized at whatever was new to themselves. Discovering a mosque or a synagogue, they fell upon the infidels, who defended themselves. They then set fire to some houses, and the flames spreading, the conflagration raged over the thickest and most populous quarter of the city for above a league in front, and lasted eight days and nights ||.

This event put the finishing stroke to the exasperation of the people, who rose up against the

undertaken by so scant a number since the world was created." Villehardouin, p. 183. 231. See, also, Foulcher de Chartres, c. 41, ap. Bongars, p. 386, and Will. Tyr. l. ii. c. 3; l. xx. c. 26.

* In another engagement, "the Greeks turned their backs, so were they handled at the first shock." Villehardouin, p. 191.

† Ib. p. 218.

‡ Ib. *ibid.* p. 258.

§ Nicetas, l. iii. p. 238.

|| *Id. ibid.* p. 352.

* Nicetas in Alex. Comm. c. 10. Willelm. Tyr. l. xxii. c. 10. 13.—In an encyclic letter, reporting the taking of Constantinople, Balduin accuses the Greeks of having frequently contracted alliances with the infidels; of repeating the baptismal ceremony; of honouring Christ only by paintings (Christum solis honorare picturis); of calling the Latins dogs, and of thinking it no sin to shed their blood.—He calls to mind the cruel death of the legate, sent to Constantinople in 1183.—"Divine justice, using us as its instruments, has worthily avenged these and the like crimes . . . the measure of their iniquity, which provoked the Lord's wrath, being filled up. . . . and we have been given a land flowing with all good things, corn, wine, and oil, fertile in fruits and groves, lovely in waters and pastures, most extensive to dwell in, and enjoying a temperature such as the world contains no other." Ser. R. Fr. xviii. 524. See, also, Baronius, ann. 1054.

† Nicetas in Alex. Comm. c. 9, p. 348: Κακὸν ἐπὶ κακῇ προεβήλας, καὶ κύμα, ὃ φασιν, ἐπὶ κύματι Γραικοῖς ἐπεκρίνεσθαι.

‡ "Now you must know, that many looked upon Constantinople who had never seen it, nor could have believed there to be so rich a city in the world. When they saw those lofty walls and those rich towers with which it was enclosed all round, and those rich palaces, and those lofty churches, which were so many in number that no one would credit it without seeing—and the length and width of the city, which was peerless beyond all others. And know, there was none so bold whose heart did not tremble; and it was no wonder, since such an emprise was never un-

emperor whose restoration had brought so many evils in its train. For three days the purple was offered to every senator in turn: great courage was required to accept it. The Venetians who, apparently, could have interfered, remained outside of the walls, and waited. Perhaps they feared trusting themselves in this immense city, in which they might have been crushed; perhaps it suited them to allow the emperor whom they had made to be overpowered, that they might enter Constantinople as enemies. In fact, the aged Isaac was put to death, and was replaced by a prince of the imperial family, Alexius Mourzoufle, who showed himself equal to the emergency in which he accepted the empire. He began by rejecting the captious propositions of the Venetians, who still offered to be satisfied with a sum of money*. They would by this means have ruined him, and have rendered him hateful to the people, like his predecessor. Mourzoufle levied money, indeed; but it was to employ it in his own defence. He armed vessels, and twice endeavoured to burn the enemy's fleet. The situation of the Latins became precarious. However, Mourzoufle could not create soldiers at once. The crusaders were warriors of a far different stamp; the Greeks could not withstand their assault; and Nicetas confesses, with infinite simplicity, that at the terrible moment the gates were burst open, a Latin knight, who overthrew all in his way, appeared fifty feet high to them†.

The leaders endeavoured to restrain the licence of victory. They forbade, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns. But full scope was allowed to the avarice of the soldiery; and so enormous was the amount of the booty, that after adding fifty thousand marks to the share of the Venetians in discharge of their debt, there remained five hundred thousand marks to the Franks as their own share‡. An innumerable number of precious monuments, which had been collected in Constantinople since the empire had lost so many provinces, perished under the hands of men who wrangled for them, who wished to divide them, or who else destroyed them for destruction's sake. Nor churches nor tombs were respected; and a prostitute sang and danced in the patriarch's pulpit§. The barbarians scattered

the bones of the emperors; and when they came to Justinian's tomb, found with surprise that the legislator's body betrayed no signs of decay or putrefaction.

Who was to have the honour of seating himself on Justinian's throne, and of founding the new empire? The worthiest was the aged Dandolo. But the Venetians were opposed to this*: it did not suit them to give to a family what belonged to the republic. The glory of being the restorers of the empire was little to them. What these merchants desired was posts, commercial depôts, a long chain of factories, which might secure them the whole of the great eastern highway. They chose for their own share the maritime coast and the islands, together with three out of the eight quarters of Constantinople, with the fantastic title of *lords of one fourth and a half of the Roman empire*†.

The empire, reduced to one fourth of its limits, was bestowed on Baldwin, count of Flanders, a descendant of Charlemagne, and a cousin of the king of France. The marquis of Montserrat was contented with the kingdom of Macedon. The greatest part of the empire, and even that which devolved on the Venetians, was portioned out into fiefs.

The new emperor's first care was to excuse himself to the pope, who found himself embarrassed by his involuntary triumph. It was a severe blow to the papal infallibility, that God had justified by success a war denounced by the holy see. The union of the two churches, and the junction of the two moieties of Christendom, had been brought about by men labouring under the interdiction of the Church. The pope had no other alternative than to retract his sentence, and to pardon the conquerors who besought pardon. The sadness of Innocent III. is visible in his reply to Baldwin. He compares himself to the fisherman in the Gospel who is alarmed at the miraculous draught; then boldly affirms that the merit of the triumph is partly his, and that he, too, had spread his net—"Hoc unum audacter affirmo, quod laxavi retia in capturam‡." But it exceeded his power to make it believed that what he had said had not been spoken, and that he had approved of what he had disapproved. The conquest of the Greek empire shook his authority in the West, more than it had extended it in the East.

The results of this memorable event were not as great as might have been imagined. The Latin empire of Constantinople lasted even a shorter time than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (only from A. D. 1204 to A. D. 1261). Venice alone derived material advantage from it, which she did largely. France gained in influence only. Her manners and language, already borne so far by the first crusade, were diffused throughout the East. Bald-

* Id. *ibid.* p. 365.

† Έννέα ὀργυρία. Elsewhere he contents himself with saying, "These Franks were taller than their pikes."

‡ Villehardouin, p. 281. "And so great was the gain, that no one can tell you the end of the gold and silver, of the plate and jewels and precious stones, and of the samit, and silks, and green, grey, and ermined robes, and all the precious commodities which are known on earth. And well testifies Jeffroi de Villehardouin, the marshal of Champagne, as far as he knows for truth, that never since the world was created, was there so much gained in a city. . . . And great was their rejoicing at the honour and victory which God had vouchsafed them, so that those who had been in poverty were in riches and delights. . . . You may well think that great was the having, since, besides what was concealed, and besides the share of the Venetians, our's came to full five hundred thousand marks of silver, and ten thousand horses, good and bad."

§ Nicetas, p. 382. "The crusaders attired themselves, not through want of the clothing, but to ridicule the custom, in painted robes, the ordinary apparel of the Greeks. They put our cotton caps on their horses' heads, and fastened to their necks the ribands, which we are accustomed to let hang down behind; and some carried paper, ink, and

ink-horns, in mockery of us, as if we were only bad scribes and mere copyists. They spent whole days at table—some only relishing delicate dishes; others only eating, as they were used in their own country, boiled beef and salt pork, garlic, meal, beans, and a very strong sauce."

* Rannusius, l. iii. c. 36, ap. Sismondi, Rep. Ital. t. ii. p. 406.

† Sanuto (p. 530. 641), ap. Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 248.

‡ Innoc. III. Epist. t. ii. l. vii. p. 619–622.—He wrote to the clergy and the university of France, exhorting them to send immediately priests and books for the instruction of the Constantinopolitans. Epist. l. viii. p. 712, 713.

win and Boniface, the one the emperor, the other the king of Macedon, were cousins of the French king. The count of Blois had the duchy of Nicea, the count of St. Paul that of Demotica, near Adrianople. Our historian, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, combined the two charges of marshal of Champagne and of Romania. And long after the fall of the Latin empire of Constantinople—about the year 1300—the Catalan, Montaner, assures us that in the principality of the Morea and the duchy of Athens, “they spoke French as well as they did at Paris.”

CHAPTER VII.

RUIN OF JOHN.—DEFEAT OF THE EMPEROR.—WAR OF THE ALBIGEOIS.—GREATNESS OF THE KING OF FRANCE. (A. D. 1204—1222.)

BENOLD the pope, conqueror of the Greeks in spite of himself. The two churches are united. Innocent is the sole spiritual head of the world. Germany, the old antagonist of the popes, is disabled; torn between two emperors, who choose the pope arbiter between them. Philippe-Auguste has just submitted to his orders, and taken back a wife whom he hates. The west and the south of France are not so docile. The Vaudois resist him on the Rhône; the Manicheans in Languedoc and the Pyrenees. The whole coast of France, on both seas, seems on the point of separating from the Church. The Mediterranean shore and that of the Atlantic, obey two princes of dubious faith, the kings of Aragon and of England; and between the two are the seats of heresy, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Toulouse, where the great council of the Manicheans is assembled.

The first on whom the blow fell was the English king, duke of Guyenne, the neighbour and the relative as well of the count of Toulouse, whose son he brought up †. The pope and the king of France profited by his ruin; an event which had been long preparing. The power of the Anglo-Norman kings depended, as we have seen, solely on the mercenary troops whom they kept in pay: they could confide neither in the Saxons nor in the Normans. The maintenance of the troops supposed resources, and a system of finance foreign from the habits of the age—and they could only support the expense by grievous and violent exactions, which gave an edge to previous hatreds, rendered their position more dangerous, and compelled them to increase the numbers of those very mercenaries who ruined and drove their people into revolt. To renounce the employment of mercenaries, was to throw themselves into the hands of the Norman aristocracy; to continue to make use of them, was to march straight on destruction—a fearful dilemma, in the solving of which they were fated to fall. It was fated that the monarch should be ruined by the reconciliation of the two races who jointly occupied the island. Normans and Saxons were at last

to come to an understanding for the abasement of the monarchy: the loss of the French provinces was to be the first result of this revolution.

Henry II. had, at the least, amassed a treasure. But Richard ruined England by his preparations for the crusade. “I would sell London,” he said, “if I could find a buyer.” “From one sea to the other,” says a contemporary, “England was reduced to beggary †.” Money, however, had perforce to be found to pay the enormous ransom required by the emperor; and more again when Richard, on his return, wished to make war on the king of France. Whatever he had sold at his departure, he resumed possession of without reimbursing the purchasers ‡; and so by ruining the present, he ruined the future; for henceforward no one could be found to lend to the king of England, or to buy of him. His successors, good or bad, capable or incapable, were condemned, in advance, to irremediable poverty, to careless powerlessness.

But the progress of things rather required new resources. The want of unity in the English empire had never made itself more felt. Consisting of people who had all warred on each other before being reduced under the same yoke,—of Normandy, hostile to England before William’s time, of Brittany, the enemy of Normandy, of Anjou, the rival of Poitou, and of Poitou, which claimed over the whole South the rights of the duchy of Aquitaine; they all found themselves united whether they would or not. In preceding reigns, the English king had ever one or other of these continental countries firmly attached to him. The Norman William, and his two first successors, could rely on Normandy, Henry II. on his countrymen the Angevins, and Richard Cour-de-Lion was generally acceptable to the Poitevins and Aquitanians, the countrymen of his mother, Eleanor of Guyenne. He illustrated the glory of the Southerners, who regarded him as one of themselves, wrote verses in their language, had numbers of them about him, and his chief lieutenant was the Basque Marcader. But these different people became gradually estranged from the English kings. They perceived that Norman, Angevin, or Poitevin, this king, separated from them by such distinct interests, was in reality a foreign prince; and the close of Richard’s reign completely opened the eyes of the continental subjects of England.

These circumstances would explain the violence, bursts of passion, and reverses of John, even had he been a better and a wiser monarch. He was driven to unheard-of expedients to raise money in a country so often ransacked to the utmost. What could there be left after the greedy and prodigal Richard? John endeavoured to force money from the barons, and they compelled him to sign the great charter. He threw himself upon the Church; she deposed him. The pope, and the pope’s favourite, the king of France, profited by his ruin. The English monarch, feeling his bark sinking, tossed Normandy and Brittany into the sea. The French king had but to stoop to pick them up.

* Guill. Newbrig. l. 396. Londonias quoque venderem si emptorem idoneum invenirem.

† Rog. de Hov. p. 544. Tota Anglia, à mari usque ad mare, redacta est ad inopiam.

‡ Scr. R. Fr. xviii. 43. Thierry, Conq. de l’Angl. t. iv p. 103.

* “E parlaran axi bell frances, com dins en Paris.” Raim. Montaner. ap. Ducange, Præf. ad Glossar.

† Chron. Languedoc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 156. Loqual lo Rey d’Anglaterra avia norrit un temps et de sa joyneissa.

It was the rivalry between John and his nephew Arthur which led the way to this inevitable and fated separation of the English empire. The latter, the son of one of John's brothers by the heiress of Brittany, had been hailed from his birth by the Bretons as a liberator and avenger; and despite Henry II., they had baptized him by the national name of Arthur*. His cause was favoured by the Aquitanians. The aged Eleanor alone sided with her son John in the desire of preserving the unity of the English empire, which would have been destroyed by Arthur's elevation to a separate throne†. Arthur, in fact, held this unity very cheap; for he offered to yield Normandy to the French king, provided he might retain for himself Brittany, Maine, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine‡, so reducing John to England. Philip willingly accepted the offer, filled Arthur's strongholds with his garrisons, and having no expectation of keeping possession of them, he demolished them. Being thus betrayed by his ally, Arthur turned towards his uncle, then again fell back on French aid, invaded Poitou, and besieged his grandmother, Eleanor, in Mirebeau. It was no new thing in this family to see sons armed against their parents. However, John came to his mother's assistance, raised the siege, defeated Arthur, and took him prisoner, together with many of the great lords who favoured his cause. What became of his prisoner? This is a point which has never been cleared up. Matthew Paris asserts that John, who had treated him well at first, was alarmed by the threats and obstinacy of the young Breton. "Arthur," he says, disappeared; "and God grant it may have been differently from what evil report declares||." But too great hopes had been conceived of Arthur, for the imagination of the people to resign itself to this uncertainty. He was said to have been put to death by John's orders: it was soon added that John had killed him with his own hand¶. Philip-Augustus's chaplain relates, as if he had beheld it with his own eyes, that John, taking Arthur in a boat, stabbed him twice with his own dagger, and threw him into the river three miles from the castle of Rouen**. The Bretons transferred the scene of the tragedy nearer their own land, and placed it hard by Cherbourg, at the foot of those sombre downs which offer one precipice along the whole line of ocean††. Thus the tradition grew in details and in dramatic interest, until at length, in Shakespeare, Arthur is a young, defenceless boy, whose mild and innocent words disarm the fiercest assassins.

This event at once gave Philippe-Auguste the

superiority. He had already accredited the report of Richard's relations with the infidels, with the old man of the mountain, by taking guards for his protection against his emissaries*, and he now followed up against John the rumours touching Arthur's death, and aimed to be at once the avenger and the judge of the crime. He summoned John to appear before the court of the great barons of France, the court of peers, as it was then termed, after the style of the romances of Charlemagne. He had previously summoned him to the same court, to justify his having taken Isabella of Lusignan from the count of la Marche. John demanded a safe conduct at the least; it was refused him. Condemned without being heard, he levied troops in England and in Ireland, resorting to the most violent measures to force the barons to follow him, so far as to seize on the estates of some recusants, and mulct others of a seventh of their revenues; but to no end. They assembled; but no sooner were they collected together at Portsmouth, than they made known to him through archbishop Hubert that they were resolved not to embark. In fact, what interest had they in the war? The majority, although Normans by descent, were strangers to Normandy. They had little inclination to fight to strengthen the king's hands against themselves, and to enable him to lord it at one and the same time over his insular and his continental subjects.

John had also addressed himself to the pope, accusing Philip of having broken the peace and violated his oaths. Innocent acted as judge, not of the fact, but of the sin†; and his legates came to no decision. Philippe took possession of Normandy (A. D. 1204): John himself had declared to the Normans that they need expect no help from him. He had plunged like a madman into a vortex of pleasures. The envoys from Rouen found him playing at chess: before attending to them, he would finish his game. "He dined every day sumptuously with his beautiful queen, and prolonged his morning's repose until meal time‡." However, if he did not eat, he negotiated with the enemies of the Church, and of the French king. He subsidized the emperor, Otho IV., his nephew, whilst on the one hand he entered into a correspondence with the Flemings, and, on the other, with the barons of the south of France, and brought up at his own court his other nephew, the son of the count of Toulouse.

This said count, the king of Aragon, and the king of England—suzerains of the whole South, seemed to be on terms with each other at the expense of the Church; and, indeed, hardly observed any outward deference to her. The danger that threatened ecclesiastical authority in this quarter was excessive. It was not a few scattered sectaries, but a whole church which had risen up against the Church. Ecclesiastical property was every where invaded. The very name of priest was a reproach. Churchmen durst not suffer their

* Chronic. Wallteri Hemengf. p. 507.‡ Thierry, t. iv. p. 145.

† Aquitaine, in fact, was her inheritance; but she had transferred her rights to John. Rymer, l. 110—112. Lingard, vol. iii. p. 2.

‡ Hoveden, p. 598. M. Paris, p. 166.

§ Rad. Coggeshale, p. 95.

|| M. Paris, p. 174. Subito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invida.

¶ Ann. de Margan. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 217. . . . Propria manu interfect. He goes on to say, "and, having fastened a large stone to his neck, he threw him into the Seine."

** Will. Brito, vi. p. 167.

†† Dumoulin, Hist. de Normandie. p. 514. Thierry, t. iv. p. 151.

* But he could not gain credit: Richard had only to exhibit a forged letter from the old man of the mountain, to crush the charge.

† Innocent III. Epist. ap. Lingard, vol. iii. note, p. 16.

‡ Math. Paris, ap. Scr. R. Fr. t. xvii. Cum regina epulabatur quotidie splendide, somnosque matutinales usque ad prandendi horam protraxit. Thierry, t. iv. p. 154.—Id. (ed. 1644) p. 118. Omnimodis cum regina sua vivebat delicis.

tonsure to be seen in public*. The clerical dress was ventured to be worn by a few retainers of the nobles only, who were forced by their lords to assume it, in order that they might seize upon some benefice in their name. The instant a Catholic missionary dared to preach, shouts of derision drowned his voice. Sanctity and eloquence did not awe them. They had hooted St. Bernard †.

Such was the wretched and precarious situation of the Catholic Church in Languedoc. The common but very erroneous belief is, that in the middle-ages the heretics alone were prosecuted. On both

* Guillelm. de Podio Laur. in prologo, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 194. "The saying, 'I had rather be a monk than do this or that,' became as common as 'I had rather be a Jew,' &c. And when the priests went abroad, they drew over the hair from behind so as to conceal the tonsure."

† "The holy abbot of Clairvaux, fired with zeal for the faith, visited this land afflicted with an incurable heresy, and thought that he ought to repair at first to Vertfeuil, where there then flourished a crowd of knights and of people, thinking that if he could root out heresy there, he would easily triumph over it every where else. When he began to speak in church against the notables of the spot, they went out the people followed, and the holy man following them in his turn, began to preach the word of God in the public place. They concealed themselves in the adjoining houses; but he, nevertheless, preached to the people about him. The others, however, began to raise a loud noise and to beat on the doors, thus hindering the people from hearing his voice, and arresting the Divine word on its passage. Shaking off, then, the dust from his feet as a testimony against them, to make them comprehend that they were but dust, he departed, and casting back his looks on the town, he cursed it, saying, 'Vertfeuil, may God wither thee up!'—He denounced it on manifest proofs, for at that time, according to an old chronicle, there dwelt in the castle here a hundred knights having arms, banners, and horses, and maintaining themselves at their own expense, not at that of others. From this period, they were yearly weakened by misfortunes as well as by war, so that they were not left a moment's peace, either through destructive hail-storms, sterility, attacks, or sedition. I myself, when a child, saw the noble Isarn Nebulat, formerly the principal lord of Vertfeuil, and who was said to have been fully a hundred years of age, living in poverty at Toulouse, and contented with a single hackney. Thus, how strictly God adjudged many lords of the same castle, who fell off from his cause, was shown by the event itself, since none of all that the holy man had cursed could rest a moment, until the count of Montfort having given Vertfeuil to the venerable father Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, the Divine vengeance gradually died away after the expulsion of the lords." Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. i.—The same thing happened to the bishop of Carcassonne:—"One day as he was preaching in his city, and, according to his wont, was upbraiding the inhabitants with their heresy, they would not listen to him. 'You will not hearken to me,' he said; 'believe me, I will testify against you with so loud a voice, that men shall come from the ends of the world to destroy this your city. And, hold it for certain, that were your walls of iron and of towering height, you could not protect yourselves from the just vengeance with which the sovereign Judge will visit you for your want of belief, and wickedness.' So for these words, and for similar threats which the holy man thundered in their ears, they drove him from their city, and forbade, by proclamation of herald, and under pain of severe punishment, any one from buying or selling with him or his." Petrus Vall. Sarn. c. 16.—Fulk had met with a like reception at Toulouse, when he took possession of the bishopric:—"He was never able to raise there more than ninety-six sous of Toulouse; and durst not send four mules, which he had brought with him, to the watering place, without an escort. They used to be watered at a well sunk in his house." Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. 7.

sides alike, violence was held to be lawful to bring over one's neighbour to the true faith. Persecution kept pace with power either way, as may be seen in Jerome of Prague, Calvin, the Gomarists of Holland, and numerous others. The martyrs of the middle-age seldom display the meekness of the martyrs of the primitive times, who knew how to die only; whereas the Albigeois of Languedoc, the illuminati of Flanders, and the Protestants of Rochelle and the Cevennes,—all their attempts at reformation being more or less impressed with the warlike character of the time,—conquered or submitted, persecuted or suffered, but ever recklessly fought on.

The struggle was imminent in the year 1200. The heretical Church was fully organized, and had its hierarchy, its priests, its bishops, and its pope. Their general council was held at Toulouse, which city would undoubtedly have been their Rome, and its capitol have replaced the other in case of ultimate triumph. Ardent missionaries were despatched in every direction by the new Church. The innovation spread to the most distant and least suspected countries; to Picardy, Flanders, Germany, England, Lombardy, Tuscany, to the very gates of Rome, to Viterbo*. But, on the other hand, many had been shocked by the oriental wildness of Manichæism. To recognise two principles, that of good and that of evil, seemed to be an admission of two Almighties, to elevate Satan to heaven, and throne him by the side of God. These blasphemies struck the hearers with horror. On the other hand, the people of the North saw the mercenary soldiers, the routiers, mostly in the service of England, realising among themselves all that was told of the impety of the South. They were partly from Brabant, partly from Aquitaine: Mareader, the Basque, as has been already noticed, was one of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's principal lieutenants. The mountaineers of the South, who now repair to France or Spain to drive some petty traffic, or exercise some small craft, did the same in the middle-age; but the only trade of that day was war. They maltreated the priests all the same as the peasants, dressed up their women in the consecrated vestments, beat the clergymen, and made them sing mock mass. Another of their delights was to pollute and break in pieces the images of Christ, to break their arms and legs †, and ill-use them worse than the Jews did in the Passion. These routiers were dear to princes, precisely on account of their impiety, which rendered them insensible to ecclesiastical censures. War, carried on by men without creed and without country, against whom the Church herself was no longer an asylum, impious as we moderns, and fierce as barbarians—war so carried on was fearful. It was more particularly in the breathing time between wars, when they were without pay and without chiefs, that they most oppressed the land, robbing, ransoming, and murdering at random. Their history has hardly been written; but to judge by some facts, it might be supplied by that of the mercenaries of antiquity, the particulars of whose execrable war with Carthage are known to us ‡. On the

* Gesta Innocentii, iii. p. 79.

† Petrus Vall. Sarn. c. 46. "They made them into pestles to bruise pepper and herbs for their sauces."

‡ See t. ii. of my History of Rome, Second Edition, p. 280, seq.

southern and northern frontiers, in La Marche, Auvergne, and Limousin, their ravages were horrible. At length the people took up arms against them. A carpenter, inspired by the Virgin Mary, formed the association of the *Capuchons* for the extermination of these bands. Philippe-Auguste encouraged the people, supplied troops, and on one occasion only, ten thousand of them were cut to pieces*.

Independently of the ravages of the routiers of the South, the seeds of hatred had been sown by the crusades. Those great expeditions, which brought the East and West together, had another result; they revealed Southern to Northern Europe. The first, with her genius rather mercantile than chivalrous, her disdainful opulence†, her jeering polish and lightness of manner, her moresco dances and costumes, and her Moorish physiognomies, displayed herself to the other under a revolting aspect. Their very food tended to estrange the two races. The eaters of garlic, oil, and figs, reminded the crusaders of the impurity of Moorish and Jewish blood; and Languedoc seemed to them another Judæa.

The Church of the thirteenth century laid hold of this antipathy between the races as a means of retaining the South, which was slipping from her hands. She transferred the crusade from the infidels to the heretics. The preachers were the same, the *Benedictines of Cîteaux, or the Cistercians*.

Already had the rule of St. Benedict been reformed at various times. But the Benedictine order was a whole nation. In the eleventh century an order was formed within the order, a first congregation — the Benedictine congregation of Cluny. The result was vast; for out of its bosom came Gregory VII. However, these reformers themselves soon needed reform‡; and this was

effected in the year 1098, at the very epoch of the first crusade. Cîteaux rose by the side of Cluny, still in rich and viny Burgundy, the country of great preachers, of Bossuet and St. Bernard. The Cistercians took upon themselves the obligation of labour, according to the primitive rule of St. Benedict, only changing the black for a white dress*, and declared that they would busy themselves solely with the concerns of their salvation, and be submissive to the bishops, whose authority the monks generally sought to elude†. Thus the Church, in danger, narrowed her hierarchy. The more the Cistercians humbled themselves, the greater did they become. They had eighteen hundred monasteries, and fourteen hundred nunneries. The abbot of Cîteaux was called the abbot of abbots. They were already so rich, twenty years after their foundation, that St. Bernard's austerity was alarmed at it, and he fled to Champagne to found Clairvaux. The monks of Cîteaux were then the only monks for the people; they were forced to mount the pulpits and preach the crusade. St. Bernard was the apostle of the second crusade, and the legislator of the Templars. The military orders of Spain and Portugal, as those of St. James, Alcantara, Calatrava, and Avis, held of Cîteaux, and were affiliated to it. Thus the monks of Burgundy extended their spiritual influence over Spain; whilst the princes of the two Burgundies gave it kings.

All this greatness ruined Cîteaux. With regard to discipline, it fell almost to the level of the voluptuous Cluny. The latter had, at least, from an early period, affected mildness and indulgence; and there Peter the Venerable had received, consoled, and buried Abelard. But corrupted Cîteaux maintained, in riches and in luxury, the severity of her primitive institution. She remained animated with the sanguinary spirit of the crusades, and continued to preach faith to the neglect of works. The more the unworthiness of the preachers rendered their words vain and unprofitable, the more they raged. They revenged themselves for the little effect produced by their eloquence, on those who estimated their teaching by their morals. Maddened by their impotence, they threatened, they jammed; and the people only laughed.

One day that the abbot of Cîteaux was setting out with his monks, magnificently equipped, to labour the conversion of the heretics in Languedoc, two Castilians who were returning from Rome, — the bishop of Osma and one of his canons, the famous St. Dominic, — did not hesitate to tell them that this luxury and pomp would destroy the effect of their discourses: "You must march barefoot," they said, "against these sons of pride; they need examples, you will not subdue them by words." The Cistercians dismounted and followed the two Spaniards‡.

• The monks of Cluny replied to the attacks of the Cistercians. "Oh, oh, ye new race of Pharisees! . . . ye saints and sole saints . . . whence pretend ye to a dress of unusual colour, and, in contradistinction to almost all the monks in the world, show yourselves white amongst the black."

† St. Bern. de consider. ad Eugen. i. iii. c. 4. "Abbots are withdrawn from the rule of bishops, bishops from that of archbishops, archbishops from that of patriarchs or primates. Does this look well? . . ."

‡ Jordanus, Acta S. Dominici (edit. Hollandus), p. 547. Cum videret grandem eorum qui missi fuerant, in expensis

* Le Vélaz is not long in doing homage to Philippe-Auguste. See D. Vaissette, iii.

† "The Provençal princes and lords who had repaired in large numbers during summer to the castle of Beaucaire, were celebrating divers festivals there. The king of England had appointed to be at this meeting in order to effect a reconciliation between Raymond, count of Narbonne, and Alphonso, king of Aragon: but, for certain reasons, the two kings failed to repair there; so that all these preparations were useless. The count of Toulouse made a present of a hundred thousand sous to a knight, named Raymond d'Agout; who, being very liberal, immediately distributed them among about ten thousand knights, who assisted at this court. Bertrand Raimbaud had the land around the castle ploughed, and sowed there thirty thousand sous in deniers. It is related that Guillaume Gros de Martel, who had three hundred knights in his train, had all his dishes roasted with wax-tapers. The countess d'Urgel sent a crown there, valued at forty thousand sous; and one Guillaume Mite, had he not taken himself away, would have been crowned king of all the merry-Andrews. Raymond de Venous had thirty of his horses burnt before the company, out of ostentation." Hist. du Languedoc, t. iii. p. 37: the facts are taken from Gaufrid. Vos. p. 321.—The South went mad on the eve of its ruin, as did Pompeii the evening before it was swallowed up by Vesuvius.

‡ In an Apology addressed to Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, St. Bernard, whilst clearing himself from the charge of defaming Cluny, censures, nevertheless, in strong terms, the manners of the order (ed. Mabillon, t. iv. p. 33, sqq.), c. 10, "I lie, if I have not seen an abbot with sixty horses, and more, in his train:" c. ii. "I pass over their soaring flights of oratory," &c.

The honour of this spiritual crusade belongs to the Spaniards, the countrymen of the Cid. One Durando, of Huesca, who had been a Vaudois himself, obtained from Innocent 111. permission to form a brotherhood of *poor Catholics*, in which the Vaudois, the *poor of Lyons*, might be enrolled. It is true that the creed was different, but then externals were the same,—the same costume, the same mode of life,—and it was hoped that by the adoption, on the part of the Catholics, of the dress and customs of the Vaudois*, the Vaudois might accept in exchange the belief of the Catholics; in short, that the form would triumph over the substance. Unluckily, the zeal of these missionaries led them to imitate the Vaudois so closely, that they excited the suspicion of the bishops, and their charitable attempt met with but trifling success.

At this epoch the pope laid his commands on the bishop of Osma and St. Dominic, to become fellow-labourers with the Cistercians. Dominic, the fearful founder of the Inquisition, was a noble Castilian, of singularly charitable and pious character†. None were richer than he in the gift of tears, and in the eloquence which causes them to flow‡. Whilst a student at Palencia, a severe famine taking place, he sold all, even to his books, to give to the poor§.

The bishop of Osma had just reformed his chapter on the rule of St. Augustine; and Dominic entered it. Having occasion to visit France on various missions, with Dominic ever in his suite, they had witnessed with deep grief the religious destitution which prevailed there. There was one castle in

Languedoc whose inhabitants had not taken the sacrament for thirty years*. Children died unbaptized†. To comprehend the agony with which the religious and reflective of the middle-age beheld the souls of these innocents sinking, through their parents' impiety, into the bottomless gulf, one must identify oneself with the feelings and belief of the time.

Aware that the poorer among the nobles entrusted the education of their daughters to heretics, the bishop of Osma founded a monastery near Montreal, in order to withdraw them from this danger. St. Dominic gave all he possessed; and hearing a woman say, that if she quitted the Albigens she would be utterly destitute, he sought to sell himself as a slave that he might have wherewithal to restore this soul, too, to God‡.

All this zeal was useless. No powers of eloquence or of logic could stop the impulse of liberty of thought. Besides, his alliance with the hated Cistercians deprived Dominic's words of all credit. He was even obliged to advise one of them, Pierre de Castelnau, to absent himself for a time from Languedoc: he would have fallen a victim to the people. As to him, they abstained from laying hands on his person, but threw dirt at him, spat in his face, and fastened, according to one of his biographers, straws to his back§. Transported out of his usual mildness, the bishop of Osma raised his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "O Lord, let thy hand fall heavily upon them: chastisement alone can open their eyes||."

The catastrophe of the South might have been foreseen from the moment Innocent 111. mounted the chair of St. Peter. The very year that he was elected pope, he wrote to the princes missives breathing blood and destruction¶; and his wrath was inflamed to the utmost by Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, who succeeded his father in 1194. Reconciled with the ancient enemies of his house,—the kings of Aragon, lords of Lower Provence, and the kings of England, dukes of Guyenne,—the count had no longer any fears, and cast all reserve to the winds. In his Languedocian wars and those in Upper Provence, he con-

equus, et vestibus apparatus, "Non sic," ait, "fratres, non sic vobis arbitror procedendum" Another time, St. Dominic meeting with a bishop richly attired, the bishop took off his shoes to follow him, but having unknowingly taken a heretic as their guide, he led them through a wood, where their limbs were torn by the thorns. Theodor. de Appolida Ibid. p. 570.

* Innoc. iii. l. xi. Ep. 196. "And we have vowed poverty. . . . And being most of us priests and well imbued with letters, we are determined to labour against the errors of all sectaries, by reading, exhortation, doctrine, and disputation.—We are to wear a religious and modest dress, &c."—L. xii. Ep. 69. "They testify that you have in no wise thoroughly put off the leaven of the ancient superstition, generating scandal among Catholics"—Ep. 67. "If any one of you retain any of the ancient superstition purposely, the easier to catch the foxes . . . it is to be endured prudently for a time."

† He used to pray with such fervour and intensity as to be utterly insensible to all around. As he was praying one night before the altar, the devil, to disturb him, let drop an enormous stone from the roof, which fell with an enormous crash in the church, and grazed in its fall the saint's cowl, who did not seem sensible of it, and the devil fled howling. Acta S. Dominici, p. 592.

‡ When proofs of his sanctity were being collected in order to his canonization, a monk deposed that he had often seen his face during mass bathed with tears, which coursed down his cheeks so copiously, that one drop did not wait for the other. Acta S. Dominici, p. 367.—"Truly he had made of his eyes a fount of tears, weeping frequently and abundantly praying to his Father in secret, tears would gush from him like a torrent." Ibid. p. 600. "He spoke with such floods of tears as to move his hearers to give the same signs of their compunction . . . nor was there any one whose speech, like his, melted his brethren to the grace of tears," &c. Ibid. p. 594, 595.

§ Jordanus, Acta S. Dominici, p. 546. Ventens libros, quos sibi oppido necesarios possidebat, dedit pauperibus.

* Pet. Vall Sarru. c. 12

† Epist. S. Bernardi, ap. Gaufred Claravallens l. iii. c. 6.—Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. 7. "The night of ignorance covered this country; and the beasts of the forest of the devil roamed there freely."

‡ Acta S. Dominici p. 519. Scipsum venumdare decrevit. A woman coming to tell him that a brother of her's was a prisoner among the Saracens, St. Dominic was for selling himself to ransom him.

§ Acta S. Dominici, p. 570. Sputum et lutum aliquae villae propicientes in eum, a tergo etiam in derisum sibi paleas alligantes.

|| Ibid. p. 519. Domine, mitte manum tuam, et corrige eos, ut eis saltem hæc vexatio tribuat intellectum!

¶ Innocent 111. wrote a letter to William, count of Forcalquier, abruptly exhorting him, without the customary greeting, to take the cross:—"Had the Lord visited thy deeds according to their deserts, he would have made thee as a wheel or as a straw before the wind, nay, would have rebuked his thunders so as to sweep thy iniquity from the face of the earth, and that the just might wash their hands in thy sinful blood. We and our predecessors . . . not only would have anathematized thee (as we have done), but would have armed all nations to destroy thee." Epist. Innoc. 111. t. i. p. 239, ann. 1198.

stantly employed the routiers, banned by the Church * ; and pushed his inroads without distinction of lay or church lands, or respect for Sunday or for Lent, expelling the bishops, and surrounding himself with heretics and Jews.

"At first from his cradle, he cherished and even made much of the heretics; and having them in his territories, he honoured them in every way. Even to this day, from what I hear, he takes heretics everywhere about with him, in order that if he happen to die, he may breathe his last in their hands. He said one day to the heretics, (I have it on good authority,) that he wished to have his son brought up at Toulouse among them, in order that he might be reared in their faith; let us rather say in their infidelity. One day, too, he said that he would give a hundred thousand mares of silver, if one of his knights would espouse the belief of the heretics, that he had often exhorted him so to do, and often had their doctrine preached to him. Moreover, when the heretics sent him presents or provisions, he received them very graciously, preserved them carefully, and would suffer no one to partake of them but himself and some of his intimates. Frequently, too, as we know for certain, he worshipped heretics, by kneeling to them, asking their blessing, and giving them the kiss of peace. One day that the count was waiting to give audience to some persons who did not come, he exclaimed, 'It is clear that the devil made this world, since our wishes are ever disappointed.' He also said to the venerable bishop of Toulouse, who himself told it to me, that the Cistercians could not work their salvation since their flocks were given up to luxury. Unheard-of heresy!

"The count, moreover, invited the bishop of Toulouse to come to his palace at night to hear the heretics preach; whence it is clear that he often heard them at night.

"One day he chanced to be in church during mass. Now he had with him a buffoon, who, as mountebanks of the kind are wont, made game of people by grinning like a histrión; and when the officiating priest turned to the people and said, *Domineus robiscum*, the wicked count bade his buffoon take off the priest. He said once that he would rather be a certain heretic of Castres, in the diocese of Alby, whose limbs had been cut off, and who led a life of suffering, than be king or emperor.

"His constant attachment to heretics is clearly proved by the fact that no legate of the Apostolic see could ever induce him to expel them from his territory, although, at the instance of these legates, he took I know not how many oaths of abjuration.

"He manifested such contempt for the sacrament of marriage, that whenever his wife displeased him, he put her away and took another, so that he had four wives, three of whom are still alive. He married, first, the sister of the viscount de Beziers, named Beatrice; after her the daughter of the duke of Cyprus; after her the sister of Richard, king of England, and when she, who was

his cousin in the third degree, died, he married the king of Aragon's sister, who was his cousin in the fourth degree. I must not omit to mention, that he was frequently in the habit of pressing his first wife to take the veil, and when, comprehending his meaning, she put the question direct to him whether she should enter Cîteaux, he said, No; whether at Fontevrault, he still said, No; and then, asking what it was he wished, he answered, that if she would consent to lead the life of a solitary, he would provide for all her wants, and so the matter was arranged. . . .

"He was always so great a voluptuary, and so lecherous, that in contempt of all Christian laws, he abused his own sister. From his childhood, he eagerly sought out his father's concubines, and slept with them; and no woman pleased him much except she had lain with his father. And therefore his father, as well on account of his heresy as of this enormous crime, often foretold him that he would lose his inheritance. The count had, besides, a wonderful liking for the routiers, by whose hands he despoiled churches, destroyed monasteries, and robbed his neighbours of all he could. Such was the way of life of this limb of the devil, this son of perdition, this first-born of Satan, this raging persecutor of the cross and of the Church, this support of heretics, this executioner of Catholics, this apostate covered with crimes, this sink of all sins.

"One day that the count was playing chess with a certain chaplain, he said to him in the course of the game, 'The God of Moses, in whom you believe, cannot help you at this game,' adding, 'may that God never be my aid.' Another time, as the count was about to proceed from Toulouse to Provence, to fight some enemy, rising in the middle of the night he repaired to the house in which the Toulousan heretics were assembled, and said to them, 'My lords and brothers, the fortune of war is uncertain; whatever happen to me, I commit my soul and body to your keeping.' And he took with him in this expedition two heretics, in lay attire, in order that if he fell, he might die in their hands. —One day that this accursed count was sick in Aragon, his malady becoming worse he had a litter made, and was borne in it to Toulouse; and when asked why he had himself carried in such haste, although suffering from serious illness, he replied, wretch that he was, that it was 'because there are no Good Men in this land, in whose hands I can die.' Now, the heretics are called Good Men by their followers. But he showed himself to be a heretic by signs and speech much more plainly still, for he said, 'I know that I shall lose my territory through these Good Men: well, I am ready to lose my land, and my head, too, for them.'"

Whatever might be the truth of these charges, advanced by an irritated enemy, he was triumphant on the Rhône at the head of his army, when he received a terrible letter from Innocent III., predicting his ruin. The pope required him to desist from the war, to join with his enemies in a crusade against his heretical subjects, and to throw open his states to the crusaders. Raymond at first refused, was excommunicated, and submitted; but he sought to elude the execution of his promises. The monk, Pierre de Castelnau, dared to upbraid him to his face with what he called his

* They were for the most part Aragonese. See Epist. Innoc. III. l. x. ep. 69, and the oath imposed by the pope on Raymond, in 1198—"I am said to have always cherished the heretics, and to have favoured them. . . . I have maintained routiers or maluadae . . . I have put Jews in offices of public trust." See, also, the *Mandata Raymundo ante absolutiorem*. Ibid. p. 347.

perfidy, and the prince, unused to such language, let fall words of wrath and vengeance, words, perhaps, like those levelled by Henry II. at Thomas Becket*. The result was the same. Feudal devotion did not suffer the slightest word of the suzerain to be spoken in vain; and those whom he fed at his table believed that they belonged to him body and soul, not excepting their eternal safety. One of Raymond's knights overtook the monk on the Rhône, and stabbed him †. The assassin found an asylum in the Pyrenees with the count de Foix, then a friend of the count of Toulouse, and whose mother and sister were heretics.

CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGEOIS.

Such was the beginning of this fearful tragedy (A.D. 1208). Innocent III. would not be satisfied, like Alexander III., with the excuses and submission of the prince, but had the crusade preached throughout the whole of the north of France by the Cistercians. The Latin conquest of Constantinople had familiarized men's minds to a holy war against Christians. The proximity, too, was tempting. There was no necessity to cross the sea; and paradise was offered to him who would pillage here below the rich champignons and wealthy cities of Languedoc. Humanity, also, was appealed to in order to steel men's hearts. The legate's blood called out for, it was said, the blood of the heretics ‡.

Vengeance, however, would have been difficult had Raymond VI. been able to avail himself of all his forces, and to contend, without taking precautions in other quarters, against the party of the Church. He was one of the most powerful, and, probably, the richest prince of Christendom. Count of Toulouse, marquis of Upper Provence, master of the Quercy, Rouergue, and the Vivarais, he had purchased Maguelone, and the king of England had ceded him the Agenois, and the king of Aragon the Gevaudan, as the dowries of their sisters. As duke of Narbonne he was suzerain of Nîmes, Beziers, Uzes, and of the countships of Foix and Comminges in the Pyrenees. But this vast power of his was not exercised every where by the same title. The viscount de Beziers, supported by his alliance with the count of Foix, refused to depend on Toulouse. Toulouse itself was a sort of republic. In the year 1202, the consuls of this city declare war, in Raymond's absence, on the knights of Albigensis, and both parties choose the count their arbiter and mediator §; and in the time of his father, Raymond V., so startling an outbreak of political independence had accompanied the first symptoms of heresy, that the count himself solicited the kings of France and England to undertake a crusade against the Toulousans and the viscount

de Beziers*. This crusade took place: but it was in his successor's time, and to his cost.

Nevertheless, the crusade began in Lower Languedoc, Beziers, Carcassonne, &c., where the heretics most abounded. The pope would have run the risk of uniting the whole South against the Church, and of giving it a leader, if he had aimed the first blow at the count of Toulouse, and he therefore feigned to accept his submission, and suffered him to do penance. Raymond abased himself before all his people, and allowed the priests to scourge him in the church in which Pierre de Castelnau was buried, and where they affected to make him pass before the tomb. But the most horrible penance, was his undertaking to conduct in person the army of the crusaders in pursuit of the heretics—he who loved them in his heart, and to lead them into the territory of his nephew, the viscount de Beziers, who had the courage to persevere in protecting them. The wretched man thought he was averting his own ruin by lending himself to that of his neighbour's, and brought dishonour on his head for a day's longer life †.

The young and intrepid viscount had prepared for the defence of Beziers, and had thrown himself into Carcassonne by the time the principal army of the crusaders had come up, advancing on the side of the Rhône: others came by the Velay, and others by the Agenois. "So great was the siege, as well in tents as flags, that all the world seemed to be there‡. Philippe-Auguste was not there; he had at his sides two large and terrible lions §, king John and the emperor Otho, John's nephew. But the French were there, if the king was not ||, and at their head, the archbishops of Reims, Sens, and Rouen, and the bishops of Autun, Clermont, Nevers, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Chartres, together with the counts of Nevers, St. Pol, Auxerre, Bar-sur-Seine, Geneva, Forcé, and numerous barons. The most powerful of these leaders was the duke of Burgundy. The Burgundians knew the road to the Pyrenees: they had particularly distinguished themselves in the Spanish crusades. A crusade preached by the Cistercians, was considered a national affair in Burgundy. The Germans and the Lorrainers, neighbours of the Burgundians, took the cross in crowds; but no province sent more skilful or braver men to the crusade than the isle of France. The engineer to the crusade, who constructed the machines and directed the siege, was a legist, master Theodisius, archdeacon

* Ibid. p. 47.

† Innoc. III. Epist. ii. p. 349. Quando principes cruce signati ad partes meas accedent, mandatis eorum parebo per omnia. . . . Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 14. Associatur Christi militibus hostis Christi, rectoque gressu perveniunt ad Biterrensem civitatem. Chronic. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 118.

‡ Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 121. Et fouc tant grand lo sety, tant de tendas que pahaihos, que senblava que tout lo monde fosse aquí ajustat.

§ Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 10. Rex autem nuncio domini papæ tale dedit responsum, "quod duos magnos et graves habebat a lateribus leones."

|| Religion seems to have been of a more formal and severe cast in the north of France. In the time of Louis VI. fasting of a Saturday was disregarded; but, in the reign of his successor, it was so strictly kept, that even buffoons and mountebanks were obliged to conform to it. Art de Vérifier les Dates, v. 320.

* Innoc. I. xi. Epist. 28. Mortem est publice comminatus.

† Id. ibid. Inter costas inferius vulneravit. Chron. Langued. Ibid. 116. Ung gentilhome, servite d'eldit conte Ramon, donet d'ung epist a traves lo corps d'eldit Peyre de Castelnau.

‡ Innoc. I. xi. Epist. 28, ad Philipp. August. Eia, igitur, miles Christi! eia, christianissime princeps! . . . Clamantem ad te iusti sanguinis vocem audias—Ad Comit. Baron, &c. Eia, Christi milites! eia, strenui militiæ christianæ tirones!

§ Hist. Génér. du Languedoc, t. iii. p. 115.

of the church of Notre Dame at Paris; it was he, too, who pleaded at Rome, before the pope, in justification of the crusaders. (A. D. 1215 *.)

Of the barons, the most illustrious, not the most powerful, but whose name will ever be identified with this dreadful war, is Simon de Montfort, in right of his mother, earl of Leicester. The family of the Montforts seems to have been fiercely ambitious. They traced up to a son of king Robert's, or to the counts of Flanders, who sprang from Charlemagne. Their grandmother, Bertrade, who deserted her husband, the count of Anjou, for king Philippe I., and governed them both at the same time, had endeavoured to poison her son-in-law, Louis-le-Gros, and to give the crown to her sons. Nevertheless, Louis trusted in the Montforts; and it is one of them who is said to have advised him, after his defeat at Brenneville, to summon to his aid the militia of the communes, under their parochial banners. In the thirteenth century, Simon de Montfort, of whom we are about to speak, had all but got the crown of the South. His second son, seeking in England the fortune which he had missed in France, fought on the side of the English commons, and threw open to them the doors of parliament. After having had both king and kingdom in his power, he was overcome and slain. His son (grandson of the celebrated Montfort, who was the chief in the crusade against the Albigeois) avenged him by murdering in Italy, at the foot of the altar, the nephew of the king of England, who was returning from the Holy Land †. This deed ruined the Montforts ‡; a general horror being conceived of this accursed race, whose name was connected with so many tragedies and revolutions: and, on the other hand, they were equally hated for being the supporters of the commons, and the executioners of the heretics.

Simon de Montfort, the true leader of the war against the Albigeois, was a veteran of the crusades, hardened in the unsparring battles of the Templars and the Assassins. On his return from the Holy Land, he found at Venice the army of the fourth crusade on the eve of departure, but refused to accompany it to Constantinople, obeyed the pope, and saved the abbot of Vaux-Sernay, when, at the imminent hazard of his life, that prelate publicly read to the crusaders the papal bull against this undertaking §. This action rendered Montfort a marked man, and paved the way for his future greatness. After all, the praise of heroic virtues cannot be denied to this dreaded executor of the decrees of the Church. Raymond VI. whose ruin

* "He was," says Pierre de Vaux Sernay, "a discreet, prudent man, full of zeal in God's business, and his ardent desire was to find some legal pretext for refusing the count the opportunity of justifying himself, which the pope had promised." Cap. 39.

† Montfort l'Amaury, near Paris.

‡ "To avenge on him the death of his father, who had fallen fighting against the English king, he attacks him at the foot of the altar, and runs him through from side to side with his sword. He then left the church, without Charles's daring to order him to be arrested. When at the door, one of his knights who waited for him outside said, 'What have you done?'—'Taken vengeance.'—'How so? Was not your father dragged, a public spectacle, by the hair of his head?' . . . At these words, Montfort returns into the church, seizes the young prince's corpse by the hair, and drags it to the public place." Sismondi, *Republiques Italiques*.

§ Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 20.

was Montfort's work, himself acknowledged the fact *. Not to mention his courage, his severe morals, and his invariable trust in God, he displayed a care of the meanest of his followers before unknown to crusaders. His nobles and he having swam their horses over a river swollen by a storm, when it appeared that the infantry and the ailing were unable to cross it, Montfort immediately swam back, followed by four or five horsemen, and remained with the poor fellows, who were in danger of being attacked by the enemy †. He is also lauded for his humanity to the useless mouths turned out of besieged places in the course of this horrible war, and for the protection which he extended to his female prisoners, whose honour he ever caused to be respected. His wife, Alice de Montmorency, was not unworthy of him; and when the greater number of the crusaders had abandoned Montfort, she put herself at the head of a new army, and marched it to her husband ‡.

The army assembled before Béziers was guided by the abbot of Cîteaux, and by the bishop of that city, who had drawn up a list of those whom he devoted to death. The inhabitants refused to deliver them up, and no sooner did they see the crusaders marking out their camp, than they boldly sallied forth to surprise it. They little knew the military superiority of their enemies. The infantry were enough to repulse them; and before the knights could take any share in the action, they entered the town pell-mell with the besieged, and found themselves masters of it. Their only difficulty was how to distinguish the heretics from the orthodox: "Slay them all," said the abbot of Cîteaux, "the Lord will know his own §."

"Seeing this, the inhabitants withdrew, as many as could, men as well as women, into the great church of St. Nazaire: the priests of which had the bells tolled until the butchery was completed. Neither tolling of bells, nor priest in his sacerdotal vestments, nor clergyman, could prevent the whole of them being put to the sword. Not so much as one could escape. These murders and

* Chron. Langued.—Guill. Podii Laur. c. 30. "I have heard the count of Toulouse speak in the highest terms of the constancy, foresight, valour, and all the princely qualities of Simon, his enemy."

† Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 68. "The river was swollen by so sudden and violent a storm, that none could pass it without risking the loss of life. In the evening, the noble count, seeing that almost all the knights and the flower of the army had swam the river and gained the castle, but that the footmen and invalids had been compelled to remain on the other side, called his marshal and said, 'I shall return to the army'—to which the latter replied, 'How! the entire strength of the army is in the fortress, and only pilgrims are left behind; besides, the river is so high and rapid that none can cross it, not to speak of the danger there would be of the Toulousans falling on you and cutting you off!'—But the count replied, 'Far be it from me to do as you advise. What! shall Christ's poor be exposed to death and the sword, and I remain in a fort! Happen what will, I commit myself to God, and will assuredly cross and share their fate!' On the word, quitting the castle, he crossed the river, returned to the footmen, and, together with a few knights, not more than four or five, remained with them several days, until the bridge was repaired for them to pass."

‡ Hist. du Langued. l. xxi. c. 84, p. 194.

§ Cesar Heisterbac. l. v. c. 21. . . . Cædite eos; novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus.

butcheries were the greatest pity that ever has been seen and heard. The town was given up to pillage, and fire was set to it in every quarter, so that it was all laid waste and in ruins, just as it is seen at the present day, and not a living thing remained in it. It was a cruel vengeance, seeing that the count was not a heretic, nor belonged to the sect. There were present at this scene of destruction the duke of Burgundy, the count of St. Pol, the count Peter of Auxerre, the count of Geneva, called Gui-le-Comte, and the lord of Anduze, called Pierre Vermont, with Provençals, Germans, and Lombards, and men of every nation who had come, to the number, it is said, of more than three hundred thousand, for the sake of pardon *.

Some state the number who perished at sixty thousand; others say thirty-eight thousand. The executioner himself, the abbot of Citeaux, in his letter to Innocent III., humbly admits that he was unable to slay more than twenty thousand †.

So great was the terror inspired, that all the towns were abandoned without an attempt at defence: the inhabitants fled to the mountains. Carcassonne, into which the viscount had thrown himself, alone held out. In vain did his uncle, the king of Aragon, intercede for him with offers of giving up all the rest: the sole favour which he could obtain was, that the viscount might leave the city in safety with twelve companions. "I would rather be flayed alive," exclaimed the brave young man; "the legate shall not lay hand on the least of my followers, for 'tis I have brought them into danger ‡." However, so many men, women, and children from the country had taken shelter in the city, that it was impossible to hold out. They fled by means of a passage that went three leagues under ground. The viscount demanded a safe conduct that he might plead his cause before the crusaders, and the legate had him arrested as a traitor. Fifty prisoners are said to have been hung; four hundred burnt.

All this blood would have been shed in vain, had not some one volunteered to prolong the crusade, and to keep watch in arms over the dead bodies and ashes. But who would accept this rude task, consent to be heir to his own victims, establish himself in their desert houses, and don their bloody vestments? The duke of Burgundy would not: "Methinks," he said, "we have wrought the viscount ill enough, without taking his heritage from him." The counts of Nevers and of St. Pol said the same. After waiting to be pressed a little, Simon de Montfort accepted the office; and, opportunely for him, the viscount de Beziers, who was his prisoner, died shortly after §. Montfort had now only to procure the pope's confirmation of the legate's gift: and he laid on each house an annual tax of three deniers for the benefit of the Church of Rome ||.

However, territory so acquired was not easily

preserved. The crowd of crusaders melted away. Montfort had been the gainer, and might keep if he could. Of that immense army, there only remained with him four thousand five hundred Burgundians and Germans*; and he soon had no more troops than what he was obliged to maintain at a heavy cost. He had then to wait for a new crusade, and to amuse the counts of Toulouse and of Foix, whom he had at first threatened. The latter took advantage of this respite to repair to Philippe-Auguste, and then to Rome, to convince the pope of the purity of his faith. Innocent gave him a gracious reception, and referred him to his legates. They, who had had the hint given them, contrived to gain still further time, and assigned him three months to work out his justification, laying down innumerable petty and vexatious conditions, which would serve them as handles for equivocation. At the appointed time the unhappy Raymond hastened in the hopes of at length obtaining that absolution which was to secure him rest; but master Theodisius, who is chief manager, declares that all the conditions are not fulfilled. "If," he said, "he has failed in little things, how can he be found faithful in great." The count could not refrain from tears. "However the waters may overflow," said the priest, with allusive mockery, "they will not reach the Lord †."

Meanwhile, Montfort's wife had brought him a new army of crusaders. The heretics, no longer daring to trust themselves to towns after the disastrous fate of Beziers and Carcassonne, had taken refuge in some strong castles, where a valiant nobility made common cause with them; for like the Protestants of the sixteenth century, they had many nobles of their party. One of their principal retreats was the castle of Mincve, close to Narbonne ‡; the archbishop and magistrates of which city, in the hope of diverting the crusade from themselves, had enacted stringent laws against the heretics, who, however, hunted out of the ancient territory of the viscount de Beziers, fled in crowds towards Narbonne. Shut up in numbers in the castle of Mincve, they could only subsist by foraging as far as the gates of the city. The Narbonneese summoned Montfort, and aided him. The siege was dreadful. The besieged neither hoped nor wished for pity. When driven to surrender, the legate offered their lives to all who would recant; and one of the crusaders expressing his indignation at this, "Don't distress yourself," said the priest, "your prey will not escape,—not one will accept the offer §." In fact, these were *Perfects*, that is, the highest in the heretical hierarchy, and the whole company of men and women, to the number of a hundred and forty, hurried to the funeral pile, and threw themselves into it ||. Montfort, pushing on to the South, laid siege to the strong castle of Termes, another asylum of the Albigensian Church. It was thirty years since any denizen of this castle

* Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 122.

† Innoc. III. l. xii. Epist. 108.

‡ Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 124.

§ Id. *ibid.* 128. Et moret, coma dit es, prisonier, donc fous bruyt per tota la terra, que lo dit conte de Montfort l'avai fait morir—"It was rumoured throughout the land that de Montfort had put him to death."

|| Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc. p. 213.

* Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 128.

† Petrus Vall. Sarn. c. 39. In diluvio aquarum multarum ad Deum non approximabis.

‡ Id. c. 37.

§ Id. *ibid.* Ne timeatis, quia credo quod paucissimi convertentur.

|| Id. *ibid.* Nec opus fuit quod nostri eos projicerent, quia obstinati in sua nequitia omnes se in ignem ultro precipitabant.

had drawn nigh the communion table. The machines for battering down the place were constructed by the archdeacon of Paris*. Incredible efforts were required for its reduction. The besiegers planted crucifixes on the top of the machines, in the hope either of blunting the resistance of the besieged, or of rendering them more guilty still if they persevered in defending themselves at the risk of striking Christ. Among those who were burnt when the place was forced, was one who professed a wish to recant. Montfort insisted on his being burnt†: it is true that the flames refused to touch him, and only consumed his bonds.

It was evident, that after having made himself master of so many strong places in the mountains, Montfort would descend into the plain, and attack Toulouse. In his alarm, the count applied to every one; to the emperor, to the king of England, to the kings of France and of Aragon. The two first, threatened by the Church and by France, could give him no help. Spain was occupied with the advances of the Moors. Philippe-Auguste wrote intercedingly to the pope. So did the king of Aragon, who endeavoured to gain over Montfort himself, consenting to accept his homage for the domains of the viscount de Béziers; and, to assure him of his good faith, he placed his own son in his hands‡. At the same time, this generous prince, desiring to show that he was willing to share the fortunes of the count of Toulouse, whatever they might be, gave him one of his sisters in marriage, and another to the count's young son, who was afterwards Raymond VII.§ He repaired in person to intercede with the count in the council of Arles. But the priests had no entrails. The two princes were obliged to fly from the town without taking leave of the bishops, who sought to arrest them||. The following are the contemptuous terms to which they would have had Raymond submit:

"That count Raymond shall lay down his arms without retaining one soldier or auxiliary; that he shall not only submit absolutely and for ever to the Church, but repair and refund whatever losses she may have sustained by the war; that in all his territories, no one shall ever eat more than two kinds of flesh; that he shall hunt down and expel all heretics, and their allies and abettors; that within a year and a day he shall deliver up to the legates and to the count de Montfort every person whom they or he shall name or require, to be punished or disposed of as may be thought fit; that his subjects, whether noble or low-born, shall never wear any jewels or fine clothes, or any thing but sorry black cloaks (*capes*); that all his places of strength shall be demolished, so as not to leave stone upon stone; that no relation or friend of his shall reside in any city, but in the country only, as villeins and peasants; that no new tax shall be levied by him, but that every head of a family in his territories shall pay four deniers of Toulouse to the pope's legate, or to whomsoever he may appoint; that the tithes shall be paid over all his lands; that neither the papal legate, nor the count de Montfort, nor any of his people great or little, shall pay toll

for any thing they may take or want, in travelling through the country under his jurisdiction;—that when Raymond shall have complied with all these demands, he shall associate himself with the knights of St. John, and go into voluntary banishment, as a crusader, to the Holy Land, never to return without the legate's leave; and finally, that when he shall have complied with all the foregoing conditions, his lands and lordships shall not be restored to him until such time as the legate, or the count de Montfort, shall please.*"

Such a peace was war. Montfort still delayed to attack Toulouse; but his minion, Folquet, formerly a troubadour, and now bishop of Toulouse, as wildly fanatic and revengeful as he had once been dissolute, exerted himself to the utmost in this city to promote the crusade. He organized the Catholic party there under the name of the *White Company*†; which said company took up arms in the count's despite to assist Montfort, then besieging the castle of Lavaur‡. It was the refusal of assistance on this occasion, on the part of the city, which the latter made his pretext for advancing on Toulouse, when he wished to take advantage of an army of crusaders that had just arrived from the Low Countries and Germany, with the duke of Austria and other powerful lords. The priests abandoned Toulouse in solemn procession, singing litanies, and devoting to death the people whom they deserted; and the bishop expressly petitioned the same fate for his flock as had befallen Béziers and Carcassonne.

It was now clear that ambition and vengeance had much more to do with all this than religion. This same year the monks of Cîteaux seized on the bishoprics of Languedoc, and their abbot took the archbishopric of Narbonne and the title of duke as well, in Raymond's life-time, without shame or modesty§. Shortly after, Montfort, at a loss where to find heretics for a new army to kill that then arrived, led it into the Agénois, to carry on the crusade in an orthodox country||.

On this, all the lords of the Pyrenees declared openly for Raymond. The counts of Foix, of Béarn, and of Comminges, joined him in forcing Simon to raise the siege of Toulouse; and de Montfort was on the eve of sustaining a decisive defeat

* Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 136.

† Praised by Dante.

‡ "At the taking of Lavaur," says the monk of Vaux-Sernay, "Aimery, lord of Montréal, and other knights, to the number of eighty, were dragged out of the castle, and, by the noble count's order were immediately hung on gibbets; but as soon as Aimery, who was the tallest of them, had been hung up, the gibbets fell, not having been securely fixed in the ground. The count, seeing that this would occasion great delay, ordered the throats of all the rest to be cut; and the order being extremely acceptable to the pilgrims (crusaders), the latter soon massacred them on the spot. The lady of the castle, who was Aimery's sister, and an accursed heretic, the count ordered to be thrown into a well, which was then filled up with stones. After this, our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics who had filled the castle, and burnt them alive with extreme joy." Petr. Vail. Sarn. c. 52.

§ Hist. du Langued. l. xxiii. c. 16, p. 223.

|| However, they found seven Vaudois in the castle of Maurillac, whom they burnt, says Pierre de Vaux-Sernay, "with unspeakable joy."—At Lavaur, as we have just seen, they had burnt innumerable heretics "with extreme joy."

* Id. c. 41.

† "If he lies," said Montfort, "he will deserve his fate. If in earnest, the fire will expiate his sins." Id. c. 22.

‡ Hist. du Languedoc. l. xxi. c. 96, p. 203.

§ Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. 18.

|| Hist. du Lang. l. xxi. c. 98.

at the hands of the first-mentioned of these counts, at Castelnau-dary, when the skill and courage of his veteran troops recovered the day. These petty princes were encouraged by the interest which the greater sovereigns took more or less openly in Raymond. Savary de Maulon, seneschal to the king of England, was at Castelnau-dary with the troops of Aragon and of Foix *; but unhappily his master durst not exercise a direct interference, and the king of Aragon was constrained to join all his forces to those of the other Spanish princes, in order to repulse the formidable invasion of the Almohades, who were three or four hundred thousand in number. All the world knows how gloriously the Spaniards forced at las Navas de Tolosa the chains behind which the Mussulmans sought to intrench themselves; a victory which constituted a new era for Spain, and freed it henceforward from the obligation of defending Europe against Africa: the strife of races and religions was at an end. (July 16, 1212.)

At this moment the reclamations of the king of Aragon in favour of his brother-in-law seemed to carry some weight. The pope hesitated for an instant †. The king of France made no secret of the interest he took in Raymond. But the pope having been confirmed in his first notions by those who profited by the crusade, the king of Aragon felt that he must have recourse to force, and sent a defiance to Simon. The latter, ever as humble and prudent as he was brave, enquired of the monarch whether it were true that he had defied him, and in what he, the faithful vassal of the crown of Aragon, had been so unfortunate as to incur his suzerain's displeasure. At the same time he held himself ready. The bulk of the people sided with his adversaries, and his followers were few; but then they were either knights, cased in mail, and almost invulnerable, or mercenaries of tried courage, and who had grown old in this very war, whilst Don Pedro had only the militia of the towns, numerous, it is true, and a few troops of light cavalry accustomed to the desultory warfare of the Moors. The moral difference between the two armies was greater still. Montfort's men had faith in their cause, had confessed, taken the Sacrament, and kissed their relics ‡. All historians, and even his son, represent Don Pedro as being busied with far different thoughts.

"A priest came to warn the count—'Your numbers are few compared with those of your opponents, among whom is the king of Aragon, an able, experienced warrior, followed by his counts,

and by a large army; you are unable to cope with the king, backed by such a host.' 'Read this,' said the count, producing a letter, from which the priest learnt that the Aragonese monarch had saluted the wife of a noble of the diocese of Toulouse, with the assurance that it was for her love he had come to drive the French out of the land, with other flatteries. Having read it, the priest enquired, 'What do you infer from this?' 'What do I infer,' replied Montfort,—'may God so aid me, as I have slight fear of a king who seeks to cross God's designs for woman's love *.'"

Whether these things be true or not, as soon as Montfort came in presence of his enemies at Muret, near Toulouse, he feigned to decline battle, and drew off; when suddenly wheeling upon them with the whole of his heavy cavalry, he rode them down, and slay, it is said, more than fifteen thousand; his own loss being confined to eight men and one knight †. It had been agreed by several of Montfort's followers that they would seek out and attack the king of Aragon alone; one of them at first mistook for him one of his friends, who, by his orders, wore his arms, but soon exclaimed, "The king is a better knight than this;" on which Don Pedro pricked towards him, crying out, "I am the king," and fell as he spoke, pierced by many hands.

The memory of this prince was long and dearly cherished; a brilliant troubadour, a faithless husband, but who could have had the heart to remember that? When Montfort saw him stretched on the ground, and easily distinguished from the rest by his lofty stature, the fierce general of the Holy Ghost could not but let fall a tear ‡.

The Church seemed victorious in the South of France, as in the Greek empire. There remained, its Northern enemies—the heretics of Flanders, the excommunicated John, and the anti-Cesar, Otho.

For five years (1208–1213) England had entertained no relations with the holy see. The separation was, apparently, as complete as it was in the sixteenth century. Innocent had pushed John to extremity, and had raised against him a new Thomas Becket. In the year 1208, precisely at the period that the pontiff began the crusade in the South of France, he commenced one under a less warlike form against the king of England, by elevating an enemy of his to the primacy. Independently of his position as head of the Anglican Church, the archbishop of Canterbury was, as we have seen, a political personage also. He, much more than the royal earls and lieutenants, was the head of Kentia §; of those southern counties of England which constituted the most refractory portion of the kingdom, and the most imbued with the old

* Chron. Langued. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 144.—Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 57. 79. John formally resisted their laying siege to Marmande, and threatened to attack the crusaders.

† He upbraided Montfort, "with laying grasping hands even on such lands of Raymond's as were not infected with heresy, and with having hardly left him any thing, save Montauban and Toulouse.— . . . Don Pedro of Aragon had complained of the unjust invasion of the possessions of his vassals, the counts of Foix, of Comminges, and of Bearn, and that Montfort had deprived him of his own domains, whilst he was occupied against the Saracens." Epist. Innoc. III. 708–710.

‡ Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. 21. Diem instantem exaltationis sanctæ crucis bello crucifixi pugiles elegerunt, et factis confessionibus peccatorum, et audito ex more divino officio, cibo salutari altaris refectioni, et prandio sobrio confortati, arma sumunt et ad prælium se accingunt.

* Id. ibid. . . . "Quid volo dicere? Sic Deus me ad juvet, quod ego regem non vereor, qui pro una venit contra Deum meretrici! Comment. del rey en Jaeme, c. 8. (quoted in l'Hist. Générale du Languedoc, t. iii. p. 253.) "He had passed the night with one of his mistresses, and was so exhausted, that whilst hearing mass, previous to the engagement, he could not stand whilst the gospel was being read, but was obliged to sit down."

† Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 72.—Guill. Pod. Laur. c. 22.—Guill. Brito.

‡ Petr. Vall. Sarn. c. 72. Videns regem prostratum, descendit e quo, et super corpus defuncti planctum fecit.

§ See note, p. 239.

British and Saxon spirit. The primate of England shows to us as the depository of the national liberties—analogue to the Justiza of Aragon. It was of the first importance to the monarch to have the office filled by one on whom he could depend, and he always nominated to it through his prelates, that is, through his Norman church. But the monks of St. Augustin's at Canterbury ever protested against such election in favour of the imprescriptible right of their house, the primitive metropolis of English Christianity. The voice of these poor Kentish monks was the only one that revived the memory of the ancient protest of the people, and bore witness to an ancient right of the conquered.

Innocent took advantage of this disputed point. He declared in favour of the monks; and when the latter could not agree among themselves, he annulled the first elections, and without waiting for the king's authority, which he had sent for, he caused the delegates of the monks to elect at Rome, under his immediate superintendence, one of John's personal enemies, a learned ecclesiastic, like Becket of Saxon origin, as is proved by his name of Langton. He was first professor, then chancellor of the university of Paris. We have of his some gallant verses addressed to the Virgin Mary. John no sooner learnt that the archbishop was consecrated, than he banished the monks of Canterbury, laid hand on their possessions, and swore that if the pope should lay the kingdom under interdict, he would confiscate the goods of all the clergy, and cut off the nose and ears of every Romish priest he should find in England. The interdict came, and excommunication as well. But no one durst acquaint the king with either—*Effecti sunt quasi canes muti, non audientes latrare* (they were as dumb dogs, afraid to bark). The terrible news was whispered from one to the other; but none dared promulgate it or conform to it. Archdeacon Geoffrey having resigned the exchequer, John had him crushed to death with a leaden cowl; and fearful of being deserted by his barons, he had required hostages of them. They durst not refuse to take the communion with him. He boldly took upon himself the part of the adversary of the Church, and rewarded a priest who had preached to the people that the king was God's scourge, and was to be endured as the instrument of the divine wrath. This hardness of heart and show of security on John's part awoke terror; he seemed to delight in the struggle. He devoured at his ease the goods of the Church, violated maidens of high birth, bought soldiers, and mocked at every thing. Money he took at will from priests, towns, and Jews: the latter he imprisoned when they refused advances, and had their teeth extracted one by one*. Five years did he laugh at God's wrath. His oath was "By God's teeth," *Per dentes Dei*†. . . . It was the last outbreak of that Satanic spirit which we have remarked in the English monarchs, and which was

exemplified in the furious rages of William Rufus and of Cœur-de-Lion, in Becket's murder, and in the patricidal wars of the family—"Evil, be thou my good *."

Nothing was to be feared so long as France and the rest of Europe were wholly occupied in the crusade against the Albigois. But as Montfort's success became undoubted, John's danger increased†. It was felt that this time of terror, this living without God,—the priests officiating under pain of death, could not last. When, at a later period, Henry VIII. withdrew England from the papal jurisdiction, it was by making himself pope. This was not feasible in the thirteenth century, and John did not attempt it. In the year 1212, Innocent III., secure of the South, preached a crusade against John, and charged the king of France with the execution of the apostolic sentence‡. Philippe assembled an immense fleet and army. On his side, John is said to have assembled sixty thousand men at Dover; but out of this large number he could rely on but few. He was brought to a sense of the dangerous predicament in which he stood by the pope's legate, who had crossed the strait. The court of Rome sought to humble John, but not to give England to the king of France. John, therefore, submitted, did homage to the pope, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of a thousand gold marks sterling§. There was nothing disgraceful in the ceremony of feudal homage. Kings were often vassals of barons possessed of little power, holding lands of them in fee. The English king had always been the vassal of the French sovereign for Normandy or Aquitaine. Henry II. had done homage for England to Alexander III.; and Richard, to the emperor. But times had changed. The barons affected to believe their king degraded by his submission to the priests||; and he himself could hardly restrain his

* Paradise Lost, B. iv. v. 110.—It is to be regretted that Shakespeare did not venture on giving a second part of King John.

† The king of England was the personal enemy of the Montforts. Simon's grandfather, the earl of Leicester, had dared to lay hands on Henry II. Simon's brother, by the mother's side, one of the most valiant knights engaged in the battle of Muret, was that Guillaume des Barres, who wrestled, in Sicily, in presence of the French and English armies, with Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and in whose vast bodily strength the latter had the mortification of finding his equal—Simon de Montfort's second son will, as we have said, carry on, in the name of the English commons, the family struggle against John's sons. John dared not send troops to the support of his brother-in-law, Raymond, but he displayed the greatest indignation against such of his barons as joined Montfort, and, when he arrived in Guyenne, they quitted the army of the crusaders to a man. It was some of John's own court who defended Castelnaudary and Marmande against Montfort.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 232.

§ Rymer, t. i. P. i. p. 111. Johannes Dei gratia rex Anglie . . . liberè concessimus Deo et SS. Apostolis, etc., ac domino nostro papæ Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus totum regnum Anglie, et totum regnum Hibernie, etc. . . . illa tanquam feodatarii recipientes. . . . Ecclesia Romana mille marcas sterlingorum percipiat annuatim, etc.

|| Math. Paris, p. 271. "Thou, John, of evil memory for ever, hast taken upon thee to make thy kingdom—free from remotest antiquity—the handmaid of another, and from free ruler hast become the tributary, the factor, and

* Chronic. de Mailros, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 249.—Math. Paris, p. 160. Jussit rex tortorios suis, ut diebus singulis unum ex molaribus excutere dentibus. . . . The poor Jew thus lost one of his double teeth daily, but on the eighth day gave in, and delivered up his money.

† His father's oath was "By God's eyes!" (Par les yeux de Dieu.) Epist. Sancti Thomæ, p. 493, &c.

rage. A hermit had prophesied that on Ascension-day John would cease to be king; to prove that he was still so, he had the prophet dragged to pieces at a horse's tail.

Philippe-Auguste would perhaps have invaded England notwithstanding the legate's prohibitions, had not the count of Flanders deserted him. From an early period, Flanders and England had enjoyed a mutual trade: the Flemish artisans could not do without English wool. The legate encouraged Philippe to turn this large army against the Flemings (the orthodoxy of the weavers of Ghent and Bourges was hardly in better repute than that of the Albigeois of Languedoc*), and he at length invaded Flanders, and committed fearful ravages there. Damme was given up to plunder; Cassel, Ypres, Bourges, and Ghent, held to ransom. The French were besieging the latter town when they were apprized that the English fleet had blockaded theirs. They were compelled to burn it to prevent its falling into John's hands, and took their revenge by firing Damme and Lille†.

This same winter John tried a desperate experiment. His brother-in-law, the count of Toulouse, had just lost all his hopes with the disastrous battle of Muret, and the death of the king of Aragon (Sept. 12th, 1213); and John must have repented his having allowed the Albigeois to be crushed, who would have been his best allies. He sought others in Spain and in Africa, being reported to have applied to the Mahomedans, and even to the chief of the Almohades‡—preferring to damn

the vassal of slavery." The Latin, the rude strength of which it is almost impossible to transfer, is as follows:—Tu, Johannes, lugubris memorie pro futuris sæculis, ut terra tua, ab antiquo libera, ancillaret, excoitasti, factus de rege liberrimo tributarius, firmarius, et vasallus servitutis.

* See above, p. 209.

† Where, however, French was the tongue generally spoken.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 169. "He therefore despatched in all haste trusty messengers, that is to say, Thomas Harding, n. and Ralph, son of Nicholas, both knights, and a clerk, named Robert of London, to the admiral, the great king of Africa, Morocco, and Spain, commonly called *Miramumolin*, with the offer of himself and of his kingdom, which he undertook, should such be his pleasure, to hold of him as his tributary; furthermore, offering to forsake Christianity, which he professed to look upon as vanity, for the law of Mahomet. . . . They delivered a deed to this effect from the king, which was faithfully translated to the admiral by an interpreter. This read, the monarch closed a book which lay open before him, for he was studying on a seat near his desk. 'He was a man of middle height and age, of quiet demeanour, and of wise and fluent discourse. After having reflected for a time, he said, 'I was just now reading a book written in Greek by a wise and Christian Greek, named Paul, with whose deeds and words I am much pleased. But I have one fault to find with him: it is, that he did not cleave to the law under which he was born, but passed under another like a deserter and runaway. And this I say in allusion to your master, the king of the English, who, born under the pious and holy law of the Christians, yet burys, inconsistent and fickle as he is, to desert it for another.' He added, 'God, who Knows all, knows that had I not been brought up under the law of Mahomet, I would choose the Christian in preference to every other, and would eagerly embrace it.' Then he enquired what kind of man the king of England was, and what his kingdom might be. . . . Hearing a deep sigh, the monarch replied, 'Never have I read or heard of any king possessing so fine a kingdom, and so submissive and obedient a one, desiring to be tributary

himself, and give himself to the devil rather than to the Church.

Meanwhile he took a new army into pay (his own having deserted him after the last campaign);

instead of independent, a slave instead of a freeman, a wretch instead of an honoured man! . . . He then enquired, but contemptuously, his age, size, conduct in the field. The answer was, that John was turned of fifty, was already grey-headed, strongly made, not tall, but rather largely and robustly limbed. . . . Ruminating then upon the envoys' answers, the admiral, after a short silence, said indignantly and with a sneer of contempt—'This is not a king, but a deerepd and imbecile *knout* (roitelet), on whom I cannot waste a thought—he is unworthy my alliance!'. Then, looking askance at Thomas and Ralph, he exclaimed, 'Seek my presence no more, never again set eyes on my face.' As the envoys were withdrawing in confusion, the king was struck with the appearance of Robert the clerk, the third ambassador, who was a little, dark man, with one arm longer than the other, his fingers disproportioned, and two of them webbed together, and with a Jewish countenance. Reflecting that so sorry a personage would not have been chosen for so nice a business, except he were upright, skilful, and intelligent, he called him to him—for, whilst the others had spoken, Robert had kept silent and apart—. . . The king asked him whether John had any good qualities, whether he had begotten vigorous children, and whether the generative faculty were strong in him, adding, that if Robert lied in his answers, he would no more trust Christian, and above all would trust no priest. Robert swore by his creed that he would answer his questions truly; and then went on to say, that John was rather tyrant than king, that he ruined rather than governed his people, that he oppressed his own and cherished foreigners, that he was a lion to his subjects, a lamb to foreigners and rebels, who had lost by his effemacy the duchy of Normandy and many other territories, and that he thirsted to lose or to ruin the kingdom of England, insatiably greedy of money, and a waster of his patrimony; that he had begotten few, or rather, no vigorous offspring, but only such as were well worthy of their sire (*sed patrizantes*); that he had a wife hated by, and hating him, incestuous, a witch, and an adulteress, and proved a thousand times guilty of these crimes; that the king, her husband, had had her lovers strangled upon his bed; that the king himself had dishonoured the wives of many of his nobles, and even of his own relations, and had debauched his own daughters, and his marriageable sisters; that, as regarded the Christian faith, he was, as the admiral had just been told, fluctuating and full of doubt.' On hearing these things the admiral conceived not contempt merely, but horror of John, and cursed him after the manner of his law, and said, 'Why do these miserable English suffer such a man to reign over them? They must be womanish and slavish!'—'The English,' replied Robert, 'are the most patient of men until insulted and injured beyond all bounds. But now, like an elephant or a lion roused to rage by the sight of his blood, their wrath is up, and they long, rather late it is true, to shake off the yoke which is crushing them to earth.' The admiral launched into invectives against the too great patience of the English: according to the interpreter, who was present the whole of the time, it was against their cowardice rather than patience.—He dismissed Robert, loaded with presents of gold and silver, jewels, and silk stuffs; but the other deputies without presents or farewell.—King John was deeply mortified at the admiral's contemptuous slighting of his offers, and the failure of his project.—Robert behaved right liberally to the King in regard to the gifts he had received, and John, on his part, honoured him above the rest, and bestowed the guardianship of the abbey of St. Alban's upon him, although it was not vacant. . . . He related to some of his friends the story of the gifts he received, and of the secret conversation he had had with the admiral; and, amongst them was Matthew, who writes and tells this."

he sent subsidies to his nephew Otho *, and raised all the princes of Belgium. Crossing the sea in the heart of winter (about Feb. 15th, 1214), he landed at Rochelle, and was to attack Philippe by the South, whilst the Germans and Flemings were to fall upon him on the North. The time was well chosen. The Poitevins, already wearied of the French yoke, rallied in crowds around John. On the other hand, the northern lords were alarmed at the increase of the kingly power. Philippe had stripped the count of Boulogne of five of his countships. The count of Flanders vainly solicited the restoration of Aire and St. Omer. The hatred of the Flemings to the French had been exasperated to the highest pitch by the events of the last campaign. The counts of Limbourg, Holland, and Louvain, had entered this wide-spreading league, although the latter was Philippe's son-in-law. There was, besides, Hugh de Boves, the most celebrated of all the leaders of the routiers; and, finally, the poor emperor of Brunswick, who was himself only a routier in the service of his uncle, the king of England. The aim of the confederates is said to have been no less than the division of France. Paris was to have fallen to the share of the count of Flanders, and the count of Boulogne was to have had Peronne and the Vermandois. In imitation of John, they would have bestowed the goods of the Church on their armed retainers †.

The battle of Bouvines, notwithstanding its celebrity and the national feeling with which it is regarded, does not seem to have been a very considerable action. Each army, probably, did not exceed fifteen or twenty thousand men ‡. Philippe had sent the better part of his knights against John, and his army, which he commanded in person, consisted partly of the militia of Picardy. The Belgians allowed him to lay their lands waste royally § for a month's space, and he was on the eve of returning without having seen the enemy, when he encountered him between Lille and Tournai, near the bridge of Bouvines (Aug. 27th, 1214). The details of the battle have been handed down to us by an eye-witness, Guillaume-le-Breton, Philippe's chaplain, who kept behind throughout the engagement; but, unhappily his account, evidently warped by flattery, is much more so by the classic servility with which the historico-poet fancies himself obliged to model his Philippide on the *Æneid*. Philippe must, one way or other, be *Æneas*, and the emperor, *Turnus*. All that we can receive as certain is that, at first, our militia were thrown into disorder, and that the men-at-arms made several charges, in one of which the French king nearly lost his life—being dragged to the ground by footmen, armed with barbed spears. The emperor Otho had, his horse wounded by Guillaume des Barres, Simon de Montfort's brother, the lion-hearted Richard's opponent, and was borne off by the press of his own routed and flying soldiery. The glory of courage, though not the victory, remained with the Brabant routiers. These old soldiers, five hundred in number, would not surrender to the French,

whom they forced to put them to the sword. The knights made a less obstinate resistance, and numbers were taken prisoners: when once dismounted, encumbered as they were with heavy armour, they could not help themselves. Five counts fell into Philip's hands: those of Flanders, Boulogne, Salisbury, Tecklembourg, and Dortmund; as their subjects did not ransom the two first, they remained his prisoners—the other three he gave to the militia of the communes engaged in the battle, to hold to ransom.

John was not more successful in the South than Otho in the North; though he at first met with rapid success on the Loire, taking St. Florent, Ancenis, and Angers. But the two armies were scarcely in presence, ere a panic terror made them both turn their back at the same time. John lost quicker than he had gained. The Aquitanians gave Louis quite as good reception as they had done him; and John, thinking himself fortunate in the pope's procuring a truce for him at the cost of forty thousand marks of silver, returned to England, conquered, ruined, and without resources. It was a fine opportunity for the barons; and they seized it. In the month of January, 1215, and, again, on the 15th of June of the same year, they made him sign the famous *Magna Charta*. Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and ex-professor of the university of Paris, pretended that the liberties claimed of the king, were no other than the old English liberties, already recognized by Henry Beauclerc in a similar charter *. John promised the barons never to attempt the compulsory marriage of their daughters and widows, and to restrain the waste committed by guardians in chivalry; the burgesses, to respect their franchises; freemen, to permit them to go and come, at their pleasure; to secure them all from arbitrary imprisonment and spoliation; to restrain excessive amercements, and, "in every case, to exempt from seizure the *contenement* † (a word expressive of chattels necessary to each man's station, as the arms of a gentleman, the merchandize of a trader, the plough and waggons of a peasant);" to levy no aid or escuage—except in the three feudal cases of aid ‡—without the consent of the barons in parliament, and to abolish the injustice of royal purveyance. The court of common pleas, instead of following the king's person, was fixed at Westminster, in the heart of the city, and under the eyes of the people. Finally, the judges, constables, and bailiffs were henceforward to be men skilled in the law; a provision which alone effected a complete transfer of the judiciary power into the hands of the clerks, the legists, and men of inferior condition. The privileges granted by the monarch to his immediate vassals, they, in their turn, were bound to concede to those who held immediately of them. Thus, for the first time, the aristocracy felt that it could only strengthen its victory over the king, by exacting security for all freemen. On that day the ancient opposition between the conquerors and the conquered, between the sons of the Normans and those of the Saxons, ceased, and for ever.

* Math. Paris, p. 158.

† Id. p. 715. Otho had declared that an archbishop was only to have twelve horses, a bishop six, an abbot three.

‡ Urspr. 326, ap. Raumer, Hohenstaufen.

§ Sismondi, Hist. des Français, p. 356

§ Guillelm. Brito, p. 94.

* Hallam suspects a pious fraud here. See note at p. 443, vol. ii. of State of Europe in the Middle Ages.

† Id. ibid. p. 450.

‡ (These were a knight's personal captivity, the knight-hood of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter.) TRANSLATOR.

When the charter was presented for his signature, John exclaimed, "They might as well ask me for my crown*." He signed, however, and then burst into an ungovernable fit of rage, gnawing straw and wood, like a caged beast gnawing the bars of its den. As soon as the barons had disbanded themselves, he made it known throughout the continent that adventurers from all countries—Brabanters, Fleming, Normans, Poitevins, Gascons—desirous of service, would be welcome in England to take the lands of his rebellious barons for themselves†: he burned to repeat on the Normans William's conquest of the Saxons. Numbers obeyed the call; and the barons, in alarm, applied for aid to the Scotch and French kings. The latter's son had married Blanche of Castile, John's niece; but this princess was not her uncle's immediate heir, and could not give her husband a claim to which she was herself unentitled. Besides, the pope interfered. He considered that the archbishop of Canterbury had proceeded too far against John; and forbade the French king to attack his brother of England, the Church's vassal. Nevertheless, the young Louis, Philippe's son, crossed into England, at the head of an army, in armed disobedience to his father's commands‡. All the counties of Kentia§, the archbishop himself, and the city of London declared for the French; and John was once more abandoned and alone—an exile in his own kingdom—and compelled to seek his daily bread in plunder, like the leader of a band of routiers. Every morning, he used to burn down the house where he had passed the night. He spent some months in the Isle of Wight, living on piracy: yet he had with him a large amount of treasure, on which he relied for hiring more mercenaries. He lost it in crossing a river||, and then, bereft of every hope, was seized with a fever, and died. For the French, this was the worst event that could have happened. John's son, Henry III., was innocent of his father's crimes; and Louis, quickly finding the whole kingdom rally against him, was too happy to secure his safe return to France, by renouncing all claims to the English crown¶.

Innocent III. had died two months before king

* It is laid down in Magna Charta that if any of its provisions be violated by the king's ministers, the matter shall be referred to the council of twenty-five barons. "Then they, with the commonalty of the whole kingdom, shall harass and pursue in every way, that is, by the taking of our castles, &c. . . ." The first attempt to gain security, is the consecration of civil war. *Essais de Guizot*, p. 439 441.

† *Math. Paris*, p. 225.

‡ *Math. Paris*, p. 236. The court of peers had assembled at Melun. Louis said to Philippe—"My lord, I am your liege man for the fiefs you have bestowed on me on this side of the sea, but, with regard to the kingdom of England, it belongeth not to you to decide. . . . I only ask you to throw no obstacle in the way of my enterprise, for I am determined to fight unto death, if need be, to recover my wife's inheritance." The king declared that he would give his son no support.

§ (M. Michelet would seem to have fallen into some strange mistake with regard to the extent of the ancient kingdom of Kent. See note at p. 196.) TRANSLATOR.

|| (The Welland, near its junction with the Wash. See the account in *Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 90.)

¶ To believe the English, he even promised to restore, on his accession, the conquests of his father.

John (the dates of their deaths are July 16th and October 19th, 1216), as great and as triumphant as the enemy of the Church was fallen. And yet this victorious close had its sting. What was there for him to wish? he had crushed Otho, and made an emperor of his young Italian, Frederick II.; the deaths of the kings of Aragon and of England had shown the world the danger of trifling with the Church; the heresy of the Albigeois had been drowned in such seas of blood, that no fuel could be found for the funeral pile—what then was left this great and terrible ruler of the world and of human thought to desire?

Only one thing—that one vast, infinite thing, whose want nothing can supply—his own approbation, faith in himself. Perhaps, his confidence in the principle of persecution was not shaken; but through the shouts of victory there stole into his ear a confused cry of the shedding of blood, an accusing wail—low, gentle, modest—but the more terrible therefore. When they came to tell him, how his Cistercian legate had in his name slaughtered twenty thousand human beings in Béziers, and how bishop Folquet had put ten thousand to death in Toulouse, could he make sure that in these wholesale executions the sword had never mistaken its victim? How many towns in ashes, how many children punished for the faults of their father, how many sins to punish sin! The executioners had been well paid: one was count of Toulouse and marquis of Provence*; another, archbishop of Narbonne, others, bishops. And the Church; what had been her gain—one sweeping curse: the pope's—a doubt.

In particular, a year before his death, in 1215, when the count of Toulouse, the count of Foix, and other lords of the South came to throw themselves at his feet, when he heard their plaints and saw their tears, he had been strangely troubled. He desired, it is said, to make amends; but could not. His agents would not suffer him to make a restitution, which would at once be their ruin and their condemnation. Mankind are not immolated to an idea with impunity. The blood that is shed finds a voice within your own heart that shakes the idol to which you have offered sacrifice, and which fails you in the day of doubt, totters, turns pale, and is gone,—leaving one certainty: that you have sinned for it.

"When the holy father had heard all that they severally sought to say†, he drew a heavy sigh; then retiring with his council, the said lords likewise withdrew to their lodging to wait what answer it might please the holy father to make.

"When the holy father had retired, there came to him all the prelates of the legate's and of the

* In a charter of the year 1216, Montfort signs himself—"Simon, by the grace of God duke of Narbonne, count of Toulouse, marquis of Provence, viscount of Carcassonne, and lord of Montfort." *Preuves de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, p. 254.

† *Languedocian Chronicle* in the *Preuves de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, t. iii. p. 59. 62. I follow M. Guizot's translation, with some modifications. With him, I believe in the great antiquity of this monument: though it is opposed, on several important points, to the contemporary historians. Perhaps, it represents the pope as too favourable to the count of Toulouse.—See, also, the fragment of the *Chronicle* in verse, published by M. Fauriel in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

count de Montfort's party, who explained to him, that if he restored to the applicants their lands and lordships, and refused to hearken unto them, no layman would hereafter interfere in church matters, or aid the Church. All the prelates having spoken on this wise, the holy father took a book and showed them all, that if they did not restore the said lands and lordships to those from whom they had taken them, it would be to do them grievous wrong, since he had found, and did find, count Raymond full of obedience to the Church and her commands, as well as those that were with him: 'for which reason,' he said, 'I give them leave and licence to recover their lands and lordships from those who retain them unjustly.' On this, you should have seen the said prelates murmuring against the holy father and the princes, in such sort that one would have taken them for men driven to extremity rather than aught else, and the holy father was all amazed at finding himself the object of their violence.

"When the chanter of Lyons of that day, who was one of the great clerks who are known all over the world, saw and heard the said prelates murmuring in this fashion against the holy father and the princes, he rose and took up the word against the prelates, saying and showing to the holy father that all that the prelates said, and had said, was solely out of their great malice and spite towards the said princes and lords, and was against all truth, 'For my lord,' he said, 'well dost thou know, as touching count Raymond, that he was ever obedient to thee, and that he was in truth one of the first to put his strong places in thy hands and power, or in those of thy legate. He was, likewise, one of the first to take the cross, and assisted at the siege of Carcassonne against his nephew, the viscount de Béziers, which he did in proof of his obedience to thee, although the viscount was his nephew—which, too, has been a subject of complaint. Wherefore, it seemeth to me, my lord, that thou wilt do great wrong to count Raymond if thou dost not restore and cause to be restored his lands to him, and thou wilt be exposed to God's reproach and the world's, and henceforward, my lord, no living man will trust in thee or in thy letters, or give either faith and credence, whereby the whole Church militant will incur defamation and reproach. Wherefore I say to you, bishop of Toulouse, that you are much to blame, and show clearly by your words that you love not count Raymond or the people whose pastor you are, for you have kindled a fire in Toulouse which will never be extinguished, have been the chief instrument in the death of more than ten thousand men, and will cause the death of as many more, since by your false representations you show your design of persevering in the same wrongful course; and by you and your conduct the court of Rome has been so defamed that the whole world rings with the rumour thereof; and it seemeth to me, my lord, that so many people ought not to be destroyed, or despoiled of their goods, to satiate the cupidity of one man.'

"Then the holy father reflected awhile what he should do, and after he had reflected, said, 'I see and acknowledge that great wrong has been done to the lords and princes who have thrown themselves before me; but, nevertheless, I am innocent of such wrong, and knew nothing of the matter; it

was not by my orders that these injuries were committed, and I owe no thanks to those who have done them, for count Raymond has come to me with true obedience, as well as they who are with him.'

"Then arose the archbishop of Narbonne. He took up the word, and said and showed to the holy father how the princes were guilty of no fault for which they should have been so despoiled, and that all that had been done was imputable to the bishop of Toulouse, 'who,' he went on to say, 'has ever given us very damnable counsels, and does so now; for I swear to you by my faith to holy Church, that count Raymond has always been obedient to thee, holy father, and to holy Church, as well as all the other lords who are with him, and as to their revolting against thy legate and the count de Montfort, they were not to blame, for the legate and the count took from them all their lands, and slew and massacred of their people without number, and the bishop of Toulouse, here present, is the cause of all the evil that has been done, and thou must know, my lord, that the words of the said bishop have no foundation, since if things were as he says and gives to understand, count Raymond and the lords who accompany him would not have come to thee as they have done, and as thou seest.'

"When the archbishop had spoken, there came a great clerk, called master Theodisius, who said and showed to the holy father the contrary of all that the archbishop of Narbonne had said. 'Thou knowest well, my lord,' he said, 'and art apprized of the very great pains which the count de Montfort and the legate have taken night and day, with great danger to their persons, to reduce and change the country of the princes, of whom there is question, which was filled with heretics. Hence, my lord, thou art well aware, that now that the count de Montfort and thy legate have swept out and destroyed the said heretics, and taken the country into their own hands,—which they have done with great labour and pain, as all may see; and now that these come to thee, thou canst do nothing against thy legate, nor harshly entreat him. The count de Montfort has good right and good cause to seize their lands, and now, if thou takest them from him, thou wilt do him great wrong, for night and day the count labours for the Church and for his rights, as thou hast been instructed.'

"The holy father having heard and listened to each of the two parties, replied to master Theodisius and to those that were with him, that he knew the contrary of what they had said, for that he had been well informed that the legate had destroyed the good and just, and had left the wicked unpunished, and loud were the complaints that each day came to him from all parts against the legate and the count de Montfort. All they, then, who espoused the cause of the legate and of the count, assembled, and came to the holy father to pray him to be pleased to suffer the count de Montfort to possess, since he had conquered them, the countries of Bigorre, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Agen, Quercy, Albigeois, Foix, and Comminges. 'And should it be, my lord,' they said to him, 'that thou shouldst seek to take the said lands and countries from him, we swear and promise to thee that we will all of us aid and succour him towards and against all.'

"When they had so spoken, the holy father said

and answered them, that neither for them, nor for any thing which they had said to him, would he do what they desired, and that no man should be despoiled by him; since, granting that the thing was as they stated, and that count Raymond had done all that was said and shown, he was not therefore to lose his land and inheritance, for God has said with his own mouth, 'that the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son, or the son that of the father,' and no one dares assert or maintain the contrary; and on the other hand, that he was clearly apprized that the count de Montfort had put wrongfully and causelessly to death the viscount de Béziers, in order to have his lands. 'For, as I have already declared,' he said, 'the viscount de Béziers never contributed to this heresy. . . And I would know of you, since you are so hot in behalf of the count de Montfort, which of you will undertake the office of the viscount's accuser, and explain to me wherefore the count has done him to death, has ravaged his lands, and seized them on this wise?' The holy father having so spoken, all his prelates replied, that will ye, nil ye, and whether right or wrong, the count de Montfort would keep the lands and seigniories, for that they would aid him to defend himself from and against all.

"The bishop of Osmâ, seeing this, said to the holy father, 'My lord, trouble not thyself with their threats, for I tell thee truly, the bishop of Toulouse is a great braggart, and their threats will not hinder count Raymond's son from recovering his lands from the count de Montfort. He will find aid and assistance thereto, for he is nephew of the king of France, and also of the English king, and of other great lords and princes. Wherefore he will know how to defend his right, although he is young.'

"The holy father replied, 'Lords, trouble not yourselves about the child, for if the count de Montfort retains his lands and lordships, I will give him others with which he shall reconquer Toulouse, Agen, and Beaucaire as well; I will make over to him the suzerainship of the countship of Venaissin, which belonged to the emperor, and if he have God and the Church for him, and do wrong to no one, he shall have lands and lordships enow.' Count Raymond then appeared before the holy father, with all the princes and lords, to hear his answer with regard to their business, and the petition which each had made; and count Raymond told and showed him how they had remained a long time, waiting for his answer with regard to their business, and the petition which each had made. The holy father then told count Raymond that just then he could do nothing for them, but that he was to return and to leave his son with him, and when count Raymond had heard the holy father's answer, he took his leave of him, and left him his son, and the holy father gave him his blessing. Count Raymond quitted Rome with part of his people, and left the rest with his son; among others, there remained the count of Foix to petition for his lands, and see if he could recover them, and count Raymond went straight to Viterbo to wait for his son and those he had left with him, as has been explained.

"All this done, the count of Foix sought a private interview with the holy father, to know whether his lands would be restored to him or not; and when the holy father had seen the count, he

restored him his land and lordship, and delivered him his letters thereto, as behoved in such business, whereat the count of Foix was exceeding joyful and glad of heart, and full of thanks to the holy father, who gave him his blessing, and absolution for all that he had done up to that day. When the count of Foix had settled his business, he left Rome, and went straight to Viterbo, to count Raymond, and related to him the whole course of the matter, how he had received absolution, and how, likewise, the holy father had restored him his land and lordships; and he showed him his letters, whereat count Raymond was exceeding joyful and glad of heart. They then left Viterbo and went straight to Genoa, where they waited for count Raymond's son.

"Now history says that after all this, and when count Raymond's son had remained at Rome the space of forty days, he had a private interview with the holy father, with his barons and the lords who were of his company. When he had arrived, after the child had saluted the holy father, as he well knew how to do, for the child was wise and well-mannered, he sought the holy father's permission to return, since he could have no other answer; and when the holy father had heard and listened to all that the child wished to say and show him, the holy father took him by the hand, and made him sit by his side, and addressed himself to speak to him, saying—"Son, listen, that I may speak to thee, and if thou doest that which I am about to say to thee, thou wilt never fail in any thing.

"In the first place, love and serve God, and take not what belongs to another; as for thine own, if any one seek to deprive thee of it, defend it, and by so doing thou wilt have many lands and lordships; and in order that thou mayest not remain without lands or lordships, I give thee the countship of Venaissin with all its appurtenances, Provence, and Beaucaire, to serve for thy maintenance until the Holy Church shall have assembled its council. Then thou mayest return on this side of the mountains to have satisfaction and justice in what thou seekest against the count de Montfort.'

"The child then thanked the holy father for what he had given him, and said to him, 'Lord, if I can recover my lands from the count de Montfort and those who retain them, I pray thee, lord, not to impute it to me as a fault, and not to be angered with me.' The holy father answered him, 'Whatever thou mayest do, God grant thee to begin well, and finish better.'

These wishes of a weak old man's were not to be realized. It was neither the Raymonds nor the Montforts who reaped the patrimony of the count of Toulouse. The lawful heirs recovered it; but only quickly to yield it. The usurper, notwithstanding all his courage and prodigious strength of mind, was already conquered in heart, when a stone, launched from the walls of Toulouse, delivered him from this "mortal coil" (A.D. 1218*). His

* Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. 30. "The count was worn out with fatigue and sick of life, ruined and exhausted by the charges to which he was put; and the incessant upbraidings of the legate to rouse him from what he termed his negligence and inactivity, were too much for him; and so he prayed the Lord to end his troubles in the rest of death. On the evening before St. John the Baptist's day, a stone, launched from a mangonel, struck him on the head, and he expired on the spot.

son, Amaury de Montfort, resigned his rights over Languedoc in favour of the French king; and the whole of the South, some free cities apart, threw itself into the arms of Philippe-Auguste*. In 1222, the legate himself and the bishops of the South besought him on bended knee to allow Montfort to do him homage†. In truth, the conquerors were at a loss what to do with their conquest, and doubted that they could retain it. The four hundred and thirty fiefs‡ which Simon de Montfort had given, to be held according to the custom of Paris, might be torn from their new possessors except they secured themselves a powerful protector; and the conquered, who had seen the king of France on several occasions opposed to the pope, hoped from him a little more equity and gentler treatment.

Casting our eyes at this period over Europe, we shall descry in all its states a weakness, and an inconsistency of principle and of position, which could not fail of turning to the profit of the king of France.

Before the frightful war which brought on the catastrophe of the South, Don Pedro and Raymond V. had been the enemies of the municipal liberties of Toulouse and of Aragon. The king of the latter country had wished to be crowned by the hands of the pope, and to do him homage, in order to be

* Raymond VII. writes to Philip-Augustus (July, 1222,)—"I apply to you, my lord, as to my chief and only protector . . . humbly praying and beseeching you to deign to take pity on me." *Preuves de l'Histoire du Langued.* t. iii. p. 275.

† (December, 1222) "That . . . Amalric besought you to deign of your condescendence to accept for yourself and your heirs for ever, the land which he or his father held, or might hold, in or near the territory of Albigeus, we rejoice thereat, desiring that the Church and that land may be governed under the shadow of your name, and praying from the bottom of our hearts, forasmuch as royal power belongs to your illustrious majesty, by grace of the King of kings, and for the honour of holy mother Church and your kingdom, that you would receive the offering of the aforesaid land and the said count's resignation; and you will find us and the other prelates prepared to exert ourselves to the utmost in this matter on your behalf, and to expend the means which the Church has, or may have, here." *Preuves de l'Hist. du Langued.* t. iii. p. 276.—(1223.) "When we had been long left in solitary wise in Béziers, expecting death every moment, and desiring death since we lived in torture, the enemies alike of the faith and of peace baring their swords over our heads, lo! O dreaded king, there arrived on the 1st of May a messenger . . . who brought us a welcome message, a message of comfort, to the relief of all our misery, namely, that it pleaseth the magnificence of your mightiness (quod videlicet placet celsitudinis vestre magnificentiæ), in council of the prelates and barons of your kingdom assembled at Melun, to take into consideration the remedy and succour of a land, which would be turned into a desert and a word of everlasting reproach, had not the Lord quickly succoured us by the ministry of your royal right hand, for which, we,—squalid with excess of woe, and worn out with extreme grief,—at length breathing, return thanks in the first place to the Most High, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, knowing that it was by his inspiration that you, &c. . . . Therefore with bended knees, O most dreaded king, with torrents of tears, and torn with soba, we implore your royal majesty to obey the call of God . . . since your kingdom is threatened with the subversion of the Church Universal, except you devise remedies, and succour," &c. . . . *Ibid.* p. 278.

‡ See above, p. 121.

more independent of his subjects. The count of Toulouse, Raymond V., had himself solicited the kings of France and England to make a crusade against the civil and religious liberties of the city of Toulouse. A representative of the feudal, he longed to crush the municipal principle, which curbed his power. The English king was continuing against Canterbury and against his barons the struggle commenced by Henry II. Finally, the emperor Otho of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, sprung from a Guelphic family, the bitter enemy of the emperors, but English by his mother's side, and brought up at the English court with his uncles, Richard and John, thinking more of his mother than of his father, went over to the Ghibelines, just as the Ghibeline-house of the princes of Suabia was restored by the popes, by Innocent III., the guardian of the young Frederick II. Thus Otho, equally deserted by Guelphs and Ghibelines, found himself confined to his domains of Brunswick, and took pay with his uncle John against the Church and Philippe-Auguste, who defeated him at Bouvines. Such was the anomalous condition of Europe. The princes were against municipal, and for religious liberties. The emperor was Guelph; the pope, Ghibeline. The pope, whilst attacking kings on religious grounds, supported them against the people on political considerations. He crowned the king of Aragon, annulled *Magna Charta*, and blamed the archbishop of Canterbury, just as Alexander III. had abandoned Becket. Thus the pope renounced his ancient part of defender of political and religious liberties; whilst the French monarch, on the contrary, was granting numerous communal charters, took a share in the crusade of the South, but only so far as to be a voucher for his faith, and alone in Europe held a strong and simple position—his alone was the future.

CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. MYSTICISM. LOUIS IX. SANCTITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE vast struggle which has been described in the preceding chapter, terminates, apparently, to the pope's advantage. He is triumphant every where—over the emperor, over king John, over the heretical Albigeois, and the schismatic Greeks. England and Naples are become two fiefs of the holy see, and the tragic death of the king of Aragon has read a bitter lesson to all kings. Yet have all these successes tended so little to strengthen the papal power, that we shall see him, in the midst of the thirteenth century, abandoned by great part of Europe, soliciting at Lyons the protection of the French, and, at the commencement of the following century, outraged, beaten, buffeted by his good friend the king of France, and, at last, compelled to place himself in his hands at Avignon. 'Tis to the profit of France that conquered and conquerors, the Church's enemies and the Church herself will have succumbed.

How explain this rapid decay from Innocent the Third's day to that of Boniface the Seventh—such

a fall after such a victory ! In the first place, the sword is powerless against thought ; rather, it is the nature of this vivacious plant to germ, grow, and flourish under its iron blade. How much the more then, if the glaive is raised by the hand to which it ought to be most a stranger, by a pacific and priestly hand ! if the lamb bites and tears, if the father murders ! . . . the Church, forfeiting in this manner her character for sanctity, it will presently devolve on a layman, on a king, on the king of France. And thus, unwittingly, the pious Louis IX. inflicts a fearful blow on the Church.

The very remedies applied have turned into so many evils. The pope has only overcome independent mysticism, by himself opening large schools of mysticism—I speak of the mendicant orders. This was combating mischief by mischief—undertaking the most difficult and contradictory of all things ; to reduce inspiration to rule, to fix the limits of illumination, and to give form to delirium ! Liberty is not to be sported with in this fashion, but is a two-edged blade, which wounds him who fancies that he grasps it, and seeks to use it as his instrument.

The orders of St. Dominic and of St. Francis, on which the pope endeavoured to support the tottering Church, had a common mission—to preach. The first monastic period, the age of monkish industry, in which the Benedictines had cleared at one and the same time the land and the mind of the barbarians, had passed away. The age of the preachers of the crusade, of the monks of Cîteaux and of Clairvaux, had ended with the crusade. The Church required a moral crusade, one on which she should no longer summon men to the Jerusalem of Judea, but to the Jerusalem of charity, unity, simplicity, and obedience. The safeguard of Christianity was indubitably the unity of the Church. In Gregory the Seventh's day, it had been saved by the monks, the auxiliaries of the papacy. But at the time heretics were overrunning the world in the diffusion of their doctrines, the monks had quitted the field for a sedentary and reclusive life ; and against their preachers the Church brought forward her own preachers—'tis the name of the order of St. Dominic*. The world coming less to her, she went forth to it. These missionaries of her's drew at the spring in which Christianity has ever slaked its thirst, when panting and fatigued—that of grace † ; and there jetted ‡ from this spring two orders, those of St. Dominic § and St. Francis. The spring being reopened, there was abundance for every one ; all came, and laymen were made free of it. The third order (*Tiers-Ordre*) of St. Dominic and of St. Francis received a multitude of men who could not quit the world, and who sought to reconcile its duties with monastic perfection. St. Louis and his mother belonged to the third order of St. Francis.

Thus far the influence of the two orders was common to either ; yet, with this resemblance, each bore the imprint of a different character. The

order of St. Dominic, founded by an austere spirit, by a Spanish gentleman, and born under the sanguinary inspiration of Cîteaux in the midst of the Languedocian crusade, early stopped short in the career of mysticism, and displayed neither the fiery enthusiasm nor the discursive flights of the sister order. It was the chief auxiliary of the popes, until the establishment of the Jesuits. The office of the Dominicans was to regulate and to repress. Theirs was the Inquisition ; and to them was confided the teaching of philosophy even within the pontifical palace. Whilst the Franciscans hurried over the world in the wildness of inspiration, alternately sinking and rising from obedience to liberty, and from heresy to orthodoxy, firing the world and agitating it with the transports of mystical love, the sombre genius of St. Dominic buried itself within the sacred palace of the Lateran, and the granitic vaults of the Escorial*.

The order of St. Francis was less trammelled, and hurried headlong into love, the love of God, exclaiming, as did Luther at a later period—*Perish the law, flourish grace* ! The founder of this wandering order was a huckster or pedlar of Assise ; and he got his name of Francis (*François*), Italian as he was, from his mostly speaking French (*Francis*). "He was," says his biographer, "in his younger days, a vain person, a buffoon, a joker, and a singer, lavish, fickle, and bold. . . . He had a round head, small forehead, black eyes with no malevolence in them, straight eyebrows, straight and thin nose, small pricked up ears, sharp and ardent tongue, earnest and mild voice, white, equal, and compact teeth, thin lips, little beard, meagre neck, short arms, long fingers and nails, a poor leg, a small foot, and little or no flesh †." He was five and twenty when converted by a dream. On rising, he takes horse, sells his stuffs at Foligno, brings back the money to an old priest, and on his refusing it, throws it out of the window. He seeks, at all events, to remain with the priest, but is pursued by his father, escapes, lives a month in a hole, is discovered by his father, laden with blows, and followed by the mob with volleys of stones. His friends compel him to make a formal renunciation of all his worldly goods before the bishop. His joy was at its height ; he gives his father all his clothes, not even reserving a pair of drawers : the bishop throws his cloak over him ‡.

He is now launched into the world, and runs through the woods, singing his Creator's praises. Stopped by robbers, who ask him who he is, he replies, "I am the herald who proclaim the Great King." They thrust him into a gully full of snow—a new joy for the saint, who drags himself out of it, and goes on his way rejoicing. The birds sing with him ; he preaches to them, and they listen : "Birds, my brothers," were his words, "do you not love your Creator, who gives you wings and feathers, and all you want ?" Then, satisfied with their docility, he gives them his blessing, and allows them to fly away §. In like manner he ex-

* (They were called the *Frères Prêcheurs*.) TRANSLATOR.
† The Universities had just deserted St. Augustin for Aristotle (Bulæus, ii. 269) : the Mendicants went back to St. Augustin.

‡ (*Ilen jaillit deux ordres*.) See the translator's note at p. 141.

§ Dominic was established in the privileges of a "Founder" by the bull of Honorius III. ; who created for him the office of Master of the Sacred Palace.

* Built by Philip II.

† Acta SS. Octobris, t. ii. Vita S. Francisci a Thoma Cellano, p. 685. 706. Thomas was a disciple of St. Francis, and twice wrote his life by order of Gregory IX.

‡ Ibid. Th. Cellan. pp. 687, 688. Nec femoralia retinens, totus coram omnibus denudatur. Episcopus . . . pallio quo indutus erat, contextit eum.

§ Id. ibid. p. 699. "Frates mei, aves, multum debetis

horted all living things to praise and thank God. He loved them, sympathized with them; he saved, when he could, the hare pursued by the hunters, and sold his cloak to redeem a lamb from the shambles. In his boundless charity he embraced inanimate nature herself. Corn-fields, vines, woods, stones, he fraternised with them all, and summoned them all to the divine love *.

In time, a poor idiot of Assise attached himself to him; then a rich tradesman left all to follow him. These first Franciscans, and those who joined them, fell at first into diabolical extravagancies, akin to those of the fakirs of India, suspending themselves by cords, and loading themselves with iron chains and wooden shackles†. Then, when they had somewhat satisfied this longing for pain, St. Francis long revolved within himself whether prayer or preaching were the preferable of the two, and might have been still engaged in meditating on the point, had he not bethought himself of consulting St. Clara and brother Sylvester. They decided for preaching‡. From this moment he hesitated no longer, but girded his loins with a cord and set out for Rome. "Such was his transport," says his biographer, "when he arrived in the pope's presence, that he could hardly keep his feet still, and leaped about as if he would have danced §." At first, the Romish politicians inclined to throw cold water on his ardour; but on reflection, the pope gave him his licence. All he asked was permission to preach, beg, and to have no other worldly possession than the poor church of St. Marie des Anges, in the small field of *Portiuncule* (little portion), which he rebuilt with what was given him||. This done, he divided the world among his companions, reserving Egypt for himself in the hope of martyrdom; but his efforts to this end were doomed to disappointment, for the sultan would persist in sending him back.

So rapid was the progress made by this new order, that in 1219, St. Francis numbered five thousand Franciscans in Italy, and they had spread over the whole world. These wild apostles of grace hurried every where bare-footed, acting all the mysteries in their sermons, followed by the women and children, laughing at Christmas, weeping on Good Friday, and developing in their vagrant freedom all the dramatic elements of Christianity. The system of grace, according to which man is only a puppet in God's hands, frees him from all pretension to personal dignity; to lower and annihilate himself, and display all of his nature that tendeth to shame, is with him an act of love: 'tis exalting God the more. The scandalous and cynical become a pious enjoyment, a devotional sensuality. Man sacrifices with pleasure his pride and his shame to the loved object.

* 'Twas transporting to St. Francis to do penance

laudare Creatorem," etc. . . . One day that the swallows hindered him from praying by their chirping, he begged them to cease, "Sorores mee, hirundines," etc. They obeyed at once.

* Id. *ibid.* p. 705. *Segetes, vineas, lapides, et silvas, et omnia speciosa camporum*. . . . "He admonished both land and fire, the air and the wind to Divine love," &c. . . . "He called all created things *brethren*, as *my brother, snakes, my sister, fly*, &c."

† Id. *ibid.* p. 695. *Aliquis suspensus funibus*. . . .

‡ Vita S. Franc. à S. Bonaventura, p. 774.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Th. Cellan. p. 699.

in the streets for having broken a fast, and eaten a bit of fowl when all but famished. He had himself dragged naked through the streets, well scourged the while, and proclamation made, "See the glutton who gorged himself with fowl, unknown to you *!" At Christmas he had a stable arranged to resemble that in which our Saviour was born, to preach in. There were the ox, the ass, and hay; and that nothing might be wanting, he bleated like a sheep when uttering the word *Bethlehem*, and when naming the sweet Jesus, he licked his lips with his tongue as if tasting honey†.

Numerous excesses, it is reasonable to believe, were occasioned by these mad representations, and furious traversings of Europe, that could only be likened to the Bacchanalia, or the pantomimic displays of the priests of Cybele. Nor were they exempt from the sanguinary character which had marked the orgies of antiquity. The overpoweringly dramatic cast of mind which urged St. Francis to undertake a complete imitation of Jesus, was not contented with acting over again his life and birth; he longed to have his Passion as well, and in his latter years, he used to be borne about in a cart through the streets and highways, pouring out blood from his side, and imitating by his wounds those of our Lord‡.

The women hailed this ardent mysticism with enthusiasm; and in return, they were made large participators in the gifts of grace. St. Clara d'Assise founded the order of the Clarisses §. The doctrine of the immaculate conception increased in popularity ||, and became the main point of religion, the favourite thesis with theologians, the cherished and sacred belief for which the Franciscans, knights of

* Th. Cellan. p. 696. . . . *Videte glutonem, qui impinguatus est carnisbus gallinarum, quas, vobis ignorantibus, manducavit!*

† *Ibid.* pp. 706, 707. *More balantis ovis Bethlehem dicens . . . et labia sua, cum Jesum nominaret, quasi lingebat lingua.*—The very hay of the stable worked miraculous cures on animals. *Ibid.*

‡ See, also, Bartholomew of Pisa's work, *Liber Conformitatum B. Francisci ad vitam Jesu Christi*, ed. 1501, fol. 227, sqq. The writer begins by laying down the possibility of the transformation of the subject loving into the object loved. He next devises an allegorical tree, divided into ten branches, each bearing as its fruit four conformities, to wit, two of Jesus Christ's attributes, and two of St. Francis's resemblances thereto.

§ In 1224, St. Francis conferred a special code, or rule, on this order: it was established in Germany by Agnes of Bohemia.—"And many daughters of dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles of Germany, deserting the world, after the example of the blessed Clara and Agnes, were united to a heavenly bridegroom." *Liber Conformitatum* (ed. 1501), fol. 85.

|| The church of Lyons embraced it in 1154; and was reproved for countenancing the innovation in a long letter, by St. Bernard (Epist. 174) (It was approved of by Alain de Lille and by Petrus Cellensis (L. vi. epist. 23; ix. 9, 10); and was condemned by the council of Oxford in 1222.—The Dominicans declared for St. Bernard; the university for the Church of Lyons. *Bulæus, Hist. Univers. Paris. iii.* 138; *iv.* 618, 964. See Duns Scot., *Sententiarum liber iii.* dist. 3, qu. i. and dist. 18, qu. i. Scotus is said to have argued in support of the Immaculate Conception between two hundred Dominicans, and to have induced the university to declare, "that it would admit no one to take his degree, except he first swore that he would defend the blessed Virgin from the charge of original sin (originalia noxa)." *Wadding. Ann. Minorum*, ann. 1394. *Bulæus, iv.* p. 71.

the Virgin, broke lances. Christendom was inflamed with sensual devotion. St. Dominic beheld the whole world in the Virgin's hood, as Indus saw it in Christina's mouth, or like Brama resting in the lotos flower. "The Virgin opened her hood before St. Dominic, who was bedewed with tears; and it was of such size as easily to contain and embrace the whole of the heavens.*"

It has been already noticed, when speaking of Heloise, of Eleonora of Guyenne, and of the Courts of Love, that from the twelfth century, woman assumed on earth a position proportioned to the new importance which she had acquired in the celestial hierarchy. In the thirteenth we find her seated, at least as mother and regent, on many of the western thrones. Blanche of Castille governs in the name of her infant son, as does the countess of Champagne for the young Thibaut, and the countess of Flanders for her captive husband. Isabella of Marche also exercises the greatest influence over her son, Henry III., king of England. Jane of Flanders did not content herself with the power, but desired many honours and ensigns, and claimed at the consecration of St. Louis the right of her husband to bear the naked sword, the sword of France†.

Before proceeding to explain how a woman governed France, and broke down feudal powers in the name of a child, we must remind the reader how every circumstance of the period favoured the increase of monarchical strength. Royalty had only to float on, borne by the current. It sustained no check from the death of Philippe-Auguste,

* Acta SS. Theodor. de Appoldia, p. 583. Totam ecclesiam patriam amplexando dulciter continebat.—Pierre Damiani said that God himself had been smitten with love of the Virgin, and exclaims in a sermon (Sermo xi. de Annunt. B. Mar. p. 171), "O womb, wider spread than the heavens, more ample than the earth, more capacious than the elements!" &c.—In a sermon on the Virgin by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, occur the following verses—

"Bele Aliz matin leva,
Sun cors vesti et para,
Ens un vergier s'en entra,
Cink fleurettes y truva;
Un chapelet fit en a
De bele rose florir.
Pur Deu trahez vus en là,
Vus ki ne amez mie!"

(Fair Alice rose in the morning, clothed and adorned her body, entered an orchard, and found there five flowerets. She made herself a chaplet of fair, flourishing roses. God has drawn you there, you who love not.

He applies each verse in a mystic sense to the Virgin, and then exclaims with enthusiasm—

"Ceste est la belle Aliz,
Ceste est la flur,
Ceste est le lis."

(This is the fair Alice, this is the flower, this is the lily).
Roquefort, Poesie du XII. et du XIII. siècle.

The Franciscan, St. Bonaventura, is said to have composed the "Greater and lesser Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary." The first is a kind of serious parody, in which each verse is applied to the Virgin. Psalm i. . . . "for in fairness thou excellest all women."

† By a singular coincidence, a woman, in the year 1250, succeeded, for the first time, a sultan (Chegger-Eddour succeeding Almoadan). Before this, a woman's name had never been seen on the coin, or mentioned in the public prayers. The caliph of Bagdad protested against the scandal of this innovation. Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, t. iv. p. 357.

(A. D. 1223). His son, the weak and sickly Louis VIII., named ironically, it would seem, Louis the Lion, did not the less play a conqueror's part. He failed in England, it is true, but he took Poitou from the English. In Flanders he maintained the countess Jane on the throne, doing her the kindness to keep her husband prisoner in the tower of the Louvre. She was the daughter of Baldwin, the first emperor of Constantinople, who was supposed to have been slain by the Bulgarians. One day, he suddenly presents himself in Flanders. His daughter refuses to recognize him, but he is welcomed by the people, and she is compelled to fly to Louis VIII., who brings her back with an army. The old man was unable to answer certain questions; twenty years' hard captivity might well have impaired his memory. He passed for an impostor, and the countess put him to death. She was looked upon by all her people as a parriicide.

In this manner Flanders was subjected to French influence, and Languedoc soon followed. Louis VIII. was summoned thither by the Church to set against the Albigens, who started up again under Raymond VII.* On the other part, a vast number of the Southerners were anxious to have this war of tigers, which had been so long going on among them, put an end to by the intervention of France. Louis had proved his humanity and knightly loyalty at the siege of Marmande, where he vainly endeavoured to save the besieged. Five and twenty lords and seventeen archbishops and bishops gave it as their advice to the king that he should take upon himself the extirpation of the Albigens†; and, indeed, he put himself in motion at the head of all Northern France, the men-at-arms alone amounting to fifty thousand. The alarm in the South was great. Numerous barons and cities sent to meet Louis, and to do him homage. Nevertheless, the republics of Provence, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, hoped that the torrent would pass on one side. Avignon offered a free passage outside its walls; but, at the same time, entered into a secret understanding with the count of Toulouse to destroy all the forage on the approach of the French cavalry, for Avignon entertained the closest relations with Raymond, and had remained twelve years under excommunication for his sake. Indeed, the podestas of Avignon took the title of bailiffs or lieutenants of the count of Toulouse. Louis VIII. insisted on passing through the city itself, and on its refusal, laid siege to it. Frederick II.'s remonstrances on behalf of this imperial city were unheeded, and she was forced to ransom herself, give hostages, and throw down her walls. The besiegers put to death all the French and Flemings whom they found there. Great part of Languedoc was struck with dismay; Nîmes, Albi, and Carcassonne surrendered; and Louis VIII. settled seneschals in the latter town and in Beaucaire. It seemed as if he were to effect in this campaign the complete reduction of the South. But the siege of Avignon had been a fatal delay; a destructive epidemic broke out in the camp from excessive heats; and Louis had himself fallen sick when the duke of Brittany and the counts of Lu-

* See the letter of the bishops of the South to Louis VIII. Preuves de l'Hist. du Lang. p. 289; and the letters of Honorius III., ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 699—723.

† Hist. du Lang. l. xiv. p. 350, and Preuves, p. 299, 300.

signan, Marche, Angoulême, and Champagne entered into an agreement to withdraw. They all repented of having forwarded the king's success; and the count of Champagne, the queen's lover (such at least is the tradition) was accused of having poisoned Louis, who died shortly after his despatch. (A. D. 1226.)

According to the feudal laws, the regency and guardianship of the young Louis IX. should have belonged to his uncle Philippe-le-Hurepel (the Gross), count of Boulogne. The pope's legate and the count of Champagne, who were said to be equally favoured by the queen-mother, Blanche of Castille, secured the regency to her. A woman commanding millions of men was a vast innovation; and was a brilliant abandonment of the military and barbarian system which had prevailed up to that time, to enter upon the pacific path of the spirit of modern times. The Church aided the movement. Besides the legate, the archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Beauvais came forward to attest, that the last king had named his wife regent on his death-bed. His will, which is still extant, contains nothing of the sort*. It is, too, doubtful that he would have confided the care of the kingdom to a Spaniard, to king John's niece, to a woman who was said to be selected by the count of Champagne as the object of his poetic gallantries. Though at first the king's enemy, like the other great barons, the count was nevertheless the most powerful support of the throne after the death of Louis VIII. He, indeed, loved his widow; as it was said, on the other hand, Champagne loved France: the large manufacturing cities of Troyes, Bar-sur-Seine, &c., necessarily sympathised with the pacific and regular power of the king, rather than with the military turbulence of the lords. The king's party was the party of peace, order, and of security of travelling. All who had occasion to travel, merchants or pilgrims, were assuredly for the king; and this serves to explain the bitter hatred entertained by the great lords towards the count of Champagne, who had early separated from their league. The jealousy of the growing importance of the industrious part of the community felt by the feudal, which gave their sting to the wars of Flanders and Languedoc, was certainly not a stranger to the fearful ravages committed in Champagne by the barons during the minority of St. Louis†.

The head of the feudal league was not Philip, the young king's uncle, nor the counts of Marche and of Lusignan, the first, the father-in-law, the second, the brother of the English king, but the duke of Brittany, Pierre Mauclerc, who was descended from one of the sons of Louis-le-Gros. Brittany, holding of Normandy, and, consequently, of England as well as of France, floated between the two crowns. The duke, too, was the fittest man to profit by such a position. Brought up in the schools of Paris, a great dialectician, at first destined to the priesthood, but at heart a legist, a knight, and hostile to the priests, he thence acquired the surname of *Mauclerc* (the wicked clerk).

* Archives du Royaume, J. carton 401, Lettre et témoignage de l'Archevêque de Sens, et de l'Evêque de Beauvais.—J. carton 403, Testament de Louis VIII.

† Alberic. p. 541. . . . "The count of Champagne created communes of burgeses and country-folk (civic and rural communes), on whom he relied more than on his soldiery."

This remarkable man, certainly the first of his time, undertook many things at once, and more than he was able to deal with; in France, to lower the monarchy; in Brittany, to be absolute, despite the priests and lords. He won the affection of the peasantry by granting them rights of pasturage, the use of all dead wood for fuel, and exemptions from toll*. The lords of the interior of the country, too, were with him, especially the barons of French Brittany (Avaugour, Vitré, Fougères, Châteaubriant, Dol, Châteaugiron); but he was on ill terms with those of the coast (León, Rohan, le Faou, &c.), endeavouring to wrest their privileges from them, and, particularly, the precious right of wreck, in virtue of which they claimed all shipwrecked vessels. He also struggled against the Church, accusing it of simony before the barons, and employing against the priests the knowledge of canonical law which he had acquired from themselves. In this struggle he showed himself inflexible and barbarous: on the refusal of a *curé* to bury an excommunicated person, he ordered the body and him to be buried together†.

Mauclerc was thus too busied within his own territory, to be able to act with much vigour against France; to which end he would have required to have been well supported by England. But the Poitevins who governed and plundered the young Henry III., did not leave him money enough to undertake an honourable war. He was to have crossed over in 1226, but was detained by a revolt. Mauclerc expected him again in 1229; but Henry the Third's favourite was bribed by the queen-regent of France, and nothing was ready. She had furthermore the address to hinder the count of Champagne from marrying Mauclerc's daughter‡. Conscious of the weakness of their league, the barons, notwithstanding all their ill-will, durst not formally disobey the infant king, in whose name the regent issued her orders; and when summoned by her in 1228 to join her with their followers against Brittany, they all appeared—but brought only two knights each.

The weakness of this league of the North allowed the regent and her counsellor the legate, to act with vigour against the South. A new crusade was commenced in Languedoc, which has, at least, in its justification, the horrible cruelty practised by Raymond VII., who mutilated all his prisoners§. Toulouse would have made a protracted resistance, had not the crusaders methodically set about the destruction of the vines, which constituted the staple wealth of the country||. The Languedocians had resisted as long as it cost blood alone; but on this, they constrained their count to yield. He was obliged to rase the walls of the city, to admit a

* D. Morice, Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne, i. 1096.

† Daru, Hist. de Bretagne, t. ii. Math. Paris, p. 25.

‡ She is said to have written to him as follows:—"Sire Thibaud of Champagne, I have heard that you have covenanted and promised to take to wife the daughter of count Perron of Bretagne. Wherefore I charge you, if you do not wish to lose whatever you possess in the kingdom of France, not to do it. If you hold dear or love aught in the said kingdom, do it not. The reason why, you know well. I have never found any who sought to do me more ill than he." D. Morice, i. 158.

§ Math. Paris, p. 294.

|| Guill. de Pod. Laur. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix 218.

French garrison within it, to authorize the establishment of the Inquisition, to confirm France in possession of Lower Languedoc, and to leave Toulouse after his death as the dower of his daughter Jane, who was betrothed to one of the king's brothers*. Upper Provence he ceded to the Church; and hence the origin of the right of the popes to the countship of Avignon. He himself repaired to Paris, humbled himself, submitted to the scourge in the church of Notre-Dame, and voluntarily gave himself up to six weeks' imprisonment in the tower of the Louvre†. This tower, in which six counts had been imprisoned after the battle of Bouvines, from which the count of Flanders had just been released, and in which the old count of Boulogne had slain himself in despair, had become the château, the country-seat in which the great barons lodged, each in his turn.

By this time the regent had sufficient confidence in her power to defy the count of Brittany, and cited him to appear before the peers. This tribunal of the twelve peers, framed after the mystic number of the twelve apostles, and on the poetic traditions of the Carlovingian romances, was not a fixed and regular institution. Nothing could be more convenient for the monarch. On this occasion the peers happened to be the archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Chartres and of Paris, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, Nevers, Blois, Chartres, Montfort, Vendôme, the lords of Coucy and Montmorency, and many other barons and knights.

Their sentence would not have done much, had Mauclerc been better supported by the English and by the barons. The latter treated separately with the regent. Forced to succumb to Blanche, all the hatred of the barons was accumulated against the count of Champagne, who was obliged to take refuge in Paris, and was only suffered to return to his domains on condition that he would take the cross in expiation of the death of Louis VIII.: which was a plain admission of his guilt.

Thus the whole movement which had troubled Northern France passed over towards the South and the East. The two rival chiefs, Thibaut and Mauclerc, were removed to a distance by new events, and left the kingdom at peace. Thibaut became king of Navarre by the death of his wife's father, and sold to the regent Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Châteaudun. He was followed by numbers of the barons. The king of Aragon, who, at the same period, began his crusade against Majorca and Valencia, likewise took away with him many knights, especially a large number of Provençal and Languedocian *fauvits*‡—those who had been exiled in the war of the Albigeois. Shortly afterwards, Pierre Mauclerc, who was count of Brittany in right of his wife only, abdicated the countship in favour of his son, and was named by pope Gregory IX. general-in-chief of the new crusade to the East.

Such was the favourable situation of the kingdom at the epoch of the majority of St. Louis (A.D. 1236). The monarchy had lost nothing since the time of Philippe-Auguste. Here let us pause

a moment, and review the progress of kingly authority, and of the central power since the accession of the grandsire of St. Louis.

Sooth to speak, Philippe-Auguste had founded this kingdom by uniting Normandy with Picardy. He may be said, too, to have founded Paris, by giving it its cathedral, its market (*halle*), its pavement, hospitals, aqueducts, new bounds, new arms, and, especially, by chartering and endowing its university. He had established the royal jurisdiction by inaugurating the assembly of peers by a popular and humane act—the condemnation of John, and the punishment of Arthur's murder. The great feudal powers were sinking; and Flanders, Champagne, and Languedoc acknowledged the king's authority. He had got together a powerful party among the nobility, and had created, if I may use the term, a democracy in the aristocracy itself—I allude to the cadets or younger sons, with regard to whom he settled it as a principle, that they should henceforward be independent of their elder brothers.

Louis IX., the prince on whom this great inheritance devolves, attained his majority in 1236. He was, indeed, declared major; but, in reality, he long remained dependent on his mother, the haughty Spaniard who had for ten years directed affairs. The qualities of Louis were not of the kind which display themselves early. The leading feature of his character was an exquisite sense and sensitive love of duty; and his duty he long took to be obedience to his mother's will. A Spaniard by her side*, by his grandmother, Isabella's, a Fleming, the young prince imbibed with his mother's milk an ardent piety which seems to have been foreign from most of his predecessors, and of which his successors seem to have been little more susceptible.

This man, who was born with a necessity for belief, as a vital part of himself, entered the world exactly in the midst of the great crisis when all beliefs were shaken. Where were the beautiful images of order—the reveries of the middle age—where were the holy pontificate, and the holy Roman empire? The war of the empire and of the priesthood had reached the last extremes of violence, and both parties inspired almost equal horror.

On the one hand was the emperor, surrounded by his Bolognese legists and Arab doctors, a sanguinary *bel esprit*, who composed verses like a mummer of the South, and who buried his enemies under leaden cows†. He had Saracen guards, a Saracen university, and Arab concubines. The sultan of Egypt was his dearest friend‡. He was

* By his mother, he was related to Alphonso X., king of Castile, who had promised him aid in the crusade, but he died in 1252, and St. Louis "was much affected at his loss." Math Paris, p. 565—"On his return," says Villani, "he had coin struck with the impress of hand-cuffs, in recollection of his captivity; others say, with the towers of Castile." The latter opinion is supported by the fact that Charles and Alphonso, brothers of St. Louis, introduced the towers of Castile into their arms. Michaud, t. iv. p. 445.

† At least, according to Dante, Inferno.—Raynaldi describes Eccellino as Conrad's lieutenant and Frederick's counsellor. Michaud, t. iv. p. 456.

‡ Extraits d'Historiens Arabes, par Reinaud, Bibl. des Croisades, t. iv. p. 417, sqq. "The emir Fakr-Eddin," says Yafei, "was taken greatly into the emperor's confidence, who often discussed with him on philosophy, and they appeared to entertain very similar opinions.—An intimacy of

* See the articles of the Treaty, inserted in the third volume of the Preuves de l'Histoire du Languedoc, p. 329, sqq., and in the nineteenth volume of the Scr. R. Fr. p. 219, sqq.

† Guill. de Pod. Laur. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 224.

‡ An old French word, meaning "banished men, exiles."

said to have written the horrible work which made so much noise at the time—*De Tribus Impostoribus*, Moses, Mahomet, and Jesus. It was supposed by many that Frederick might very well be Antichrist.

The pope did not inspire much more confidence than the emperor. The one wanted faith, the other charity. Whatever the desire or the want to reverence the successor of the Apostles, it was hard to recognize him under the steel cuirass which he had donned since the crusade against the Albigeois. It seemed as if a thirst for murder had become the characteristic of the period; for these men of peace only breathed death and destruction, and their words were all of terror. They addressed themselves to all people and princes, took by turns the tone of menace and complaint, demanded, stormed, entreated, and wept. What was the object of their ardour? The deliverance of Jerusalem? By no means. The amelioration of the Christian, the conversion of the Gentile world? Not in the least. Well, what then? Blood! A horrible thirst for blood seems to have fired their own, ever since they had tasted that of the Albigeois.

It was the fate of the young and innocent Louis IX. to receive with his inheritance the bloodshed of the Albigeois and of the numerous other enemies of the Church. It was for him that John, condemned without being heard, had lost Normandy, and his son Henry, Poitou; it was for him that Montfort had slaughtered twenty thousand men in Bézières, and Folquet ten thousand in Toulouse. They who had perished were, it is true, heretics, unbelievers, God's enemies; yet with all this, the dead abounded, and a sad odour of blood arose from this magnificent spoil of the grave. Hence, undoubtedly, the uneasiness and indecision of St. Louis. He felt a want of believing and of attaching

the kind was a subject of scandal to many Christians. . . . 'I should not have made such a point of the restoration of Jerusalem,' said he to Fakr-Eddin, 'had I not feared losing all credit in the West; my aim was not the delivery of the Holy City, or any thing of the sort, but simply to retain the esteem of the Franks.' The emperor was red complexioned and bald, with weak eyes, and, had he been a slave, would not have been valued at two hundred drachmas. He showed by his conversation that he was no believer in Christianity, and only spoke of it to turn it into ridicule, &c. . . . A muezzin reciting to him a verse of the Alcoran in which the divinity of Christ is denied, the sultan was about to punish him, but Frederick interposed to screen him.—"In the margin of the Arab text of Makrisi are some detached words, which seem to intimate that at heart Frederick despised his religion, and that he would have manifested his real sentiments, had he not feared the discontent of his subjects. He flew into a passion with a priest who entered a mosque with the gospel in his hand, and swore that he would punish severely every Christian who should enter it without special permission.—The friendly relations which Richard maintained with Saladin and Malek-Adhel have been noticed above.—When John de Brienne was besieged in his camp, in 1221, he was loaded by the sultan with testimonies of good-will. "From this time," says an Arab author (Makrisi), "they contracted a sincere and lasting intimacy, and their interchange of presents and friendly intercourse only ceased with their lives."—In a war with the Kharamins, the Christians of Syria placed themselves under the orders of the infidels; they were seen marching with crosses borne before them, whilst priests mingled in the ranks, invoking blessings on the array, and offering their chalices to the Mussulmans to drink out of. Ibid. 445, after Ibn-Giouzi, an eye witness.

himself to the Church, in order to justify to himself his father and his grandfather, who had accepted such gifts—a critical position for a scrupulous conscience. He could not make restitution without dishonouring his father and enraging France. On the other hand, he could hardly retain without consecrating all that had been done, without seeming to approve of all the excesses and violences of the Church.

The only object to which a soul so constituted could still turn itself was the crusade, the deliverance of Jerusalem. The great power which, whether well or ill acquired, had fallen into his hands, would, doubtlessly, be there fitly employed, and so work out its expiation. At the least, there was thus the chance of meeting a hallowed death.

Never had the crusade been more lawful and more admissible. Hitherto aggressive, it was about to become defensive. The expectation of some great and terrible event prevailed all over the East; like the sound of the waters before the deluge, like the breaking up of dikes, like the first murmur of the opening of "the windows of heaven." The Mongols had begun to quit the North, and were descending by degrees over the whole of Asia. These shepherds, dragging the nations along with them, and driving mankind before them together with their flocks, seemed bent on removing from the face of the earth every city, every building, every trace of cultivation, and on reconverting the globe into a desert, a free prairie, where one might henceforward wander without let or limit. They deliberated on treating the whole of Northern China on this fashion, and restoring that empire by the firing of some hundred cities, and the slaughter of several millions of men, to the primitive beauty of the solitudes of the early world. Where the destruction of the large cities would have been too troublesome, they indemnified themselves by the massacre of the inhabitants,—witness the pyramids of skulls which they reared in the plain of Bagdad*.

These barbarians were equally to be feared by all the sects and religious beliefs by which Asia was divided, and which had not a chance of arresting their progress. Sunnites and Shiites (the caliph of Bagdad and he of Cairo), the Assassins and the Christians of the Holy Land—all feared the day of Judgment. All disputes were on the eve of adjustment, all hatreds of reconciliation: the Mongols had charged themselves with the task. From the East they would beyond doubt pass over into Europe, in order to effect an agreement between the pope and the emperor, between the king of England and the king of France. Then they would have no more to do than to shake out the oats for their horses on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome †, and the reign of Antichrist would begin.

They advanced with slow and irresistible pace, like the vengeance of God: already were they

* After Tamerlane had made Damascus one ruin, he caused coin to be struck bearing an Arab word, signifying —DESTRUCTION, which, by its numeral value, denoted the year of hegira 803—the year in which Damascus was taken. Reinaud, Description des Mon. Musulmans, &c. t. i. p. 89. Chardin, t. iv. p. 292.—Another chronogram of Tamerlane's, corresponding with the year of the hegira 773, likewise signifies DESTRUCTION. See D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale.

† The saying attributed, in the fifteenth century, to the Turkish sultan, Bajazet.

every where present by the terror they inspired. In the year 1238, the men of Frisia and Denmark durst not quit their affrighted wives to pursue the herring fishery, as was their wont, on the English coast *. In Syria, every moment was expected to bring the big yellow heads and small shaggy horses. The whole East was reconciled. The Mahomedan princes, and among the rest, the Old Man of the Mountain, had sent a suppliant embassy to the king of France, and one of the ambassadors crossed over into England.

On the other hand, the Latin emperor of Constantinople had just laid before St. Louis his danger, destitution, and misery. The poor emperor had been forced to enter into alliance with the Comans, and to swear friendship to them, laying his hand on a dead dog. He was reduced to such extremity as to be compelled to burn the beams of the ceiling of his palace for fire-wood; and when the empress subsequently came once more to appeal to the king's pity, Joinville had to give her a gown to make her presentable. The emperor offered to make over to St. Louis an inestimable treasure, the true crown of thorns with which our Saviour had been crowned, a very great bargain. The sole embarrassment which the monarch felt in the matter was, that dealing in relics seemed to partake of

simony; yet it was not forbidden to make a present to him who made such a gift to France. This present amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand livres, and St. Louis added into the bargain the proceeds of a confiscation levied upon the Jews, which he scrupled to touch himself. He went barefooted as far as Vincennes to receive the holy relics, and afterwards founded the Sainte Chapelle at Paris for their shrine.

The crusade of 1235 was not calculated to re-establish the affairs of the East. The Champenois * king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Montfort, suffered themselves to be defeated. The brother of the king of England gained no other glory than that of ransoming prisoners. Mauclore was the only one who reaped any advantage. However, the young king of France could not yet quit his kingdom to repair these mischiefs. An extensive league had been formed against him. The count of Toulouse, whose daughter was the wife of the king's brother, Alphonse de Poitiers, wished to make one more effort to keep his state, though he had not been able to keep his children. He was allied to the sovereigns of England, Navarre, ~~Castile, and Aragon~~, and desired to marry either Marguerite de la Marche, sister of Henry III. by the mother's side, or Beatrice of Provence. An alliance with the latter would have reunited Provence to Languedoc, and he would have disinherited his daughter in favour of the children Beatrice might have borne him, and so formed the whole South into one kingdom. This great project miscarried through precipitation. At the beginning of the year 1242, the inquisitors were massacred at Avignon; and the lawful heir of Nîmes, Beziers, and Carcassonne, the young Trencavel, ventured to show himself again. But the confederates acted one after the other. Raymond was subdued by the time the English had taken up arms. Their campaign in France was pitiable. Henry III. had relied on his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, and the other lords who had invited him. No sooner did they meet and reckon with each other, than reproaches and altercations began. The French, meanwhile, were advancing; and they would have turned and taken the English army at the bridge of Taillebourg, which crosses the Charente, had not Henry obtained a truce by the mediation of his brother, Richard, in whose person Louis revered the hero of the last crusade, who had redeemed and restored so many Christians to Europe †. Henry took advantage of this respite to decamp and fall back on Saintes. Louis pressed him closely; a furious engagement ensued in the vineyards ‡, and the English monarch took refuge in Saintes, and thence fled to Bordeaux (A.D. 1242).

An epidemic disorder, from which king and army suffered alike, hindered Louis from following

* "They had," says Matthew Paris, "ravaged and depopulated Great Hungary, and had sent ambassadors with threatening letters to all people. Their general gave out that he was sent by Almighty God to subdue the nations that had rebelled against him. The heads of these barbarians are large, and disproportioned to their bodies; they feed on raw and even on human flesh; they are incomparable archers; they carry with them leathern boats to cross rivers in; they are robust, impious, inexorable; their language is unknown to all people with whom we are acquainted (quos nostra attingit notitia). They are rich in flocks of sheep, oxen, and of horses so swift of foot as to make three days' march in one day. They wear good armour in front of their body, but none behind, in order never to be tempted to fly. Inhabiting the northern region, the Caspian seas, and those that confine with them, they are named Tartars from the name of the river Tar. Their number is so great, as to seem to threaten mankind with destruction. Although there had been former invasions of the Tartars, there was greater dread of them this year from their seeming more furious than usual; thus the natives of Gothia and Frisia did not come this year, as they commonly did, to the English coast, to load their ships with herrings, consequently herrings were so abundant in England as to be sold almost for nothing; even in districts far distant from the sea, forty or fifty excellent ones would be sold for a small bit of money. A Saracen messenger, of powerful and illustrious birth, who had come on a solemn embassy to the king of France, chiefly from the Old Man of the Mountain, announced these events in the name of all the Easterns, and sought aid from the Westerns to repress the fury of the Tartars. He sent one of his companions in the embassy to the king of England, to set forth the same things to him, and to tell him that if the Mussulmans could not withstand the shock of these enemies, nothing could hinder them from laying waste the West. The bishop of Winchester, who was present at this audience (he was Henry the Third's favourite), and who had already taken the cross, took up the word in a bantering tone. 'Let us leave,' he said, 'these dogs to devour one another, that they may perish the sooner. And then, when we shall fall upon those of Christ's enemies who survive, we shall make away with them more easily, and clear the earth of them. Then the whole world will be subject to the Catholic Church, and there will be but one shepherd and one fold.'" Math. Paris, p. 318.

* Champenois—Born in Champagne.

† Math. Paris, p. 400. Et vocabant eum multi redemptorem suum, quia per compositionem pacis eos in terrâ sanctâ liberaverat. . . . Matthew Paris goes on to say, "And he obtained this as well because of the esteem in which the Franks held him, for the aforesaid liberation of their nobles in the Holy Land, and because of his relationship to the lord king of the Franks, as that it was the Lord's day."—Philippe-Auguste never gave battle on Sundays.

‡ Id. ibid. Inter vineas in arctis viarum.

up his success. Nevertheless, the battle of Taillebourg was a mortal blow to his enemies, and, in general, to feudalism. The count of Toulouse was only spared as being the cousin of St. Louis's mother. His vassal, the count de Foix, professed his desire to hold immediately of the king*. The count de la Marche, and his wife, the haughty Isabella of Lusignan, the widow of John and the mother of Henry III., were constrained to submit. When this aged count did homage to the king's brother Alphonse, the new count of Poitiers, a knight appeared who declared that he had been mortally aggrieved by him, and challenged him to single combat in the presence of his suzerain†. Alphonse sternly insisted on the old man's meeting the young appellant. The result was certain; and Isabella, fearing that she would be called to meet her doom after her husband, had already sought refuge in the convent of Fontevault. St. Louis interposed, and would not permit the unequal combat. Such, however, was the state of humiliation to which the count de la Marche was reduced, that his enemy, who had sworn to suffer his hair to grow until he had avenged his insult, had it solemnly cut in presence of the assembled barons, and declared that he had had ample revenge‡.

On this, as on every other occasion, Louis displayed the moderation of a saint and of a politician. A baron having declined to surrender except authorized by his lord, the king of England, Louis approved his conduct, and restored him his castle with no other guarantee than his oath§. But, in order to spare those who held fiefs from both himself and Henry all temptation to perjury, he warned them, in the words of the gospel, that "no one can serve two masters," and allowed them to make their choice||. And, in order to remove all pretext for war, he sought from Henry the formal cession of Normandy, in return for which he would have given up Poitou.

Such were the prudence and moderation of this monarch. He even imposed on Raymond no other conditions than those of the treaty of Paris, which he had signed fourteen years before¶.

Meanwhile, the so much dreaded catastrophe had taken place in the East. One wing of the prodigious army of the Mongols had pushed on to Bagdad (A.D. 1258); another swept down upon Russia, Poland, and Hungary*. The Karismians, their precursors, had invaded the Holy Land; and, despite the junction of the Christians with the Mussulmans, had gained a bloody victory at Gaza (A.D. 1244). Five hundred Templars fell there—the all the knights of the order at the time in the Ha'y

Land. Next, the Mongols took possession of Jerusalem, which had been deserted by its inhabitants; but, lured back by the cunning device of these barbarians, who displayed crosses on the walls, they were mercilessly massacred*.

St. Louis was sick, in bed, and almost dying, when these melancholy tidings reached Europe. He was so ill that his life was despaired of; and one of the ladies watching by his bedside was about to cover his face with the coverlet, thinking him dead†. As soon as he was a little better, to the great astonishment of all about him, he had the red cross placed on his bed, and on his vestments. His mother would have been better pleased to see him in his grave—him, weak and dying as he was, to vow to go so far, beyond sea, to a deadly climate, to shed his own blood and that of his subjects in that useless war which had lasted above a century!—and both she and the very priests besought him to renounce his intention. He was inflexible. The idea which was supposed to be so fatal for him, apparently saved him. He hoped and wished to live, and did live. As soon as he was convalescent, he sent for his mother and the bishop of Paris, and addressed them as follows:—"Since you believe that I was not perfectly myself when I took my vows, I now pluck my cross from off my shoulders, and give it into your hands. . . . But now," he went on to say, "you cannot deny that I am in the full enjoyment of all my faculties; then give me back my cross, for He who knows all things, also knows that no food shall enter my mouth until I have again been marked with his sign."—"Tis the finger of God," exclaimed all present, "let us no longer oppose his will." And from that day forward, no one gainsayed his project.

The only obstacle there remained to overcome—a sad and unnatural thing—was the pope. Innocent IV. filled all Europe with his hate to Frederick II. Expelled from Italy, he assembled against him a great council at Lyons‡, which city, though imperial, held nevertheless of France, on whose territory was her faubourg beyond the Rhône. St. Louis, who had vainly offered his mediation, felt some repugnance at receiving the pope; nor did he, until after all the monks of Citeaux had thrown themselves at his feet, and he had made him wait fifteen days before declaring his will§. In his passion, Innocent did all that lay in his power to thwart the crusade to the East; seeking to turn the arms of the French king against the emperor, or against the king of England, who had momentarily forgotten his servility towards the holy see. As early as the year 1239, he had offered the imperial crown to St. Louis for his brother, Robert d'Artois; and, in 1245, he offered him that of England—a strange sight to see a pope neglecting nothing that might hinder the deliverance of Jerusalem, and offering all and every thing

* Hist. du Languedoc, l. xxxv. p. 435.

† Math. Paris, p. 409. "After the fashion of the Franks, he held out his gauntlet to him, requiring full justice in single combat, according to the ancient law of the Franks."

‡ Joinville (edit. 1761), p. 24.

§ Math. Paris, p. 402. Statim, accepto ab eo juramento fidelitatis, ipsum ei custodiendum confidenter liberavit. The king, says the chronicler, accosted him with the words—"Thou alone hast borne thyself loyally."

|| Id. p. 416. Rex Francorum Parisiis convocatos omnes ultramarinos qui terras habuerunt in Anglia, sic est affatus: "Quicumque in regno meo conversatur, habens terras in Anglia, cum nequeat quis competenter duobus dominis servire, vel penitus mihi vel regi Anglie inseparabiliter adherere."

* Hist. du Languedoc, l. xxv. p. 437.

** Math. Paris, p. 438.

* Id. p. 420. Signa christianorum qui subito fugam inierant, super propugnacula murorum civitatis in propatulo elevaverunt.

† Joinville, p. 24.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 443—447, sqq. "Let us first crush the dragon," he said, "and we shall soon crush these young vipers. This he said with great anger, in a voice stifled by passion, with distorted eyes, and contracted nostrils."

§ Id. p. 432.

to one who had taken the cross, to induce him to violate his vow *.

Louis recked little of acquisitions. He thought much more of rendering those of his father's lawful. He vainly attempted to reconcile England by a partial restitution. He even put the question to the bishops of Normandy, how he might make his mind easy as to his right to the possession of that province †. He indemnified the viscount Trencavel, to whom Nîmes and Béziers belonged by right of inheritance, with a sum of money, and took him with him to the crusade with all the *fauvits*, the exiles of the war of the Albigeois, all those whom the establishment of Montfort's companions had deprived of their patrimony ‡. Thus he made the holy war a means of expiation, and universal reconciliation.

THE TWO LAST CRUSADES.

It was not a mere war, an expedition, which St. Louis projected, but the foundation of a great colony in Egypt. The idea of that day was, and not unsupported by probability, that to conquer and keep possession of the Holy Land, it was essential to have Egypt to rest upon (*pour point d'appui*). Thus he carried with him a large quantity of agricultural implements, and tools of every kind §. In order to maintain a regular communication, he desolated a port of his own on the Mediterranean—and, as the Provençal harbours belonged to his brother, Charles of Anjou, he formed that of Aigues-Mortes.

He first sailed to Cyprus, where he took in an immense stock of provisions ||, and where he made a long stay, either waiting for his brother Alphonse, who headed his reserve, or, perhaps, to train himself to an eastern clime in this new world. Here he was amused by watching the ambassadors of the Asiatic princes, who came to observe the great king of the Franks. First, came those of the Christians, from Constantinople, Armenia, and Syria; those of the Mussulmans, and, amongst others, the envoys of that Old Man of the Mountain, of whom there ran so many stories ¶. Even the Mongols sent their

representatives*; and St. Louis, who supposed them favourable to Christianity from their hate to the other Mahomedans, entered into a league with them against the two popes of Islamism—the caliphs of Bagdad and of Cairo.

When the Asiatics had recovered from their first fears, they grew familiar with the idea of the great invasion of the Franks; who were becoming enervated by the abundance and seductions of a tempting clime. Prostitutes pitched their tents around the very tent of the king himself and of his wife, the chaste queen Margaret, who had followed him †.

At length, he determined on setting out for Egypt, and had the choice of Damietta or of Alexandria as a landing place. Borne by a gale towards the first ‡, he attacked in all haste and leaped into the water, sword in hand. The light troops of the Saracens, who were drawn up on the shore, tried one or two charges, but finding the Franks immovable, they fled at full gallop. The strong town of Damietta, which might have held out, surrendered in the first alarm. Master of such a place, the next step was an immediate attack on Alexandria or Cairo. But the same faith which inspired the crusade, led to the neglect of the human means which would have secured its success. Besides, the king, a feudal king, no doubt was unable to force his followers from the plunder of a rich city. It was a repetition of Cyprus: they only allowed themselves to be drawn off when wearied of their own excesses. There was another excuse; Alphonse and the reserve had not arrived. The count of Brittany, Maucelerc, already experienced in Eastern warfare, advised Alexandria's being first secured; the king insisted on making for Cairo. This led to the army's plunging into that country, intersected with canals, and following that route which had been so fatal to John de Brienne. The march was singularly slow. Instead of throwing bridges over the canals, they made a causeway across each; and they thus took a month to march the ten leagues between Damietta and Mansourah §, to gain which latter town they undertook a dike which was to stem the current

* "The English barons durst not proceed to the Holy Land, fearing the plots of the court of Rome" (*Muscipulas Romanæ curiæ formidantes*.) Math. Paris, ap. Michaud, t. iv. p. 261.

† Math. Paris, p. 642.

‡ Hist. du Languedoc, l. xxv. p. 457.

§ "Spades, pitchforks, drags, ploughshares, ploughs," &c. Math. Paris.

|| Joinville (ed 1761, fol.), p. 29. . . . "And when they saw the stacks they took them for mountains, for rain had fallen so long that the corn had sprouted, so that it looked like grass."

¶ He sent to ask the king for exemption from the tribute which he paid to the Hospitallers and Templars:—"Behind the admiral was a bachelor (bachelor), well equipped, who held in his hand three daggers, the one of which went into the handle of the other: and, had the admiral been refused, he would have presented them severally to the king in token of defiance. Behind him who held the three knives was another who held a *bouqueran* (a piece of cotton cloth), twisted round his arm, which he would have presented to the king, to signify that it was his winding-sheet, had he refused the request of the Old Man of the Mountain." Joinville, p. 95.—"When the Old Man rode forth, he was preceded by a crier who bore a Danish axe with a long handle, all covered with silver, and stuck full of daggers, who proclaimed 'Turn from before him who bears the death of kings in his hands.'" Id. p. 97.

* M. de Remusat (*Mémoire sur les Tartares*) does not agree with de Guignes in thinking the ambassadors impostors.

† "The common people took up with prostitutes, whence it happened that the king dismissed numbers of his attendants when he returned from his imprisonment; and, having enquired the reason, he told me that he knew for certain that they had pitched their huts a small stone's throw from his tent, and that in the time of the greatest mishaps the army had ever been in" Joinville, p. 37.—"The barons who ought to have kept their substance for good use in fit time and place, gave great feasts and costly meats (outrageuses viandes), &c."

‡ It is probable that St. Louis would have effected his descent on the same spot as that chosen by Bonaparte (half a league from Alexandria), had not the storm he encountered on leaving Limisso, and contrary winds, perhaps, borne him to the coast of Damietta. According to the Arab writers, the sultan of Cairo, informed of the dispositions made by St. Louis, had sent troops to Alexandria as well as Damietta, to oppose his landing. Michaud, t. iv. p. 236.

§ Joinville, p. 40. Bonaparte was of opinion, that if St. Louis had manoeuvred as the French did in 1798, he might, leaving Damietta on the 8th of June, have reached Mansourah on the 12th, and Cairo on the 20th. See the *Mémoires de Montholon*.

of the Nile, and afford them a passage. During this labour, they suffered fearfully from the Greek fire directed against them by the Saracens, and which, cased in their armour as they were, burned them beyond the possibility of relief*. Fifty days were consumed in this, when they learned that they might have spared themselves all the labour and trouble; a Bedouin showed them a ford (Feb. 8th).

The vanguard, led by Robert of Artois, effected the passage with some difficulty. The Templars, who happened to be with him, recommended his waiting until his brother should come up; but the fiery youth scorned their advice as that of cowards, and spurred into the town like a madman through the open gates. He allowed his horse to be led by a brave knight who was deaf, and who cried out, with a stunning voice, "Upon them, upon them, down with the enemy†!" The Templars dared not remain behind: all entered, all perished. The Mamelukes, recovered from their surprise, barricaded the streets, and crushed the assailants from the windows.

The king, as yet ignorant of what had befallen, crossed over, and encountered the Saracens. He fought valiantly. "There, where I was on foot with my knights," says Joinville, "the king came, wounded, with all his battle, and with great sound and noise of trumpets and nakirs, and halted on a raised way; but never was so goodly a man at arms seen, for he topped all his people from the shoulders upwards, and had a golden helm on his head, and a German sword in his hand." In the evening, he was made acquainted with the death of the count d'Artois: he exclaimed, "that God had wished for what he had given him, and then big tears fell from his eyes‡." Some one came to enquire about his brother, "All that I know," he said, "is that he is in paradise§."

The Mamelukes returning from all sides to the charge, the French defended their intrenchments until night-fall. The count of Anjou, who had pushed on the nearest to Cairo, was on foot, in the midst of his knights, when he was attacked at one and the same time by two troops of Saracens, the one on foot, the other on horseback; he was overwhelmed with the Greek fire, and was considered to be utterly discomfited. The king saved him, by breaking through the Mussulmans; whilst his horse's mane was all covered with the Greek fire. The count of Poitiers was for a moment a prisoner; but was luckily rescued by the butchers, sutlers, and women of the army. The sire de Briançon could only keep his ground under cover of the duke of Burgundy's machines, which played across the river. Gui de Mauvoisin, covered with the Greek fire, hardly escaped from the flames. The battalions of the count of Flanders, of the barons from beyond the sea, commanded by Gui d'Ibelin

and Gauthier de Chatillon, had almost throughout the day the advantage over the enemy. The latter, at last, sounded the retreat; and Louis returned thanks to God, in the midst of the whole army, for the aid which He had vouchsafed him. It was, indeed, a miracle, to have been enabled to defend with infantry, and they almost all wounded, a camp attacked by a formidable cavalry*.

Louis must soon have seen that success was impossible, and have desired to retire on Damietta; but he could not resolve on the step. Indisputably, the large number of wounded in the camp rendered retreat difficult; but every day added to the numbers of the sick. Encamped on the slime of Egypt, and chiefly fed on the eelpouts of the Nile, which devoured so many corpses, strange and hideous maladies broke out in the army. Their gums swelled and grew rotten, and they could only swallow by having the proud flesh cut away; and the camp sounded with dolorous cries, as of women in labour. ~~The deaths increased daily.~~ One day during the epidemic, Joinville, sick and bearing mass in his bed, was obliged to rise and to support his almoner who was on the point of fainting: "so supported, he concluded the administration of the sacrament, said entire mass, and never sang more."

The dead inspired horror; each fearing to touch and to bury them. In vain did the king, full of respect for these martyrs, set the example, and assist in burying them with his own hands. The epidemic was daily increased by the number of bodies left without burial; and retreat was the only chance of saving the survivors—the sad and doubtful retreat of a diminished, weakened, and discouraged army. The king, who had at last fallen sick like the rest, might have secured his own safety; but he would not consent to abandon his people†. Dying as he was, he determined to retreat by land, whilst the sick were embarked on the Nile. To so extreme a state of weakness he was reduced, that his attendants were soon compelled to bear him into a small house and lay him on the knees of a female, a *native of Paris*, who happened to be there.

However the march was soon stopped by the Saracens, who hung upon the Christians by land, and lay in wait for them on the river. A fearful massacre took place, notwithstanding their repeated cries of surrender, the Saracens fearing to make too many prisoners: at length they drove the crusaders into an enclosed place, and summoned them to deny Christ. Many consented; among others all Joinville's seamen.

The king and the prisoners of note had been reserved for future consideration. Jerusalem was

* Sismondi, t. vii. p. 428.

* "Whenever our sainted king heard that they were throwing the Greek fire at us, he rose in his bed, and stretching out his hands towards our Lord, exclaimed with tears, 'O! gracious God (Biau Sire Diex), preserve my people to me.'" Joinville, p. 45.

† Id. p. 58.—Id. p. 47. "The good count of Soissons laughed at me, saying, 'Seneschal, let this rabble hoot, as by God's coif (this was his usual oath) we shall live to speak of this day in ladies' chambers.'" Id. p. 64.

§ Id. p. 65.

† Joinville.—An Arab historian also says, "The French king might have made his escape from the Egyptians either on horseback, or in boat; but this generous prince would not abandon his troops." Aboul-Mahassen, ap. Michaud, t. iv. p. 317.—On his departure from Cyprus, his vessel grazed a rock, and lost three toises' length of her keel. He was counselled to quit the ship. To this the king replied, 'Lords, I see that if I leave this ship she will be considered lost, and there are eight hundred souls, and more, on board; as each loves his life as well as I do mine, none would remain, but would perish in Cyprus: wherefore, under God, I will not peril the lives of such a number, but prefer remaining to save my people.'" Joinville, p. 3.

demanding by the sultan as the price of their liberty: they objected that it belonged to the emperor of Germany, and offered to surrender Dami-etta, and pay a ransom of four hundred thousand golden bezants. The sultan had consented to the terms, when the Mamelukes, to whom he owed his victory, revolted and slew him before the galleys in which the French were kept prisoners. Their situation was exceedingly critical; and, in fact, the murderers forced their way to the king. "The ruffian who had torn out the sultan's heart stalked up to him with his bloody hands, and said, 'What will you give me for having slain your enemy, who would have killed you?' And the king answered him not a word. There came as many as thirty with bared swords and their Danish axes in their hands into our galley." Joinville goes on to say, "and I inquired of my lord, Baudouin d'Ibelin, who was well acquainted with their tongue, what they said. He replied, that they said that they had come to cut our heads off. Numbers began to confess themselves to a brother of the Trinity who was with count William of Flanders; but, for my part, not one of my sins would come into my head. On the contrary, I thought that the more I should defend myself, or do any thing to provoke them, the worse it would be for me. Then I crossed myself, and knelt at the feet of one of them who had a carpenter's Danish axe in his hand, and said, 'So died St. Agnes.' Messire Gui d'Ibelin, constable of Cyprus, knelt by my side, and I said to him, 'I give you absolution with such power as God has given me.' But when I got up thence, I did not recollect a word of what he had said or related to me.*"

Three days after Margaret had heard of her husband's captivity she was confined of a son, named John, whom she surmamed Tristan. For security sake, she had an old knight, eighty years of age, to lie at the foot of her bed. Shortly before her labour came on, she knelt at his feet and begged a boon, which the knight swore to grant. Then she said, "I require you, by the faith which you have just now pledged, if the Saracens take this city, to strike off my head before they lay hands on me." The knight replied, "Be sure that I will do it willingly, for I had myself resolved on slaying you rather than that you should fall into their power†."

The misfortunes and humiliation of St. Louis were complete. The Arabs celebrated his defeat in songs‡, and more than one Christian people lighted bonfires in their joy at it§. He nevertheless remained a year in the Holy Land to aid in its defence, in case the Mamelukes should push

their victory beyond Egypt. He raised the walls of the towns, fortified Cesarea, Jaffa, Sidon, and St. Jean d'Acre, and did not quit this unfortunate country until the barons of the Holy Land had themselves assured him that his presence was no longer essential. Besides, he had just heard news, which made it his duty to hasten his return to France—his mother was dead*; an immeasurable misfortune to such a son, who, for so many years, had thought only as she wished, and who had left her, contrary to her wishes, on this disastrous expedition, which was to end in his leaving in infidel ground one of his brothers, so many loyal followers, and the bones of so many martyrs. The sight of France itself could not console him. "Had I alone to endure the disgrace and the misfortune," he exclaimed to a bishop, "and had not my sins turned to the prejudice of the Church Universal, I should be resigned. But, alas! all Christendom has fallen through me into disgrace and confusion."

The state in which he found Europe was not calculated to give him comfort. The reverse which he deplored was even the least of the misfortunes of the Church: the extraordinary restlessness observable in every mind was one of a far different nature. Mysticism, diffused throughout the people by the spirit of the crusades, had already borne its most frightful fruit, hatred of the law†—the wild enthusiasm of political and religious liberty. This democratic character of mysticism, which was to reappear entire in the *Jacqueries* of the following centuries, particularly in the revolt of the Suabian peasants in the year 1255, and of the Anabaptists in 1538, had already manifested itself in the insurrection of the *Pastoureaux*‡, which had burst out during the absence of St. Louis. They consisted of the most miserable rustics, and, mostly, of shepherds, who, hearing of the captivity of their king, flew to arms, banded together, formed a large army, and announced their intention of going to deliver him§. This may have been a

* Joinville, p. 126. "At Sayette (Sayd) came news to the king that his mother was dead. So great was his grief, that for two days one could not speak to him. After this, he sent one of the grooms of his chamber for me. When I entered, he was alone, and opening his arms when he saw me, he said, 'Ah, Seneschal! I have lost my mother!'—When St. Louis was treating with the sultan for his ransom, he told him that if he would name a reasonable sum, he would send to his mother to pay it. And they said to him, 'How is it you do not wish us to say that you will do these things?' and the king replied, that he did not know if the queen would choose to do it, for that she was his lady." Id. p. 73.

† Perish the law, flourish grace! Luther.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 550, sqq.—On the first insurrection of the people of Sens, the rebels elected for themselves a clergy, bishops, and a pope with his cardinals. Continuateur de Nangis, 1315.—The Pastoureaux had also a sort of ecclesiastical tribunal. Ibid. 1320.—The Flemings had subjected themselves to a hierarchy, to which they owed their ability to maintain so long their obstinate resistance. Grande Chron. de Flandres, 14th century.—The most famous of the routiers had taken the title of arch-priest. Froissart, vol. i. ch. 177.—The Jacques themselves had formed a monarchy. Ibid. ch. 184.—The Maillottins had in like manner classed themselves into tens, fifties, and hundreds. Ibid. ch. 182—184. Juven. des Ursins, ann. 1382, and Anon. de St. Denys, Hist. c. vi. Montcail, t. i. p. 286.

§ Math. Paris, p. 550. "So many flocked to them, that they amounted to above a hundred thousand, and devised

* Id. p. 75.—The king was told that the admirals had deliberated on making him sultan of Babylon . . . "And he told me, that he would not have refused. And know that the scheme fell to the ground for no other reason than that they said the king was the staunchest Christian in the world; and it was mentioned in proof, that when they took their leave of him, he took up his cross and signed his whole body; and they said that whoever made him sultan, he would slay them all, or force them to turn Christians." Id. p. 78.

† Id. p. 84.

‡ According to M. Rifaut, the song composed on this occasion is sung to this day. Reinaud, Extraits d'Historiens Arabes, Biblioth. des Croisades, t. iv. p. 475.

§ Villani states that Florence, in which the Ghibelines were the predominant party, celebrated the reverses of the crusaders by public rejoicings. Michaud, t. iv. p. 373.

mere pretext, or it may have been that the opinion which these poor people had already formed of Louis, had inspired them with a vast, vague hope of comfort and deliverance. What is certain is, that these shepherds showed themselves every where hostile to the priests and massacred them, administering the sacraments to themselves. They acknowledged for their leader an unknown man, whom they called grand master of Hungary*. They traversed Paris, Orléans, and a considerable part of France with impunity. However, these bands were ultimately dispersed and destroyed †.

Long after his return, St. Louis seemed to reject every foreign thought and ambition. He confined himself, with uneasy scrupulosity, to his duty as a Christian, considering all the duties of royalty comprised in the practices of devotion, and imputing to himself, as a sin, every disorder of the commonweal. Sacrifices cost him nothing for the satisfaction of his sensitive and restless conscience. Despite his brothers, his children, barons, and subjects, he restored to the king of England Perigord, the Limousin, Agénois, and his possessions in Quercy and Saintonge, on condition of Henry's renouncing his rights over Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou (A.D. 1259). The ceded provinces never forgave him, and, when he was canonized, refused to celebrate his fête.

France would have lost all external action through this exclusive attention to things of the conscience, had she been altogether in the king's hand. The king shrank and withdrew within himself: France overflowed abroad.

On the one hand, England, governed by Poitevins, by Southern French, freed herself from them by the aid of a Northern Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, second son of the famous leader of the crusade against the Albigeois. On the other hand, the Provençals, led by Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, conquered the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and completed in Italy the ruin of the house of Swabia.

The king of England, Henry III., had borne the punishment of John's faults. His father had bequeathed him humiliation and ruin, and he had only been able to recover himself by throwing himself unreservedly into the hands of the Church; else the French would have taken England from him as they had Normandy. The pope used and abused his advantage; bestowing all English benefices, even those which the Norman barons had founded for Churchmen of their own family, on Italians. This tyranny of the Church was not patiently endured by the barons, and they blamed the king for it, accusing him of weakness. Hedged in between these two parties, and receiving their every blow, whom could the king trust, to ? to none other than to our French of the South, especially to the Poitevins, his mother's countrymen.

These Southern, brought up in the maxims of the Roman law, were favourable to monarchical power, and naturally hostile to the barons. It was

at this time St. Louis was collecting the traditions of the imperial law, and introducing with a strong hand the spirit of Justinian into the feudal law. In Germany, Frederick II. was endeavouring to bring the same doctrines into operation. These attempts had a very different fate. They contributed to the elevation of the monarchy in France, and ruined it in England and in Germany.

It would have required permanent armies, mercenary troops, and a well-stocked treasury to force the spirit of the South on England. Money, Henry III. knew not where to lay his hands on, and the little he contrived to get was soon pounced upon by the intriguers around him. Besides, there is an important element which must not be left out of the account—the disproportion which then necessarily existed between wants and resources, receipts and expenditure. Already the wants were great; administrative order was in process of settlement, and attempts were made to establish standing armies. The resources were trifling or none; manufacturing industry, which feeds the prodigious consumption of modern treasuries, was in its infancy. It was still the age of privilege: barons, clergy, every one, had to allege some right or other exempting them from payment; and particularly since the passing of Magna Charta had suppressed a number of lucrative abuses, the English government seemed to be a system devised for starving the monarch*.

Magna Charta having established the principle of insurrection and constituted anarchy, a second crisis had become necessary to found a regular order of things, to introduce between king, pope, and nobles, a new element—the people, who gradually brought them to agree. A revolution needs a man; and the one who met the present emergency was Simon de Montfort, son of the conqueror of Languedoc, who seemed destined to carry on against the Poitevin ministers of Henry III. his family's hereditary war on the Southern. St. Louis's wife, Margaret of Provence, hated these Montforts †, who had wrought so much ill to her country; so Simon perceived that he would gain nothing by remaining in the French court, and repaired to England. The Montforts, earls of Leicester, belonged to both countries. King Henry heaped his favours on Simon, gave him his sister in marriage, and sent him to repress the disturbances in Guyenne, where Simon acted with such severity as to necessitate his recall. On this, he turned against the king, who had never been more powerful in appearance or weaker in reality. He had imagined that he could buy, bit by bit, the spoils of the house of Swabia. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, had just acquired, for ready money, the title of emperor, and the pope had granted his son that of king of Naples. Nevertheless, England was torn with troubles. No better remedy had been devised for opposing pontifical tyranny than the assassination of the pope's couriers and agents, and an association had been formed for this object ‡.

military standards, and a lamb, bearing a standard, was figured on their banners.

* "He pretended to hold in his hand a letter of the Virgin Mary's, summoning the shepherds to the Holy Land, and to gain credit for the fable kept his hand always closed." Ibid.

† Ibid. Dispersi sunt. "They were cut off," says the chronicler, "like mad dogs."

* So Hallam thinks.

† Nangis, ad ann. 1239.

‡ "An association was formed under the title of the commonalty of England; and was clandestinely encouraged by the principals of the barons and clergy. At its head was Sir Robert Thwinge, a knight of Yorkshire, who by a papal provision had been deprived of his nomination to a living in

In 1258 a parliament met at Oxford—the first time the title was taken by assemblies of the kind*. Here the king renewed his oath to observe Magna Charta, and placed himself in the hands of a council of four-and-twenty barons. After six years' war, both parties applied to St. Louis to arbitrate between them. The pious king, inspired alike by the Bible and by the Roman law, decided, that it was necessary to be obedient to the powers, and annulled the statutes of Oxford, which had previously been quashed by the pope; and king Henry was to resume all his power, save and excepting the charters and laudable customs of the people of England antecedent to those statutes (A. D. 1264).

The confederates received this as a signal for war; and Simon de Montfort had recourse to an extreme measure: he interested the towns in the war, by introducing their representatives into parliament. A strange destiny was this family's! In the twelfth century one of Montfort's ancestors had counselled Louis-le-Gros, after the battle of Brenneville, to arm the militia of the communes. His father, the exterminator of the Albigeois, had destroyed the municipalities of the south of France. Whilst he himself summoned the commons of England to take a share in political rights, endeavouring, however, to associate religion with his projects, and to convert the war into a crusade †.

However conscientious and impartial might have been St. Louis's decision, it would seem to have been rash: the future was to judge this judgment. It was the first time that Louis had quitted the reserve which he had imposed on himself. No doubt, at this period, the influence of the clergy on the one hand, on the other that of the legists, had preoccupied his mind with the notion of the absolute right of royalty. The great and sudden extension of French power during the discords and declension of England and the empire, was a temptation, inclining Louis to forsake by degrees the part of pacific mediator, which he had been formerly contented to play between the pope and the emperor. The illustrious and unfortunate house of Swabia was beaten to the ground, and the pope sold its ruins to the highest bidder, offering them to all, to the king of England, to the king of France. Louis at first refused for himself, but accepted for his brother, Charles. It was having a kingdom the more in his family; but a kingdom's weight on his conscience as well. The Church, it is true, answered for all; proclaiming the son of the great Frederick II., Conrad, and the bastard Manfred, impious wretches, enemies of the pope, and rather

the gift of his family. His commands were implicitly, obeyed by his associates, who, though they were never more than eighty individuals, contrived by the secrecy and celerity of their motions, to impress the public with an idea that they amounted to a much greater number. They murdered the pope's couriers, wrote menacing letters to the foreign ecclesiastics, &c. . . . For eight months these excesses continued without any interruption from the legal authorities, &c. . . . Thwinge proceeded to Rome to plead his cause before the pontiff. He was successful, and returned with a bull, by which Gregory authorized him to nominate to the living which he claimed," &c. Lingard, vol. iii. p. 141, 142.

* Guizot, Essais sur l'Histoire de France, p. 458. (Called, in our annals, the "mad Parliament.") TRANSLATOR.

† The evening before the battle of Lewes, he ordered each soldier to mount a white cross on his breast and shoulder, and to pass the night in acts of devotion.

Mahommedan than Christian princes*. Yet, was this reason sufficient for depriving them of their inheritance? And were Manfred guilty, what had Conrad's son done, the poor little Corradino, the last offshoot of so many emperors? He was barely three years old.

This brother of St. Louis, Charles of Anjou, of whom his admirer Villani, has left so terrible a picture, this dark man, who slept little †, was to the saint a demon tempter. He had married Beatrice, the youngest of the four daughters of the count of Provence. The three oldest were queens ‡, and used to make Beatrice sit on a stool at their feet. She inflamed still more the violent and grasping disposition of her husband, for she required a throne as well as her sisters, and no matter at what cost. Provence, as the heiress of Provence, could not fail of desiring some consolation for the odious marriage which subjected her to the French: if the vessels of subjected Marseilles bore the flag of France, it behoved that that flag should at least triumph over the seas, and humble the Italian.

I cannot relate the ruin of this great and helpless house of Swabia, without retracing her destinies, which are no other than the struggle betwixt the priesthood and the empire. Let me be forgiven the digression. This family perished: it is the last time we shall have to speak of it.

Throughout a course of multitudinous deeds of violence and tyranny, the house of Franconia and Swabia, from Henry IV. to Frederick Barbarossa, from the latter to Frederick II., and down to Corradino's day, in whom it was to be extinct, presented a character which does not suffer one to remain indifferent to its fate—heroism in its private affections. It was the common trait of the whole Ghibeline party: devotion of man to man. Never, in their greatest reverses, did they want friends ready and with cheerfulness to fight and die for them. They deserved it by their magnanimity. It is to Godfrey of Bouillon, the son of the hereditary enemies of his family, that Henry IV. entrusts the banner of the empire: how Godfrey answered to this fine confidence, is well known. The young Corradino had his Pylades in the young Frederick of Austria; heroic children, whom the conqueror did not separate in death. Their country itself, so often disturbed by the Ghibelines, was dear to them even while sacrificing it. Dante has placed in hell the leader of the Ghibelines of Florence; but from the language he puts in his mouth, there is no noble mind but would desire a place by the

* Like their father, they trusted even the administration of justice to the Saracens.

† "This Charles was wise and prudent in council, valiant in arms, severe, and much feared by all kings in the world, magnanimous, a man of high thoughts, which rendered him equal to the greatest enterprises; inflexible in adversity, firm and faithful to all his promises, speaking little, doing much, scarcely ever laughing, strict as a priest, a zealous Catholic, and severe administrator of justice, fierce of look. He was tall and sinewy, of olive complexion, and big-nosed. He appeared more born to become the kingly dignity than any other lord. He hardly slept at all. He was lavishly bountiful to his knights; but greedy to acquire, wherever it might be, lands, signories, and money to supply his enterprises. Never did he take pleasure in mummings, tournaments, or courtiery." Giov. Villani, l. vii. c. 1, ap. Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, t. iii. p. 329.

‡ Wives of the kings of France and England, and of the emperor, Richard of Cornwall.

side of such a man on his bed of fire:—"Alas!" exclaims the heroic shade, "I was not alone at the battle in which we conquered Florence, but at the council in which the conquerors proposed to destroy it, I alone spoke, and saved it*."

The Guelphs seem to have been animated by quite an opposite spirit—true Italians, friends to the Church as long as she was the Church of liberty, gloomy levellers, devoted to severe reasoning, and willing to sacrifice mankind to an idea. To judge of this party, it must be watched, either through the eternal tempest which was the life of Genoa, or through the successive purification by which Florence sank, as from circle to circle of a hell like Dante's, from Ghibelines to Guelphs, from white to black Guelphs, and from the last to the reign of terror of the *Guelphic Association*, until it reached the bottom of that democratic abyss, in which a wool-comber was for a moment Gonfalonier of the republic. Sunk here, she sought as a remedy the very evil which had inspired her horror of the Ghibelines, tyranny; a strong tyranny at first, then, as passion subsided, a mild one.

This hard spirit of the Guelphs, which did not spare Dante even, and which made its way both by alliance with the Church and with France, thought, to attain its end by the proscription of the nobles. Out of the towns they razed their castles to the ground; in the towns they took possession of their strong residences; and those noble men, those heroes, those Uberti of Florence and Dorias of Genoa, were reduced so low, that in the last city, nobility was conferred as a degradation, and to reward a noble, he was raised to the dignity of plebeian. Then were the merchants satisfied, and believed themselves strong. In their turn they lorded it over the country, as the citizens of the ancient cities had done. Yet, what did they substitute for the nobility, for the military principle, which they had destroyed—hired soldiers, who deceived them, held them to ransom, and became their masters, until both these and they were overwhelmed by the invaders from without.

Such, briefly, was the history of the Guelphic, of the true Italian party. As to the Ghibeline, or German party, it perished, or changed its form as soon as it was no longer German and feudal. It underwent a hideous metamorphosis, became pure tyranny, and through the acts of Eccelino and Galeas Visconti, renewed all that antiquity has related or invented of the Phalarises and Agathocleses.

The acquisition of the kingdom of Naples, which apparently raised the house of Swabia to so high a pitch, was precisely its destruction. It undertook to form a fantastical mixture of hostile elements; to blend and unite Germans, Italians, and Saracens. The last it led up to the gates of the Church, reducing the papacy to a state of siege by its Mohammedan colonies of Luceria and Nocera†. This was the beginning of a duel to the death. On the other hand, Germany was not a whit more tractable to a prince, a thorough Sicilian, who wished to force the Roman law upon her, that is to say, to level

the old empire; the very law of succession alone, by dividing property equally between brothers, would have cut up and reduced all the great families. The Swabian dynasty was hated in Germany as Italian, in Italy as German or as Arab—all shrank from it. Frederick II. saw his father-in-law, Jean de Brienne, take advantage of his absence in the Holy Land, to deprive him of Naples. His own son Henry, whom he had named his heir, renewed against him Henry the Fifth's revolt against his father; whilst his other son, the beautiful Enzo, was buried for life in the prisons of Bologna*. Finally, his chancellor, his dearest friend, Pierre de Vignes, attempted to poison him†. After this last blow, it only remained for him to veil his face, like Cæsar on the Ides of March. Frederick renounced ambition, and sought to resign all, that he might withdraw to the Holy Land‡: he wished, least, to die in peace. The pope would not suffer him.

On this, the old lion rushed into cruelty: daily, at the siege of Parma, he had four of his prisoners' heads chopped off§. He protected the horrible Eccelino, and gave him the vicariate of the empire. Throughout Italy men were seen begging their bread, and mutilated women, who related the vengeful atrocities of the imperial vicar||.

Frederick died toiling on at the oar¶, and the pope shouted with joy at the news. His son Con-

* On the death of Corradino he tried to effect his escape, enclosed in a cask, but was betrayed by a lock of his hair—"Ha! there is only king Enzo who has such beautiful fair hair!" A letter of Frederick's to the Bolognese has been preserved, reminding them of the inconstancy of fortune, and requiring his son at their hands under threats of his extremest vengeance. Petri de Vineis, l. ii. c. 34.

† Math. Paris, ap. Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. iii. p. 77.

‡ Ibid. p. 80.

§ Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. iii. p. 86.

¶ See Rolandinus, De Factis in Marchia Tarvisina; Monachus Patavinus, ap. Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. iii. p. 109, sqq. 208.

|| "Frederick," says Villani (l. vi. c. 1), "was a man of great worth and rare talents. His wisdom was derived as much from study as from natural prudence. Versed in all things, he spoke Latin, our vulgar tongue (Italian), German, French, Greek, and Arabic. Abounding in virtues, he was generous, and to his natural gifts he joined courtesy; a valiant and wise warrior, he was also much feared. But he was dissolute in search of pleasure; kept numerous concubines, after the fashion of the Saracens; like them, was served by Mamelukes; he gave himself up to all sensual pleasures, and led an Epicurean life, disbelieving in an hereafter. . . . And this was his chief reason for turning the enemy of Holy Church."

¶ "Frederick," says Nicolas de Jamsilla (Hist. Conradi et Manfredi, t. viii. p. 495), was a man of great heart; but wisdom, which was not less great in him, tempered his magnanimity, so that his actions never proceeded from the intoxication of passion, but were ever matured by reason. He was a warm patron of philosophy, cultivating the study himself, and diffusing it throughout his dominions. Previously to the flourishing times of his reign, there were few or no men of letters in Sicily, but the emperor opened schools for the liberal arts and sciences, and summoned professors from different parts of the world, offering them liberal rewards. He was not content with granting them a salary, but maintained poor scholars out of his own purse, that poverty might not tear men of any class from the pursuits of philosophy. He proved his own literary talents by composing a work on the nature and care of birds (natural history was his favourite study), which shows the emperor's proficiency in philosophy. He cherished justice, and so respected it that any one might bring his action against the

* Dante, Inferno, c. x.

"Ma fu' io sol colà, dove sofferto

Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,

Colui chi la difesi a viso aperto."

† A. D. 1223. 1247. Nocera was surnamed *Nocera de' Pagani* (Pagan Nocera). Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. ii. p. 440.

rad only showed himself in Italy to meet his death*. Thus the empire escaped out of the hands of this family; and the king of England's brother, and the king of Castile, each thought himself emperor. Conrad's son, the little Corradino, was not of an age to dispute any thing with any body; but the kingdom of Naples remained in the grasp of the bastard Manfred, the true son of Frederick II., brilliant, witty, and debauched, impious as his father, a man apart, whom none hated or loved by halves. He gloried in being a bastard, like numerous heroes and gods of antiquity†. His whole hope lay in the Saracens, who guarded for him his father's strongholds and treasures. He trusted hardly any others, sent for nine thousand more from Sicily, and in his last battle, it was at their head that he charged the enemy‡.

It is said, that Charles of Anjou owed his victory to his unknighly orders, to strike at the horses§. It was against all the laws of chivalry, and was besides unnecessary; the French men-at-arms having too greatly the advantage over an army principally consisting of light troops. On seeing his men in flight, Manfred desired to die. As he was fastening on his helm, it twice slipped and fell. "*Hoc est signum Dei*" ('tis the hand of God) was his exclamation, and, throwing himself into the midst of the French, he met his death. Charles of Anjou would have had the poor excommunicated corpse remain unburied; but the French themselves brought a stone each and so reared him a tomb||.

emperor, without the monarch's rank securing him any favour with the bench, or any pleader hesitating to undertake the cause of the meanness of his subjects against him. But, notwithstanding his love of justice, he at times tempered its rigour by his clemency." Ap. Sismondi. Observe, Vilani is Guelph, Jamsilla Ghibeline.

* In the spring of the year 1254, he was only twenty-six years of age. Jamsilla, t. viii. p. 507; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. viii. p. 143.

† The following is his portrait by his contemporaries, Math. Spinelli, Ricordon, Summonte, Collonueio, &c. He was very courageous, a lover of art, generous and urbane. He was well-made and handsome, but dissolute. He dishonoured his sister, the wife of the count of Caserta, and feared neither God nor the saints. He contracted alliance with the Saracens, whom he made use of to tyrannize over the clergy, and addicted himself to the superstitious astrology of the Arabs—He used to boast of his illegitimacy, saying that great men usually sprang from forbidden unions. Micheaud, t. v. p. 43.

‡ In his flight in the year 1254, he could find refuge only at Luceria; where he was welcomed by the Saracens with transports of joy. Before the battle, Manfred sent ambassadors to effect a negotiation. Charles told them, "Go, tell the sultan of Nocera that I desire battle only, and that this very day I will either send him to hell or he shall send me to paradise." Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. iii. p. 153. 347.

§ Ibid. p. 348. See, also, Desoe. Victor. Obt. per Carol. ap. Duchesne, t. v. p. 345.

|| The pope's legate had the body disinterred, and thrown on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, and the Campagna of Rome—Dante, Purgatorio, c. 3.

"Comely, and fair, and gentle of aspect
He seem'd then smiling spoke;

'I am Manfredi

. When by two mortal blows

My frame was shatter'd, I betook myself

Weeping to him, who of free will forgives

. Had this text divine

Been of Corezza's shepherd better scanned,

Who then by Clement on my hunt was set,

The fierce conqueror of Naples was nowise softened by this easy victory. He scattered over the country a swarm of ravenous agents, who, falling upon it like locusts, devoured fruits and trees, and almost the soil itself*. Matters were carried to such an extreme that the pope himself, who had summoned the scourge, repented, and remonstrated with the Angevin. All Italy resounded with complaints, which echoed beyond the Alps. The whole Ghibeline party of Naples and of Tuscany, Pisa especially, implored the aid of the young Corradino. The heroic youth had long been detained by his mother, unwilling to see him plunge at so tender an age into that funeral Italy, where all his family had found a tomb. But, as soon as he had attained the age of fifteen, she found it impossible to hold him back. His young friend, Frederick of Austria, despoiled like him of his inheritance, joined his fortunes†. They crossed the Alps with a numerous chivalry; but scarcely had they reached Lombardy, when the duke of Bavaria took the alarm, and left the young descendant of the emperors to pursue his perilous attempt with from three to four thousand men-at-arms only. As they passed Rome, the pope, on being apprised of the circumstance, merely said, "Let the victims go on‡."

Meanwhile, the small troop had been reinforced. Besides the Ghibelines of Italy, some Spanish nobles, refugees at Rome, espoused the cause of the youth, as, in a duel, they would have drawn their swords for the weaker party. These troops, too, were animated with the best spirit; and when they encountered, behind the Tagliacozzo, the army of Charles of Anjou, they boldly crossed the river and put to flight all who faced them. They thought the victory theirs, when Charles, who, by the advice of an old and skilful knight, had retired with his best men-at-arms behind a rising ground, suddenly fell upon the tired and scattered veterans. The Spaniards alone rallied: they were annihilated.

Corradino, the lawful heir, the last offshoot of this formidable race, was taken; a great temptation to the fierce conqueror. Undoubtedly he persuaded himself, by a forced interpretation of the Roman law, that a conquered enemy might be considered guilty of high treason: besides, was not the enemy of the Church beyond the pale of the law? The pope is said to have confirmed him in this sentiment, and to have written to him, *Vita Corradini mors Caroli* § ("Corradino's life is Charles's death"). Charles named judges from among his creatures to try his prisoner. But the proceeding was so strange and unheard of, that

Yet at the bridge's head my bones had lain
Near Benevento, by the heavy mole
Protected; but the rain now drenches them,
And the Wind drives."

* Charles had joined to all the offices which existed under its old administration, the corresponding offices which he was familiar with in France, so that the number of functionaries was more than doubled. Sismondi, t. iii. p. 337, quoting Malespina, l. iii. c. 16.

† Sismondi, Rép. Ital. t. iii. p. 371.

‡ Prolomæi Luc. Hist. Eccles. l. xxii. c. 36. Raynaldi, § 20, p. 261. Sismondi, t. iii. p. 380.

§ Giannone, l. xix. c. 4. Sismondi conceives this tradition should be rejected. Many writers assert that the pope upbraided Charles bitterly with Corradino's death. Sismondi, Schmidt, and most of the modern historians who have spoken of Conrad, have made too little use of Joannes Vitoduranus. We shall return to the subject elsewhere.

even of these judges some defended Corradino, whilst the rest held their peace. One alone found him guilty, and took upon himself to read the sentence on the scaffold. Not with impunity. Charles's own son-in-law, Robert of Flanders, leaped on the scaffold, and slew him with one stroke of his sword, exclaiming, "This not for a wretch like thee, to condemn to death so noble and gentle a lord!"

Not the less was the unhappy youth beheaded, together with his inseparable friend, Frederick of Austria. He uttered no complaint—"Oh, my mother, what sad news will they bring you of me!" He then threw his glove into the crowd, which is said to have been faithfully picked up and carried to his sister, and his brother-in-law, the king of Aragon.—All know the Sicilian vespers!

One last word as to the house of Swabia. A daughter remained, who, when all Europe was at Frederick's feet, had been married to the duke of Saxony. When the family fell, and the pope hunted the *generation of vipers** through all the world, the Saxon repented of his having taken to wife the emperor's daughter. He brutally struck her: he did more—he stabbed her to the heart by placing by her side, in her own castle, and at her very table, an odious concubine, whom he wished to compel her to be subservient to. The unhappy woman, concluding that he sought her life, resolved to make her escape. A faithful servant of her house kept a boat on the Elbe, under the rock on which the castle rose; and she had to let herself down by a rope at the peril of her life. It was not the danger which stayed her step—but she was leaving an infant behind. As she was on the point of descending, she would see him once more and kiss him, asleep in the cradle. What laceration of the heart! . . . In the agonies of a mother's grief she did not kiss, but bit him. The child lived, and is known in history by the name of Frederick *the Bitten*. He was his father's most implacable enemy.

The share St. Louis had in this barbarous conquest of Charles of Anjou's, it is difficult to determine. It is to him the pope addressed himself for vengeance on the house of Swabia, "as his defender, as his right hand†." Undoubtedly, he at least authorized his brother's enterprise. The last and most sincere representative of the middle age was blindly to espouse its religious violence. The Sicilian war was, in fact, a crusade. To war on the Hohenstaufen, the allies of the Arabs, was still to combat the infidels: it was a pious work to wrest from the house of Swabia that Southern Italy which she gave up to the Sicilian Arabs, to close Europe against Africa, Christendom against Mahomedanism. It must be remembered, too, that the principle of the middle age, already attacked on every side, became more bitter and violent in those minds that remained faithful to it. None wish to die; systems as little as individuals. This antique world, which felt life hourly cooing out of it, shrunk within itself, and waxed sterner. Beginning itself to doubt itself, it was only the more cruel to those who doubted. The gentlest souls experienced, without comprehending why, a necessity for strengthening their own faith by intolerance.

To believe and to strike, to shun all reasoning or

"discourse of reason," to blot out light by closing the eyes, to fight in the dark—such was the infantile impression of the middle age. This the common principle of religious persecutions and of crusades. The feeling grew singularly weak in the thirteenth century. Men's horror of the Saracens had greatly abated*: it was replaced by discouragement and weariness. Europe entertained a confused feeling that it had but a slight hold on wearied Asia. A struggle of two centuries had taught mankind a just estimate of these frightful wars. The crusaders, who, on the faith of our chivalrous poems, had gone in quest of empires of Trebisonde, paradises of Jericho, and Jerusalem of emeralds and sapphires, had only found rugged valleys, a vulture cavalry, trenchant Damascus steel, an arid desert, and thirst even under the shade of the palm-tree. The crusades had been like the perfidious Dead Sea fruit—an orange to the view, ashes to the taste. Europe looked less and less towards the East. Enough had been done, the Holy Land was neglected, and when it was lost, God bore the blame. "Has God then sworn," exclaims a troubadour, "to leave no Christian alive, and to make St. Mary's of Jerusalem a mosque? And as his Son, who ought to oppose this, finds it good, 'twere madness in us to oppose it. God sleeps, whilst Mahomet triumphantly displays his power. I would never hear more of crusading against the Saracens, since God protects them†."

Meanwhile, Syria swam in blood. After the Mongols, and in opposition to them, arrived the Mamelukes of Egypt. This fierce militia, recruited from slaves, and fed on murders, took from the Christians, one after the other‡, their last remaining strongholds in Syria—Cesarea, Arzuf, Saphet, Jaffa, Belfort, and, lastly, the great Antioch. Men innumerable were slaughtered for not denying their faith—many were flayed alive. In Antioch alone, seventeen thousand souls were put to the sword, and a hundred thousand sold into slavery§.

This terrible news filled Europe with grief and sadness, but impelled it to no outbreak. St. Louis alone felt the wound at his heart. He said nothing; but he wrote to the pope that he was about to take the cross. Clement IV., who was an able man, and more legist than priest, endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose||, seeming to judge

* St. Louis showed great kindness to the Saracens. "He enriched many Saracens whom he had baptized, and he won them by marrying them with Christian women. . . . When beyond sea, he commanded, and issued orders to his people, not to slay the wives or children of the Saracens; on the contrary, to take them alive and bring them to be baptized. Likewise, he commanded to the utmost of his power that the Saracens should not be slain, but taken, and kept in prison. And at times vessels of silver and other things of the sort would be stolen in his court, and then the blessed king put up good humouredly with it, and would give the thieves money and send them beyond sea; and this he did to many. He was ever full of charity and piteous to others." *Le Confesseur*, p. 302. 388.

† *Le Chevalier du Temple*, ap. Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies des Troubadours*, t. iv. p. 131.

‡ *Marin. Sanuto*, *Secreta fidel. crucis*, i. iii. p. xii. c. 4—9.

§ *Ibid.* c. 9. *Usque xvii. millia personarum interfecta sunt, et ultra centum millia captivata sunt; et facta est civitas tam famosa, quasi solitudo deserti.*

|| *Gaufred. de Bell. loc. Vita et Convers. S. Lud.* c. 37, ap. Duchesne, v. 461.—*Clement. Epist.* 269.

* *De Vipereo semine Frederici Secundi.*

† *Tanquam ad defensionis suæ dexteram. Nangis, ap. Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. ii. p. 6.

of it from our modern point of view, and to comprehend that another crusade would be as fruitless as the former ones. But it was out of the question for the man of the middle age, its true son, its last child, to desert God's service, deny his fathers, the heroes of the crusades, and leave the bones of the martyrs to bleach in the wind, without an effort to bury them. He could not rest in his palace of Vincennes whilst the Mameluke was slaughtering Christians, or killing their souls by forcing them to renounce their faith. From the Sainte-Chapelle, St. Louis heard the groans of the dying in Palestine, and the shrieks of the Christian virgins. That God should be denied in Asia, and cursed in Europe for the triumphs of the infidel, weighed heavily on the soul of the pious king. Besides, it was with regret that he had returned from the Holy Land. He brought away with him too lively a remembrance of it—the desolation of Egypt, the wondrous sadness of the desert, the lost opportunity of martyrdom tortured this Christian soul with regrets.

On the 25th of May, 1267, having convened his barons in the great hall of the Louvre, he entered it bearing in his hands the holy crown of thorns. Weak and sickly as he was through his life of austerity and self-denial, he took the cross in their presence, and made his three sons take it: none, after this, durst refuse*. His brothers, Alphonso of Poitiers, and Charles of Anjou, soon followed his example, as did the king of Navarre, the count of Champagne—the counts of Artois and Flanders—the son of the count of Brittany—numerous barons—and, lastly, the kings of Castille, Aragon, and Portugal, and the two sons of the king of England. St. Louis endeavoured to win all his neighbours to accompany him, arbitrating between their differences, and assisting in their equipments: to the son of the king of England alone, he gave seventy thousand livres tournois. And, to attach the South to him, he for the first time summoned the representatives of the burghesses to sit in the assemblies of the seneschalships of Carcassonne and Beaucaire; and so laid the foundation of the States of Languedoc.

So little popular was the crusade, that the seneschal of Champagne, Joinville, notwithstanding his personal affection for the saintly monarch, excused himself from following him. We give his account of the matter, as the expression of the feeling of the time:—

"It came to pass, by the will of God, that as I was asleep at matin time, I was aware in my sleep that I saw the king kneeling before an altar, and was aware that several prelates in their robes were robbing him with a scarlet chasuble of Reims' serge." Joinville's chaplain explained to him that the dream signified that the king would take the cross, and that by the Reims' serge was intimated, that the crusade "would have no result."—"I felt

that all who praised his determination to go, committed a deadly sin."—"Of his voyage to Thunes (Tunis) I wish to say nothing, for, God be praised, I was not there *."

This great army, slowly got together, discouraged beforehand, and setting out with regret, lingered two months in the unhealthy precincts of Aigues-Mortes. No one yet knew where it would make its descent. Egypt was in a state of great alarm; and the Pelusian mouth of the Nile was closed: it has remained filled up ever since†. The Greek emperor, who feared the ambition of Charles of Anjou, sent offers of a union of the two churches.

At length the army was embarked on board of Genoese vessels. The Pisans,—Ghibelines, and rivals of Genoa,—felt alarmed for Sardinia, and closed their ports. It was with great difficulty that St. Louis obtained leave to land his sick, already very numerous. They had been at sea more than twenty days. Such slow progress rendered reaching Egypt or the Holy Land out of the question, and the king was persuaded to steer for Tunis. It was the interest of Charles of Anjou, as king of Sicily, that he should do so. He made his brother believe that Egypt drew large supplies from Tunis‡; and in his ignorance, perhaps, imagined that it was easy to pass from one to the other. Besides, he thought that the appearance of a Christian army, would decide the sultan of Tunis to conversion. Tunis entertain friendly relations with Castille and France; and not long before, St. Louis, on the occasion of the baptism of a converted Jew in the abbey of St. Denys, had desired the presence of the Tunisian ambassadors, and had said to them after the ceremony, "Say to your master, that so strong is my longing for the safety of his soul, that I would consent to enter a Saracen prison for the remainder of my life, and never again to see the light of day, if by so doing I could make your king and his people Christians, even as this man §."

A peaceful expedition which should end in intimidating the king of Tunis, and frightening him into Christianity, was not the mark of the Genoese, in whose ships St. Louis had effected his passage. Most of the crusaders preferred violence. Tunis was reported to be a rich city, the plunder of which would indemnify them for undertaking so dangerous an expedition. So that without any regard to the views of the king, the Genoese commenced hostilities by seizing the vessels which lay before Carthage. The army disembarked without opposition: the Moors only showed themselves to provoke, draw after them, and fatigue the Christians. After languishing some days on the broiling shore, the crusaders advanced on the castle of Carthage. All that remained of Rome's great rival was a fort garrisoned by two hundred soldiers, which the Genoese seized. The Saracens, taking refuge in the vaults, were either put to the sword, or suffocated by fire; and the king found the ruins full of dead bodies, which he had removed to make

* Helping the monks to build the monastery of Roiaumont, he obliged his brothers to assist. "The blessed king took the hand-barrow, laden with stones, and bore it in front, a monk bearing it behind. . . . And when his brothers wished at times to speak, cry out, and play, the blessed king said to them, 'The monks observe silence, so ought we!' And when the brothers of the blessed king, having heavy loads, wished to rest midway, instead of carrying them at once to the wall, he said to them, 'The monks do not rest, nor should you.'" Le Confesseur, p. 374.

* Joinville, p. 153, 154.

† Michaud, t. iv. p. 439.

‡ Besides, the Tunisian pirates did much injury to the Christian shipping. Marin. Sanuto, l. iii. p. xii. c. 10.—Guill. Nangis, Annal. du Regne de St. Louis (ed. 1761), p. 27.

§ Gaufred. de Bell. loc. Vita S. Lud. ap. Duchesne, v. 462.

room for himself and attendants *. He had to wait at Carthage for his brother Charles before marching upon Tunis, so that the greater part of the army had to remain under an African sun, half buried in the sand drifted by the winds, in the midst of dead Lodies and of the stench of the dead. Around them prowled the Moors, ever carrying off stragglers. There were neither trees nor grass; and the only water they had was that of pestilential pools, or of cisterns full of loathsome insects. In eight days the plague broke out, and carried off the counts of Vendôme, of la Marche, of Viane—Gautier de Nemours, marshal of France—and the lords of Montmorency, Piennes, Brissac, Saint Brignon, and Apremont. The legate soon followed them. The survivors not having strength to bury their dead, throw them into the caual, which was soon clunked with corpses. The king and his sons fell sick; his youngest son died on board of his ship, and it was a week before St. Louis's confessor ventured to break the truth to him. He was the best-beloved of his children, and his death removed another of the ties, binding him to this world, of his dying father: it was a summons from God, a temptation to die. Thus, without fear or regret, he went through the last duties of a Christian's life, repeating the appointed litanies and psalms, dictating a beautiful and touching Paper of Instructions to his son and successor, and even receiving the ambassadors of the Greeks, who had come to beseech his intervention in their favour with his brother Charles. He spoke kindly to them, and promised his best offices, if he lived, to ensure them peace: the next day, he was himself taken to God's peace †.

On this his last night, he ordered his attendants to lift him out of bed and lay him on ashes: and he died so, ever keeping his arms crossed. "And, on the Monday morn, the blessed king raised his clasped hands to heaven, and said, 'Gracious Lord God (*Biau sires Dieu*), have mercy on this people sojourning here, and grant them a safe return, that they may not fall into their enemy's hands, or be forced to deny thy holy name.' . . .

"And the night before he died, as he was re-posing, he sighed and said in a low voice, 'Oh, Jerusalem! oh, Jerusalem!'"

This was the last of the crusades. The middle age had yielded its ideal—flower and fruit: its time was come. With Philippe le Bel, grandson of St. Louis, began modern times; when the middle age is buffeted in the person of Boniface VIII., and the crusade burnt in that of the Templars.

A crusade will long be talked of—the word will be oft repeated; it is a well-sounding, effective word—for the raising of tithes and imposts. But the great of the earth and the pope well know what to think of it §. Some time afterwards we

shall see the Venetian Sanuto, proposing to the pope a commercial crusade:—"It was not enough," he said, "to invade Egypt, it behoved to ruin it." His proposition was to re-open the Persian route to the Indies, so that Alexandria and Damietta would no longer be the emporiums of its trade *. Here is announced afar off the modern spirit: commerce, and not religion, is about to be the lever of distant expeditions.

CHARACTER OF ST. LOUIS.

That the Christian age of the world should have been last symbolized in a French monarch, was a great thing for the monarchy and for the dynasty. It is what emboldened the successors of St. Louis to oppose so bold a front to the clergy. Royalty assumed in the eyes of the people religious authority, and the idea of sanctity was attached to it. They had found the true king just and pious, and the impartial judge of his people. How far the conscientious determinations of this pure and spotless soul might have been influenced by the legists, the modest and crafty counsellors, who afterwards became so notorious, none of his own day could estimate. We shall not attempt it here. This great subject will be treated of in its connexion with the preceding and subsequent epochs of our legislation.

The interests of the crown being at the time identified with those of order, the pious king found himself constantly led to sacrifice to it feudal rights which he would have desired, in his conscientiousness and disinterestedness, to respect. Whatever his able counsellors suggested to him for the aggrandizement of the royal power, he carried into act for the good of justice. The subtle thoughts of legists were received and promulgated through the simplicity of a saint. Their decisions passing through so pure a mouth, acquired the authority of a judgment of God's.

"Many a time did it happen that in summer, he would go and sit in the forest of Vincennes after mass, and would rest against an oak, and make us sit round him; and all who had business came to speak to him without hinderance from usher or any other. And then he asked them with his own mouth, 'Is there any one who has a suit?' And they who had, rose up; and then he said, 'Silence all, and speak one after the other.' And then he would call to him my lord Pierre de Fontaines and my lord Geoffroy de Vilette, and say to one of them, 'Hear me this cause.' And when he saw any thing to amend in the speech of those who pleaded for others, he himself amended it with his own mouth. I have seen him sometimes in summer

'The pope,' replied the interpreter, 'has just made you king of Egypt.' 'We must not be ungrateful,' was Don Sancho's reply, 'Get up, and proclaim the holy father, caliph of Bagdad.'" Michaud, t. v. p. 129.

* Marini Sanuti, *Secreta fidelium crucis* (ed. Bongars. Hanau, 1611). The first book is devoted to an explanation of his design; the second, to the consideration of the means requisite to the success of the crusade; the third, to a history of the settlements in, and expeditions to the East. Sanuto added maps of the Mediterranean, the Holy Land, and Egypt.—The pope was loud in praise of the project, and it was favourably received by all Christian princes, who, however, did not attend to it. Sanuto then applied to the emperor of Constantinople, and so spent his life in preaching a crusade.

* Joinville, p. 156.

† Sismondi, t. viii. p. 189.

‡ Petri de Condetto, Epist. ap. Spicilegium (fol. i. iii. p. 667).

§ Petrarch (Basil, p. 421) relates that it was once deliberated at Rome who should be leader of a new crusade, and that Don Sancho, son of Alphonso, king of Castille, was chosen. He came to Rome and was admitted to the consistory, where the election was to take place. Being unacquainted with Latin he took one of his courtiers with him as an interpreter. He was then proclaimed king of Egypt, and all present applauded the choice. On hearing the applause, the prince asked the interpreter what it was about.

come to hear his people's suits in the garden of Paris, in a camlet vest, a surcoat of tircaine without sleeves, a kerchief of black sendal round his neck, his hair neatly arranged, and without bonnet, and a fillet of white paeon on his head, when he would have a carpet laid down for us to sit round him. And all who had suits to him stood around him, and then he had their causes heard, just as I have told you before he did in the forest of Vincennes *."

In the year 1256 or 1257, he issued a decree against the lord of Vesnon, condemning him to indemnify a merchant who had been robbed in open day in a road lying within his lordship. The lords of the manor were bound to have the roads watched from the rising to the setting sun †.

Enguerrand de Coucy having hung three young men who were sporting in his woods, the king had him arrested and condemned. All the great vassals protested against this proceeding, and supported Enguerrand's demand of trial by battle. The king said, "That in regard to the poor, the churches, and persons on whom one ought to have pity, they ought not thus to be met with wager of battle, since it would not be easy to find persons to undertake to encounter the barons of the kingdom in the lists for such sort of people. . . ."

"When the barons," he said to John of Brittany, "who held altogether of you without other remedy, laid their complaint of you before us, and offered to prove their integrity by wager of battle against you, you replied that you could not meet them in the lists, but by inquiry into the matter, and said besides, *that battle is not the way of justice* ‡." Jean Thourout, who had warmly undertaken the defence of Enguerrand de Coucy, cried out ironically, "Had I been the king I would have hung all my barons, for the first step taken, the second costs nothing." The king overheard him, and called him back, "How, John, do you say that I ought to hang my barons? Certainly, I will not hang them, but I will punish them if they do wrong."

Certain gentlemen, who had for cousin a *wicked man who would not reform*, besought Simon de Nielle, their lord, who had the right of pit and gallows on his land, permission to put him to death, for fear he should fall into the hands of justice, and be hung to the disgrace of his family. Simon refused, referring them to the king, who would not suffer it, "for he wished justice to be executed on malefactors throughout his kingdom openly and before the people, and that none should be punished privily §."

A complaint having been laid before St. Louis by one whom his brother, Charles of Anjou, wished to force to sell him an estate which he had in his countship, the king summoned Charles before his council: "and the blessed king ordered his possession to be restored to the man, and that thenceforward he should have no trouble on its account, since he desired neither to sell nor exchange it ||."

* Joinville, p. 13.

† Henault, t. i.—A similar judgment was given against the count of Artois, in 1287. Bouchel, p. 243.

‡ Life of St. Louis, by queen Margaret's confessor (ed. 1761), p. 379, 380.—Among other penalties with which St. Louis visited Enguerrand, he deprived him of all high jurisdiction (*haute justice*) over woods and preserve ponds, and of the right of imprisoning or condemning to death.

§ Le Confesseur, p. 383.

|| Id. p. 381.

Let us add two remarkable facts which equally prove, that though voluntarily submitting to the advice of priests or of legists, this admirable man preserved an elevated sense of justice, which, in doubtful circumstances, led him to sacrifice the letter to the spirit.

Regnault de Trie brought one day to St. Louis a letter, by which the king had bestowed the countship of Dammartin on the heirs of the countess of Boulogne. The seal was broken, and all that remained of it were the limbs of the king's image. All his counsellors assured him that he was not bound to keep his promise. He replied, "Lords, you see this seal which I used before I crossed the sea: it is clear from this seal that the imprint of the broken is similar to that of the entire seal: wherefore I durst not in conscience retain the said countship *."

One Good Friday, as St. Louis was reading the Psalter, the relatives of a gentleman, a prisoner in the Châtelet, came to beseech his release, reminding the king that the day was one of forgiveness.

The king laid his finger on the verse at which he then was—"Happy are they who observe justice, and who execute it at all times." He then sent for the provost of Paris, and continued his reading. The provost informed him that the prisoner had been guilty of enormous crimes: on which St. Louis ordered him to be at once led to the gibbet †.

There can be little doubt that St. Louis owed this elevation of mind which placed equity above law, in a great degree to the Franciscans and Dominicans, by whom he was surrounded. On thorny questions, he was wont to consult St. Thomas ‡. He sent Mendicant friars to inspect the provinces, in imitation of the *missi dominici* (the royal commissioners) of Charlemagne §. This mystic Church strengthened him against the episcopal and pontifical Church, giving him courage to

* Joinville, p. 15.

† Ægidii de Musis Chronic. ap. Art de Vérifier les Dates, vi. 8.

‡ Guill. de Thoco, Vit. S. Thom. Aquin. De rege Franciæ dicitur quod semper in rebus arduis dicti Doctoris requirebat consilium, quod frequenter expertus fuerat esse certum. . . . "When he desired," says the writer, "to be guided in certain arduous and necessary matters on the following morning, he would send to the aforesaid doctor to consider during the night the dubious point of the case, so as to give him the fitting answer on the next day."

§ Math. Paris, ad ann. 1247, p. 493.—By his will (a. p. 1269), he left them his books and large sums of money, and appointed a council, to consist of the bishop of Paris, the chancellor, the prior of the Dominicans, and the guardian of the Franciscans, to appoint to vacant benefices. Bulaeus, iii. 1269.—After the first crusade, he always had two confessors, one a Dominican, the other a Franciscan. Gaufred. de Bell. loc. ap. Duchesne, v. 451.—Queen Margaret's confessor relates that he had entertained the idea of turning Dominican, and that his wife had much difficulty in dissuading him from it.—He took care to forward to the pope Guillaume de Saint-Amour's book. The pope returned him thanks, and prayed him to continue his protection to the monks. Bulaeus, iii. 313.—From a letter addressed to the pope by professors of the university, in which they refuse to admit Mendicant friars among their number, we find that St. Louis had given them guards:—"Since by allowance of our lord the king they have an armed multitude ever at their beck, whence they have recently begun to celebrate the solemnities of their offices without us, with many armed men" Id. 290.

resist the pope in favour of the bishops, and the bishops themselves.

The Gallican bishops being one day assembled, the bishop of Auxerre addressed St. Louis in their name as follows:—"Sire, the lords here present, archbishops and bishops, have commissioned me to tell you that Christendom is perishing in your hands." The king, upon this, crossed himself, and said, 'Now, tell me how this is?' 'Sire,' said he, 'it is because excommunications are so little cared for at this time, that the excommunicated suffer themselves to die before they seek for absolution, and will not render satisfaction to the Church. So, we require you, sire, for God and your duty's sake, to give order to your provosts and bailiffs to compel all who shall endure excommunication for a year and a day, to seek absolution by the seizure of their goods.' To this the king replied, that he would willingly so command as regarded those who were proved to him to have done wrong. . . . And the king said that he would abide by his determination, for that it would be contrary to God and common sense to compel people to seek absolution, when the priests had done them wrong *."

France, so long the servant of ecclesiastical power, assumed a freer spirit in the thirteenth century. Though allied with pope and Guelf against the emperors, it became Ghibeline in spirit. Nevertheless, there was this great difference; it carried on its opposition by legal forms, and, therefore, the more formidably. From the commencement of the thirteenth century, the barons had lent a cheerful support to Philippe-Auguste against the pope and the bishops; and, in 1225, they declared that they would either quit their lands or take up arms, if the king did not put a stop to the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. In fact, the Church, ever acquiring and never letting go, would in the long run have absorbed all. And, in 1246, the famous Pierre Mauclerc entered into a league to this end with the counts of Angoulême and St. Pol, and numerous barons. The terms in which the act of association is drawn up, are of extraordinary energy. The hand of the legists is visible: one would fancy oneself already reading the language of Guillaume de Nogaret †.

* Joinville, p. 14.

† "Seeing that the superstition of the priests (forgetful of the fact that it was by war and bloodshed, under Charlemagne and others, that the kingdom of France was converted from the error of the Gentiles to the Catholic faith,) has so absorbed the jurisdiction of secular princes, that these sons of serfs judge after their law freemen and the sons of freemen, albeit, according to the law of the first conquerors, it is we who should rather judge them. . . . We, all nobles of the kingdom, considering that it was not by the written law, nor by clerical arrogance, but b. the sweat and toll of war that the kingdom was conquered . . . resolve that no one, priest or layman, shall in future summon any before the ordinary judge or delegate (spiritual judge) except in cases of heresy, marriage, and usury, under pain for the violator of notice of the loss of all his property and the mutilation of one of his limbs; we have despatched our rescripts to this effect, in order that our jurisdiction may at last breathe and revive, and that these men, enriched with our spoils, may be reduced to the state of the Primitive Church, and may live in contemplation, whilst we shall lead, as we ought, an active life, and that they may show us miracles which have been so long unknown to our age." *Tresor des ch. Champagne*, vi. no. 84; and ap. *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, i. 29.

A. D. 1247. League of Pierre de Dreux Mauclerc, with his

In the simplicity of his heart, St. Louis joined this struggle of the legists and barons against the priests, which was to turn to his own advantage *; and, with the same good faith, he joined that of the jurists against the barons. He recognized the sovereign's right to resume an estate given to the Church; and, a year before his death, published the famous pragmatic act, which is the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

Plunged at this epoch into mysticism, it undoubtedly cost him the less uneasiness to record so solemn an opposition to ecclesiastical authority. The unsuccessful result of the crusade, the abounding scandals of his age, the doubts which rose on every side, plunged him so much the more into the inner life of self-contemplation. His tender and pious soul †, wounded externally in all its affections, retired and communed within itself. Reading and meditation consumed the whole of his life. He devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures and of the fathers; particularly of St. Augustine. He had manuscripts copied ‡, and formed a library—the slight beginning which was to produce the royal library (*Bibliothèque royale*). At meals, he had pious works read to him; and in the evening as well, on retiring to rest §. He could not satiate

son, duke John, the count of Angoulême, and the count of St. Pol, and many other lords, against the clergy.—

"To all those who shall see these presents, we all, whose seal is affixed to this writing, give to know, that we have solemnly pledged both ourselves and our heirs ever to aid one another, and all of our or of other lands who shall choose to join us, to pursue, seek and defend our rights and theirs against the clergy. And we have chosen, to call us together when aggrieved, the duke of Burgundy, the count Peron of Brittany, count Angoulême, and the count of St. Pol . . . and if any who belong to this league be excommunicated wrongfully by the clergy, and the fact be known to these four, he shall not desist from pursuing his right or his feud for this excommunication, or for whatever else they may do," &c. *Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gallic.* i. 95, 97, 98, 99.

* The pope having betrayed an intention in 1240 of breaking the truce concluded between him and Frederick II., St. Louis, to prevent him, stopped the subsidies which he had raised on the clergy of France through his legate. *Math. Paris* (ed. 1644), p. 366.—In 1247, the pope having sent the preaching brothers and Minim friars into France to borrow money from the clergy, promising to repay it—"The king of France, as soon as he knew of the circumstance, holding in suspicion the avarice of the Roman conclave, forbade any of his prelates, under pain of the loss of all their possessions, to impoverish his kingdom in such fashion." *Ibid.* p. 485.

† When St. Louis had made up his mind to return to France, "he told me to let it be a secret between him and me, and took both my hands in his, and bade me convey the legate to his quarters. And when the latter was entered, he began to weep bitterly, and when he could speak, he said to me, 'Great is my joy, and I return thanks to God, that the king and the other pilgrims will escape from the great danger you are in, in this land; and woe is me that I must quit your holy companies and return to the disloyal people who fill the court of Rome.'"

‡ "He preferred having manuscripts copied to accepting them from the monasteries, as tending to the increase of books." *Gaufred. de Bell. loc. ap. Duchesne*, p. 457.

§ *Vie de Saint Louis*, par le confesseur de la reine Marguerite, p. 322. "He made Holy Scripture his study, for he had an annotated Bible, and original writings of St. Augustine and other saints, and other books on Holy Scripture, which he read, and caused repeatedly to be read to him, between dinner and the hour of sleep. . . . When it behoved him to sleep, he slept little."

his heart with orisons and prayers. Often did he remain so long on his knees that on rising, says the historian, he would be seized with vertigo, and would say in a whisper to the chamberlains, "Where am I?" He feared being overheard by his knights*.

But prayer could not suffice the wants of his heart. "The blessed king was marvellously desirous of the grace of tears, and complained to his confessor of his lack of tears, and told him graciously, humbly, and privily, that when he heard these words of the litany, 'O Lord God, we beseech thee to vouchsafe us the fount of tears,' the saintly king would say devoutly, 'O Lord God, I dare not ask for the fount of tears; rather, few and small drops would suffice to water the dryness of my heart.' . . . And once he acknowledged to his confessor privily, that once he had tears vouchsafed him in prayer, and that when he felt them course gently down his cheek into his mouth, they seemed to him grateful and sweet, not only to his heart, but to his taste†."

These pious tears, mystic ecstasies, and mysteries of divine love, are all in the wondrous little church built by St. Louis, the Sainte-Chapelle—a church breathing mysticism, entirely Arab in its architecture, and which was constructed for him on his return from the crusade by Eudes de Montreuil, whom he had taken thither with him. A world of religion and poetry, a whole Christian east is in those windows—fragile and precious paintings, too much neglected, and which will some day be carried off by the wind. But the Sainte-Chapelle was still not sufficiently retired, nor even Vincennes, enclosed as it then was in deepest woods. He required the Thebaid of Fontainebleau, with its deserts of flint and granite, its hard and penitent aspect, and echoing rocks, alive with apparitions and legends. There he reared a hermitage, whose walls have served as the foundation of that fantastic labyrinth, that sombre palace of voluptuousness, of crime, and of caprice, where the Italian fancy of the Valois still reigns triumphant.

St. Louis had built the Sainte-Chapelle in order to deposit in it the holy crown of thorns brought from Constantinople. On high and solemn days, he would himself produce it from the shrine, and show it to the people. Thus he unconsciously accustomed them to see the king dispense with the priest. In like manner, David took the shewbread from off the table. There is still pointed out, on the south side of the little church, a narrow cell, supposed to have been St. Louis's oratory.

Even during his life, his contemporaries, in their simplicity, had suspected that *he was already a saint*, and more holy than the priests. "Whilst he lived, it might be said of him, as is written of St. Hilary, 'Oh, how exceeding perfect a layman,

whose life priests themselves desire to imitate!'" For many priests and prelates would desire to be like the blessed king in his virtues and in his manners; for he was even supposed to be a saint whilst he lived*.

When St. Louis interred the dead, "there were present, in their robes, the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Damietta, and their clergy, who repeated the burial service, but they stopped their noses for the stench; though not once was the good king Louis seen to stop his, such were his earnestness and devotion†."

Joinville relates that a large company of Armenians, who were going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came and asked him to show them *the saint king*.—"I went to the king, who was sitting in a tent, leaning against the pole of the tent, and sitting on the sand without carpet orught else under him. I said to him, 'Sire, there is without a large company from the Great Herminia, who are going to Jerusalem, and who pray me, sire, to show them *the saint king*; but I do not wish to kiss your relics yet.' And he laughed a clear loud laugh, and told me to tell them to come in; and I did so. And when they had seen the king, they commended him to God, and the king them‡."

This sanctity is touchingly apparent in the last words he wrote to his daughter: "Dear daughter, the measure according to which we ought to love God, is to love him beyond measure§."

And so in the instructions he left to his son, Philippe:—"If it happen that any suit between rich and poor come before thee, support the stranger's cause, but show not too much heat therein until thou know the truth, for those of thy council might be fearful to speak against thee, and this thou oughtest not to desire. And if thou art given to understand that thou holdest any thing wrongfully, either in thy own time or in that of thy ancestors, quickly restore it, no matter how great the thing may be, either in land, or money, or otherwise||."—"The love which he bore his people appeared by what he said to his eldest son during a severe illness he had at Fontainebleau. 'Dear son,' he said, 'I pray thee to gain the love of the people of thy kingdom; for, truly, I should prefer a Scot's, coming from Scotland to govern the people of the kingdom well and loyally, to thy governing them ill in the face of the world¶."

Beautiful and touching words! it is difficult to read them without emotion. But at the same time the emotion comes mingled with self-reflection and sadness. This purity and gentleness of soul, this marvellous elevation to which Christianity raised

* Ibid. p. 371.—"He had the Church-service performed so solemnly and deliberately, as to tire himself and all with him." Ibid. p. 312.

† Guill. de Nangis, Annales, p. 225.

‡ Joinville, p. 118. The passage is mutilated in Petitot's edition, t. ii. p. 362. I cannot refrain from subjoining an admirable passage from queen Margaret's confessor:—"The time of life fitted to endure labour, practise oneself in arts, and exercise the heart in works—the early prime so favourable to us poor mortals—did not pass by the blessed St. Louis in vain; so that he died most holily, as knowing that the best things fade away and the worst remain. Just as in the full pitcher—the first, which is purest, runs out, and the troubled water settles down; so in the life of man, the best part is its beginning and time of youth." p. 321.

§ Le Confesseur, &c. p. 327.

|| Ibid. p. 331.

¶ Joinville, p. 4, ed. 1761.

* Ibid. "When the chaplains departed thence (the Sainte-Chapelle), the blessed king remained alone there, or by his bedside, and would stay in prayer for a long time, bowed to the ground, with his elbows on a stool, so long as to wear out the grooms of the chamber who waited without. . . . He remained in prayer at his bedside so often, that his spirits were weakened and his sight, for he knelt bowed to the earth, and his head close to the ground, so that when he rose he could not find his bed, but asked one of his chamberlains in attendance, 'Where am I?' in a low voice, however, in respect of the knights who lay in his chamber." † Ibid. p. 324.

its hero, who will restore to us ? . . . Indisputably we now enjoy a more enlightened morality ; is it a firmer one ! This is a question well calculated to trouble every sincere friend of progress. None more warmly than the writer of these lines identifies himself with the immense steps made by mankind in modern times, and with its glorious hopes. The living dust which the powerful trampled under foot, has acquired a human voice, has risen to property, intelligence, and participation in political rights. Who does not bound with joy in seeing the victory of equality ! I only fear that whilst acquiring so just a feeling of his rights, man has lost some part of his feeling of his duties. One's heart stagnates to find that in the universal progress, morality has not gained power. The idea of free will and of moral responsibility becomes daily fainter. Strange ! in proportion as the old fatalism of climates and of races which weighed upon antique man lessens and fades away, there succeeds and grows up as if a fatalism of ideas. Be passion, fatalist ; let it seek to kill liberty, well and good : 'tis its part, its office. But that science, but that art. . . . " And thou, too, my son ? " . . . You cannot look out at window without beholding this larva of fatalism. Vainly do the symbolism of Vico and of Herder, the natural pantheism of Schelling, the historic pantheism of Hegel, the history of races and the history of ideas which have done so much honour to France, differ in every thing else ; against liberty, they are all agreed. The artist even, the poet, who is bound to no system, but who reflects the idea of his age, has, with his pen of bronze, inscribed on the old celestial this sinister word, *Ἀνάγκη* ("Necessity").*

So wavers the poor, small light of moral liberty. And yet the tempest of opinions, the wind of passion, blow from the four quarters of the world. . . . The light burns, widowed, and solitary ; each day, each hour, it sheds a weaker gleam. So feebly does it glimmer, that there are moments when, like him lost in the catacombs, I think I already feel darkness and the cold night. . . . Can it go out ? Never, never. We require to believe so, and to tell each other so ; without which we should sink of discouragement. *The light quenched, great God, save us from living here below !*

CHAPTER IX.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MENDICANTS AND THE UNIVERSITY.—ST. THOMAS.—DOUBTS OF ST. LOUIS.—THE PASSION, AS THE PRINCIPLE OF ART IN THE MIDDLE AGE.

THE everlasting battle between grace and the law was still waged in the time of St. Louis, by the university and the Mendicant orders. Here is the history of the university. In the twelfth century, she separates from her cradle, the school of the parvis Notre-Dame, and carries on a contest with the bishop of Paris ; in the thirteenth, she wars against the Mendicants, the agents of the pope ; in the fourteenth, against the pope himself. The uni-

versity formed a strong and rude democracy, in which from fifteen to twenty thousand young men, of every nation, were trained in dialectic exercises—a wild city within the city, which they disturbed with their violences, and scandalized by their manners*. This, however, had for some time been the chosen seat of the grand intellectual gymnastics of the world. In the thirteenth century only, it sent forth seven popes†, and innumerable cardinals and bishops. The most distinguished foreigners, as the Spaniard, Raymond Lully, and Dante, the Italian, had crowded for between thirty and forty years to sit at the feet of Duns Scotus. They prided themselves on having disputed at Paris. Petrarch was as proud of the crown decreed him by our university, as of that of the Capitol. In the sixteenth century still, when Ranus had restored some life to the university, our schools of the *rue du Fouarre* were visited by Torquato Tasso. Pure reasoning, nevertheless, vain logic, subtle and sterile quibbling‡, our artists (so the dialecticians of the university styled themselves) were soon to be surpassed. The true artists of the thirteenth century, orators, comedians, mimes, popular preachers, and enthusiasts, were the Mendicants. These spoke of love, and in the name of love. They had resumed St. Augustine's text, "Love, and do what you like." The dry logic, which, in Abelard's time, had been so effective and effectual, no longer sufficed. The world, tired out in this thorny path, would have preferred resting with St. Francis and St. Bonaventura under the mystic shades of the Song of Songs, or dreaming with another St. John of a new faith and a new gospel.

In fact, the formidable title, *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel* §, was prefixed to a book by

* Jacob. Vitriac. ap. Bulaeus, ii. 687. "The prostitutes would drag in the clerks passing by, as it were forcibly. You would find in the same house, schools on the upper, bagnes on the lower floor."

† The anti-pope, Anaclet, Innocent II., Celestine II. (a disciple of Abelard's), Adrian IV., Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III. Bulaeus, ii. 554.

‡ Pierre le Chantre, and other contemporary writers, relate the following anecdote: "In 1171, master Silo, professor of philosophy, besought a disciple of his, then on his death-bed, to return and communicate to him his state in the other world. Some days after his death the scholar appeared to him in a 'cowl all covered with theses, and consisting of flames of fire. He told master Silo that he was from purgatory, and that the cowl weighed more heavily on him than a tower. 'And I am doomed to wear it for the pride I took in sophisms.' As he said this, he let fall a drop of sweat on his master's hand, which pierced it through and through. The next day, Silo said to his scholars:—

Linguo coax ranis, eras corvis, vanaque vanis,
Ad logicen pergo, quæ mortis non timet ergo,
(I leave croaking to frogs, cawing to crows, vain things to the vain, And hie me to that logic which fears not death),
and straightway buried himself in a monastery of Cistercians." Bulaeus, ii. 393.

§ Introductorius ad Evangelicum Æternum. "L'Évangille Perdurable" (the everlasting Gospel), Roman de la Rose, ap. Bulaeus, iii. 299.—The registers of the Inquisition at Rome contain twenty-seven condemned propositions, taken from John of Parma's book:—"That the New Testament is to be concluded, as the Old was.—That although God afflicts the Jews in this world, yet he will save those, whom, remaining in Jerusalem, he shall favour, &c.—That the Gospel of Jesus Christ leads no one to perfection.—That the spiritual sense of the New Testament is not entrusted to the pope of Rome, but only the literal.—That the

* (The allusion is to Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame*.) TRANSLATOR.

John of Parma, general of the Franciscans. Already had the abbot, Joachim de Flores, the master of the mystics, announced that the end of time was come. John proclaimed that in like manner as the Old Testament had given way to the New, the latter, too, had run its appointed course; that the Gospel was not sufficient to perfection; that it had six years yet; but that then a more lasting Gospel would be given, a Gospel of intellect and spirit: till then, that the Church had only the letter*.

These doctrines, common to members of the Franciscans, were likewise received by many of the Dominicans. On this, the university burst forth. The most distinguished of its doctors was a native of Franche-Comté, of the Jura, Guillaume de St. Amour, a man of hard and penetrating intellect. The portrait of this intrepid champion of the university was long to be seen on a window at the Sorbonne†. He published a series of eloquent and witty pamphlets against the Mendicants, in which he tried to identify them with the Béghards and other heretics, whose preachers were, like them, wanderers and mendicants, and entitled, *Discourse on the Publican and the Pharisee; Questions*

secession of the Greek from the Roman Church was laudable.—That the Greeks walk more according to the spirit than the Latins.—That Christ and his apostles fell short of perfection in contemplative life.—That active life, up to the time of the abbot Joachim (from whom John partly borrowed his doctrines), fructified, but now does not.* The monks under the new law are to replace the regular clergy, &c. &c. Bulaeus, *Histoire Univers.* Paris, iii. 292, sqq.—Amaury de Chartres had previously maintained similar doctrines. Guill. de S. Amore, c. 8. "Fifty-five years are now past since some have laboured to change the Gospel, which they say will be more perfect, better, and more worthy, and which they call the *Gospel of the Holy Ghost*, the *Holy Everlasting Gospel*."—The pope had written to the bishop of Paris to have the book quietly destroyed; but the university, already at feud with the Mendicant friars, had it publicly burnt in the parvis Notre-Dame. John of Parma resigned the generalship. St. Bonaventura, who succeeded him, began an inquiry into his opinions, and threw into prison two of his adherents: one of whom remained there eighteen years, the other died. See Math. Paris, ann. 1256; Richerius (ap. d'Achery, *Spicileg.* ii. l. iv. c. 37; S. Thomas Aquin. Opusc. xix. c. 24; Nic. Eymericus in *Directorio Inquisitorum*, P. ii. qu. 8; Echardus, *Ser. Dominic.* i. 202; d'Argentre, *Collectio Judicior.* i. 163, &c. &c.

* Hermann. Cornutus, ap. *Eccord. Hist. Med. ævi.* ii. 849: . . . "He likewise says that the Everlasting Gospel is spiritual, Christ's Gospel, literal.—That the third state of the world which is peculiarly the Holy Ghost's, will be without parable or figures . . . and the true meaning of the two testaments will appear without a veil.—That as in the beginning of the first state . . . Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob . . . and as in the beginning of the new . . . Zacharias, John the Baptist, and the man Christ Jesus . . . so in the beginning of the third there will be three like them, namely, the man clad in linen (Joachim), and an angel holding a sharp scythe (Dominic), and another angel having the mark of the living God (Francis). And in like manner he shall have twelve angels . . . as Jacob in the first, Christ in the second.—That the everlasting Gospel will be entrusted to that order which is perfected and equally composed of the order of laymen and of priests, which he calls the order of Independents.—That the virtue of the New Testament shall only last for the six next years, that is, to the year 1266.—That the Roman Church is literal, and not spiritual.—That the Greek pope walks more according to the Gospel than the Latin."

† This portrait has been engraved and prefixed to his works. (Constance, 1632, 4to.)

on the rule of *Almsgiving*, and the healthy Mendicant; *Treatise on the Dangers predicted to the Church in the last Days*, &c. * His strength lies in his intimacy with Scripture, and the admirable use he makes of it; seasoned, too, with a piquant satire, which is couched in half a word. Unfortunately, it is too clear that the author has other motives than the interests of the Church. There was a literary rivalry and professional jealousy between the university professors and the Mendicants. The latter had obtained a chair at Paris in 1230—the time that the university, offended at the regent's severity, had withdrawn to Orléans and Angers†. This chair they had kept, and the university did not shine in the presence of two orders, whose *sacred* was Albertus Magnus, and whose *logician* was St. Thomas.

This great controversy was argued before the pope at Anagni. The Dominican, Albertus Magnus, archbishop of Mentz, and St. Bonaventura, general of the Franciscans, were Guillaume de St. Amour's opponents‡. St. Thomas noted down in his memory the whole discussion, and wrote an account of it. Guillaume de St. Amour lost the day; but though condemning him, the pope at the same time censured John of Parma's book, thus animadverting equally on logicians and on mystics, on the partisans of the letter and those of the spirit§.

It was St. Thomas who laid down this middle course, so hard of attainment, by which the Church essayed to fix and stay herself, without swerving to the right or to the left; and it is his chiefest glory. Coming at the end of the middle age, as Aristotle did at the end of the Greek world, he was the Aristotle of Christianity, whose legislation he drew up, endeavouring to reconcile logic with faith for the suppression of all heresy. The colossal monument which he reared ravished his age with admiration. Albertus Magnus declared that St. Thomas had established the rule which would endure to the consummation of time||. His over-

* Concilio de Publicano et Phariseo: De Quantitate Eleemosynarum, De Valido Mendicante questiones; Tractatus de periculis Novissimorum Temporum ex Scripturis sumptus, &c. His last work "was immediately translated into French verse by the petulant youth of the university, in order to make it known to the common people." Bulaeus, iii. 348.—It was reprinted at Rouen, in Louis the Thirteenth's time, but its sale was stopped by a decree of the privy council, dated July 2, 1633.

† Bulaeus, iii. 138.

‡ The Mendicant orders were greatly alarmed. "When the aforesaid doctor, Thomas, was appointed to answer the above-mentioned volume, not without tears and sobs of those who doubted of the ability of the order to withstand such powerful adversaries, brother Thomas, taking the volume, and commending himself to the prayers of the brothers," &c. . . . Guill. de Theco, Vit. S. Thomæ, ap. Acta SS. Martii, i.

§ He pronounced sentence of condemnation on Guillaume de St. Amour publicly, and on John of Parma with less parade and circumstance. Bulaeus, iii. 329.

|| Processus de S. Thom. Aquin. ap. Acta SS. Martii, i. p. 714. Concludit quod Fr. Thomas in scripturis suis imposuit finem omnibus laborantibus usque ad finem sæculi, et quod omnes deinceps frustra laborarent.—The Dominicans decided in two chapters held, one at Paris, in 1286, the other at Carcassonne, in 1342, "that the brethren were faithfully to follow the doctrine of St. Thomas, and that if any master, bachelor, or brother departed from it, should

powering task utterly absorbed this extraordinary man, and occupied his whole life to the exclusion of all else; a life that was entirely one of abstraction, and whose events are ideas. From five years of age he took the Scriptures in his hand, and henceforward never ceased from meditation*. He was from the country of idealism, the country where had flourished the school of Pythagoras and the school of Elea, from the country of Bruno and of Vico. In the schools, he was called by his companions the large mute ox of Sicily†. He only broke this silence to dictate; and when sleep closed the eyes of his body, those of his soul remained open, and he went on still dictating. One day, at sea, he was not conscious of a fearful tempest; another, so deep was his abstraction, he did not let fall a lighted candle which was burning his fingers‡. Full of the dangers of the Church, he was ever dreaming of it, and even at the table of St. Louis. Giving the table a triumphant thump, he one day exclaimed, "The Manicheans never can get over that argument;" and the king immediately ordered the argument to be written down§. In his struggle with Manicheism, St. Thomas was supported by the authority of St. Augustin; but, on the question of grace, he clearly departs widely from that doctor, and sides with liberty of will. The Church's theologian, it behoved him to support the hierarchical edifice, and that of ecclesiastical government. Now, if liberty be not admitted, man is incapable of obedience, and government impossible. But to depart from St. Augustin, was to open a wide door to whoever should wish to enter the Church as an enemy; and it was by this that Luther came in.

Such then is the aspect of the world in the thirteenth century. At the summit, the large mute ox of Sicily, ruminating the question; here, man and liberty, there God, grace, divine foreknowledge, fatality: on the right, the observation which bears witness to human liberty; on the left, the logic which compels irresistibly to fatalism. Observation distinguishes, logic identifies. Suffer the latter to have her way, she will resolve men into God, God into nature; she will still the universe into an indivisible unity, absorbing liberty, morality, and all the action of life. Therefore, the ecclesiastical legislator stayed himself upon the slippery steep, combating with his good sense his own logic, down which he would have been borne headlong. His firm collected genius stopped upon the razor edge which separated the two abysses, and scanned and measured their depth. Solemn type of the Church, he held the balance, sought to adjust its equilibrium, and died at the oar. The world, which looked up at him from below, and saw him distinguishing, reasoning, and calculating in a higher

region, has not dreamed of all the struggles which may have shaken this existence, abstract as it was.

Below this sublime region, beat the wind and the storm. Below the angel was man; morality beneath metaphysics; below St. Thomas, St. Louis. In the latter, the thirteenth century has its Passion—a Passion of acute, profound, penetrating character hardly dreamed of by previous ages. I allude to the first agony with which nascent doubt convulsed souls; when the whole harmony of the middle age was troubled; when the great edifice in which men were settled began to shake; when—saints clamouring against saints, right setting itself up against right—the most docile minds found themselves compelled to sit in self-judgment and examination. The pious king of France, who only asked to submit and believe, was early compelled to struggle, doubt, and choose. Humble as he was, and mistrustful of himself, he was forced first of all to oppose his mother; next, to become arbiter between the pope and the emperor, to judge the spiritual judge of Christendom, to recall to the path of moderation him whom he would have wished to have been able to take as his rule of sanctity. Subsequently, the Mendicant friars attracted him by their mysticism, and he entered into the third order of St. Francis, and took part against the university. Yet John of Parma's book, accepted though it was by such numbers of Franciscans, must have inspired him with strange doubts. The uneasiness of his mind is perceptible in the simple questions he put to Joinville. The man in whom the holy king confided, may be taken as the type of the honest man of the thirteenth century. It forms a curious dialogue between the loyal and sincere man of the world, and the pious and candid soul who advances a step into doubt, then shrinks back, and hardens himself in the faith.

Robert de Sorbonne and Joinville were at the king's table: "The king, being in good spirits, said to me, 'Now, seneschal, tell me why *preud'homme* (an honest man) is a better title than *beguin* (a devotee)?' Then began the noise between me and Master Robert. When we had disputed a long time, then the king gave his decision, and said, 'Master Robert, I would wish both to be called and to be an honest man, and you may be all the rest; for an honest man is so great and so good a thing, the even naming it fills the mouth *.'"

"He once called me, and said, 'I fear, so subtle is your reasoning, to speak to you of any thing concerning God, and therefore have summoned these brothers here present, as I have a question to put to you:' the question was this: 'Seneschal,' said he, 'what is God? &c. . . .'"

St. Louis tells Joinville that a knight who was present at a discussion between some monks and Jews, put a question to one of the Jewish doctors, and on getting his answer, gave him a blow on the head with a stick which knocked him down—"So

be reason sufficient to suspend him from his functions." Martene, Thes. Anecd. iv. 1817.—Holstenii Cod. Regul. ed. Broekie, iv. 114.

* Acta SS. p. 160.

† An epithet full of meaning to all who have noticed the dreamy and monumental appearance of the ox of Southern Italy. "St. Thomas was large-bodied and upright . . . of a wheaten complexion (*coloris tritici*, brown as ripe corn?) . . . with a large head . . . somewhat bald." Acta SS. p. 672.—"He was fat." (Grossus fuit.) Processus de S. Thom. ibid.

‡ Acta SS. p. 672. 674.

§ Ibid. p. 673.

* Joinville (ed 1761), p. 7.

† Id. p. 6. He then asked Joinville whether he would prefer having committed a mortal sin, or being leprous. Joinville replied, that he had rather commit thirty mortal sins.—"And when the brothers were gone, he called me all alone, and made me sit at his feet, and said, 'What did you say to me to-day?' And I told him as I had already said, and he said, 'you spoke as an hasty lackbrain, for no leprosy so foul as that of mortal sin,' &c."

I tell you," said the king, "that none ought to dispute with them, except he be right good clerk; but when a layman hears the Christian law maligned, he ought not to defend it save with the sword, which he ought to thrust into the defamer's belly as far as it will enter *."

St. Louis told Joinville, that at the moment of death, the devil strives to shake the faith of the dying man:—"And therefore one ought to be on one's guard, and defend oneself against the snare by saying to the enemy, when he sends such temptation,—Get thee gone; and one ought to say to the enemy,—Thou shalt not tempt me from my firm belief in all the articles of faith †, &c."

"He said, that faith and belief consisted in giving our steadfast credence, although only on the assurance of hearsay ‡."

He told Joinville that a doctor of theology one day applied to bishop William of Paris, and set forth to him with tears that he could not "force his heart to believe in the sacrament of the altar" (transubstantiation). The bishop asked whether, when the devil pressed this temptation on his thoughts, he took delight in it? The doctor replied that, on the contrary, it gave him exceeding grief, and that he would be hewed to pieces rather than renounce the Eucharist. The bishop then comforted him with the assurance, that he had more merit than he who had no doubts §.

Trivial as these signs appear, they are grave, and deserve attention. When St. Louis himself was troubled, how many souls must have doubted, and suffered in silence. But the bitterness of this first falling off in faith was, that men shrank from avowing it. At this day we are inured and hardened to the torments of doubt: the points are blunted. But let us carry ourselves back to the first moment in which the soul still living, and warm with faith and love, felt the cold iron enter. The pain was harrowing; but it was exceeded by the horror and surprise. Would you know what the candid and believing soul suffered? Recall the moment that faith first failed you in love, that you first doubted the loved object.

To anchor your life on an idea, to rest it on a boundless love, and see it failing you! To love, to doubt, to hate oneself for this doubt, to feel the ground receding from under one's feet, and the abyss engulfing us in our impiety, in that hell of ice where divine love never shines, . . . and yet, to clutch at, and hang by, the branches overhanging the gulph, to strive to believe that we still believe, to fear to be afraid, to doubt of one's own doubt. . . . But if the doubt be uncertain, if the thought be not sure of the thought, is not this to open a new region to doubt, a hell under hell! . . . This is the temptation of temptations; all others are nothing in comparison. Yet did this temptation shrink from the light of day and burn of

shame within itself, until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Luther is a great master hereupon; no one had a more horrible experience of these tortures of the soul:—"Ah! were St. Paul now living, how would I wish to hear from himself what kind of temptation it was which he went through. It was not the sting of the flesh, it was not the good Tiecla, as the papists dream. . . . Jerome and the other fathers did not know extreme temptations; they suffered but puerile ones, those of the flesh, which indeed have their own pangs as well. Augustin and Ambrose had theirs; they trembled before the sword. . . . There is something beyond despair caused by one's sins, . . . as when it is said, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' 'Tis as if the speaker said, 'Thou art my enemy without cause.' Or the cry of Job, 'I am just and innocent.'"

Christ himself, of whom Job was the type, experienced this anguish of doubt, this night of the soul, when not a star appears above the horizon. 'Tis the last pang of the Passion; the summit of the cross. But all which has preceded this term of agony, all that must be understood by the word—Passion—in its different senses, popular and mystic, we must here essay to describe. In this abyss lies the mind of the middle age; which age is wholly contained in Christianity, as Christianity is in the Passion. Literature, art, and the different developments of the human mind from the third to the fifteenth century, all depend on this mystery.

Eternal mystery, which, though idealized on Calvary, does not the less continue to be. Yes, Christ is still on the cross; nor will he descend. The Passion endures, and will endure. The world has its Passion likewise; as has humanity in its long historic life, and each man's heart during the few moments it beats. To each his cross, and his wounds. Mine date from the day that my soul fell into this miserable body; which I finish wearing out in writing this. My Passion began with my Incarnation. Poor soul; what hadst thou done to be burthened with this flesh? Virgin, thou wast thrown—as was Eve into the garden of seductions—ignorant, impassioned, avid, and timid, prepared both for temptation and fall. Life is already a step in the Passion.

Then this soul, condemned to a Hymen with matter, voluntarily materializes herself. She relishes her punishment, embraces it, loses herself in it. She has set out on a journey, enjoying herself of the highways, eating, drinking, enjoying herself at every gate, like those incarnate gods of India, who, the better to personate humanity, sully themselves with human pleasures; or, if you will, like the prophet condemned to represent, by symbols of shame, the adultery of Jerusalem, faithless to her divine spouse.

This is the eastern Passion, the immolation of the soul to nature, the suicide of liberty. But liberty is vivacious; she will not die. She rises indignantly against nature, and at first repels its threats. She stiffens her arms against Nemean lions and hydras of Lerna. All the labours imposed upon her by her stepmother, she accomplishes. She tames, and gives peace to the world. This is the heroic Passion;—strength, the beginning of virtue.

Still, if all were ended with this external strife! But, what if the enemy remain within ourselves, if the soul be subdued by love, if the strong find his

* Id. p. 12. "In the instructions which he left to his son, king Philip . . . there was a clause, as follows, 'Do your utmost to drive Sodomites and all other evil people out of your kingdom, so that the land may be thoroughly purged of them.'"—Le Confesseur, p. 303.

† Joinville, p. 10.

‡ Id. *ibid.*—G. Villani, xiii. 206. Word was one day brought to him that Christ had appeared in the host—"Let those who doubt," he said, "go and see, for my part, I see him in my heart."

§ Joinville, p. 10, 11.

own conqueror within himself, if Hercules clothe himself in the burning tunic, if the sage Merlin, in obedience to his Vyvyan, lie down in his own tomb? This delirium men still call Passion. 'Tis the antique, I think; ah! tell me, when will it end?

Against this new enemy Hercules could find but one shelter—the funeral pile. 'Tis by this last trial, by the purifying flame of solitary privations in which, the heroes of the life within, the athletes of morality, the solitary Christians, the Richis of India steeped in penitence, consumed a long life, that the soul acquired such power that at the wrinking of their brow the seven worlds would have been turned to powder. Still there is something higher than the power of dashing seven globes to pieces: 'tis to live pure in the midst of the impurity of the world, yet to love, and die for it.

Nature roars with rage at this mild, calm strength, this victorious serenity. The material infinite, in presence of the moral infinite, compares itself to it, and is troubled and stung with spite. What can it do with its brutal force, its massive bulk? Strike; only strike. Array, then, on one side, in arms, all kings and people, and, if this do not suffice, let all the globes of creation shiver: place against all, the thinking reed. A strange combat, and such as God alone were worthy to assist at, were God himself not the combatant.

The mass strikes, shatters, crushes. . . but 'tis the outward form she has crushed. This destroyed, the spirit soars on its wings with blessings on its cruel liberator, whom it illumines and sanctifies: such is the ideal of the Passion, of the divine Passion. The marvel is, that this Passion is not altogether passive. Passion is action by free consent, by the sufferer's will; it is even action pre-eminently—*drama*, to use the Greek word. The Passion, whatever may be said to the contrary, is of all subjects the *dramatic* subject.

Although the Passion is active and voluntary, inasmuch as this will is in a body, this soul in a covering, this God in a man, there is a moment of fear and doubt. In this consists the tragic part, the terror of the drama: it is this which rends in twain the veil of the temple, which shrouds the earth in darkness, which troubles me as I read the Gospel, and which to this day wring tears from me. That God should have doubted God! that the sacred victim should have said, "Father, Father, have you then forsaken me?"

All heroic souls who have dared great things for mankind, have known this trial: all have more or less approached this ideal of suffering. It was in such a moment that Brutus exclaimed, "Virtue, thou art but a name." It was in such a moment that Gregory the Seventh said, "I have followed justice and shunned iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."

But to be forsaken of God, to be left to oneself, to one's own strength, to the sense of duty to resist the world in arms—there is in all this a colossal greatness. It is to learn the true key to man, to taste the divine bitterness of the fruit of knowledge, of which it was said at the beginning of the world, "Ye shall know that ye are gods, ye shall become gods."

Here you have the whole mystery of the middle age, the secret of its ever-flowing tears, and the key to its profound genius—precious tears, which

have flowed into limpid legends, into marvellous poems, and which, heaping themselves up towards the sky, have become crystallized into gigantic cathedrals, that have wished to rise to the Lord!

Seated on the bank of this great poetic river of the middle age, I can distinguish in it by the colour of their waters, two different sources. The epic torrent, which erst gushed out of the depths of pagan nature to traverse the Greek and Roman heroisms, rolls mingled and troubled with the confused waters of the world. By its side flows in purer current the Christian stream, which springs from the foot of the cross.

THE EPOPEE OF THE MIDDLE AGE.

Two poetries, two literatures: the one chivalrous, warlike, and amorous; and, from an early period, aristocratic; the other, ever religious and popular.

The first, too, is popular at its birth. It begins with the war against the infidels, with Charlemagne and Roland. I can readily believe that there existed amongst us from this time, and even before it, poems of Celtic origin in which the closing struggles of the West with the Romans and Germans, were illustrated by the names of Fingal or of Arthur. But the importance of the indigenous principle, of the Celtic element, must not be exaggerated. What is proper to France is to have little proper to it, to receive all, to appropriate all, to be France, and to be the world. Our nationality has an irresistible power of attraction: all comes to it, willingly or not. It is the least exclusively national, and most human, of all nationalities. The indigenous basis has been often submerged and fecundated by foreign alluvions. All the poetries of the world have flowed into ours in rivulets, in torrents. Whilst Celtic traditions were distilling from the mountains of Wales and of Brittany, like the rain rustling amongst the green oaks of my Ardennes, the cataract of the Carolingian romances was rushing down from the Pyrenees. Even as far as from the mountains of Alsace and of Swabia, there have been poured in to us, through the channel of Austrasia, a flood of the Nibelungen. The erudite poetry of Alexander and of Troy, despite the Alps, overflowed from the old classic world; and still, from the distant East, thrown open by the crusades, there flowed to us, in fables, tales, and parables, the recovered rivers of Paradise*.

* Besides former labourers in this field, as Faucher, Tresson, St. Palais, Legrand d'Aussy, Barbaban, Mion, &c., we must mention Becker, Goerres, Fauriel, Monin, Quinet, and the last editor of Warton.—See, also, M. P. Paris, *Introduction au Roman de Berie*, dedicated to M. de Montmerqué:—"Following the publication of the Roman du Renard, there have appeared, under your auspices both our first comic opera, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and our first drama, *Le Jeu d'Adam e bossu d'Avraz*. M. Roquefort, too, has contributed as his offering the poems of *Marie de France*, and M. Crapelet, the graceful romance of the *Châtelain de Coucy*. M. F. Michel, not content with having published the romance of the *Comte de Poitiers*, and that of *La Violette*, is about to bring out, with the assistance of an able orientalist, a poem on *Mahomet*, from which we may expect to learn the opinion entertained in the West, in the thirteenth century, of the religion and person of the Arab legislator. M. Bourdillon is busied with an edition of the *Chant de Rourecaux*, and M. Robert, whose labours on *La Fontaine* are well known, will shortly publish the beautiful romance of *Parthenopez de Blois*. Meanwhile, M. Raynouard is on the eve of com-

Europe knew herself to be Europe, by combating with Africa and Asia: hence, Homer and Herodotus; hence our Carlovingian poems, with the holy wars of Spain, the victory of Charles Martel, and the death of Roland. Literature is the awakening consciousness of a nationality. The people are unified in one man. Roland dies in the solemn passes of the mountains which separate Europe from African Spain. Like the Philæne, immortalized at Carthage, he consecrates with his tomb the boundary of his country. Grand as the struggle, lofty as heroism, is the tomb of the hero; his gigantic *tumulus* is the Pyrenees themselves. But the hero who dies for Christendom is a Christian hero, a warrior, barbarian Christ; like Christ, he is sold with his twelve companions; like Christ, he sees himself forsaken, deserted. From his Pyrenean Calvary he cries out, he winds the horn which is heard from Toulouse to Saragossa. He winds it; but the traitor, Ganelon of Mentz, and the careless Charlemagne, will not hear the sound. He winds it, and Christendom, for which he dies, still makes no reply. Then he shivers his sword in pieces: he longs to die. But he will die neither by the Saracen sword, nor by his own arms. He swells the accusing sound, the veins of his neck start out, they burst, his noble blood wells forth: he dies of indignation at his unjust desertion by the world.

The sonorous voice of this grand poetry was soon to grow fainter, just like the sound of Roland's horn, in proportion as the crusade, seceding from the Pyrenees, was transferred from the mountains to the centre of the Peninsula, and as the feudal dismemberment of the world caused the Christian and imperial unity, still prevailing throughout the Carlovingian poems, to be forgotten. The chivalrous poetry, smitten with personal prowess and heroic pride, which was the soul of the feudal world, took a hate to royalty, law, unity. The dissolution of the empire, and the resistance of the barons to the central power in the time of Charles the Bald and the later Carlovingians, were celebrated in the persons of Gérard of Roussillon and of the four sons of Aymon (les quatre-fils-Aymon), all four galloping on the same courser: a significant plurality. But the ideal is not expressed by many, but by one alone, by Renaud, Renaud de Montauban*; the hero on his mountain, on his tower,—in the plain, the besiegers, king and people, innumerable, but hardly confident against their solitary opponent. The king—that man-people—strong in numbers, and representing the idea of number, is incomprehensible to this feudal poetry:

pletting his *Glossaire des Langues Vulgaires*, and the Abbé Delarue is seeing through the press a great work on *Les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères*.—"How many romances of the Round Table have we not still in Latin? Are not Nennius, the False Gildas, Brutus of England, the Life of Merlin, his Prophecies, the romance of the Knight of the Lion, that of Joseph of Arimathea, &c., in all large libraries? Do we not also find in Latin Turpin's Romance of Charlemagne, and that of Charlemagne's Voyage to Jerusalem, the romance of Oger the Dane, that of Amis and Amiloun of Athis and Porphyrias, *alias* of the Siege of Athens, those of Alexander, Dolopathos, &c. &c.? Finally, have we not a large number of our fabliaux in the *Duculuna Clericals* of Pierre Alphonse, and in the *Gesta Romanorum*?" Delarue, Bardes Armoricaux, p. 64.

* A pleonasm: in Celtic, *Aiban*, *Aip* signify mountain—so *Mont-auban*, is equivalent to "mountain-mountain."

he seems to it a coward*. Charlemagne has already made a sorry figure in the previous cycle; he has suffered Roland to perish. In the present he pursues Renaud and Gérard of Roussillon by cowardly means, and prevails over them by stratagem. He plays the part of the legitimate and unworthy Eurystheus, persecuting Hercules, and subjecting him to rude labours.

This apparent contradiction between authority and equity, which, after all, is but hatred of law—the revolt of individual against general man—is ill-supported by Renaud, by Gérard, and by the feudal sword. The king, for all they may say, is the more legitimate; the representative of a more general and a diviner idea. He can only be unsated by a more general idea still. The king will prevail over the baron, and the people over the king. The notion of this last conquest is already implied in a satiric drama, which, brought from Asia into France, has been welcomed and translated by every nation—the dialogue between Solomon and Morolf. The latter is an *Æsope*, a rude buffoon, a rustic, a *villain*; but villain as he is, his subtle reasonings are embarrassing, and he humbles good king Solomon on his throne, who, possessed at will of all gifts, handsome, rich, and all-powerful, and above all, learned and wise, is discomfited by this cunning clown †. The weapon of the feudal Renaud

* The following is a passage from *Guillaume au Court Nez* (Paris, Introd. of *Berte aux Grands Pieds*), quoted in *Gérard de Nevers*:—

"Grant fu la cort en la sale a Loon,
Moult ot as tables oiseax et venison.
Qui que manjast la char et le poisson,
Onques Guillaume n'en passa le menton:
Ains menja tourte, et but aigue a folsion.
Quant mengier orent li chevalier baron,
Les napes otent escuier et garçon.
La quens Guillaume mist le roi a raison:
—'Qu'as en pensé,' dit-il, li fies Charlon?
'Secores-moi vers la geste Mahon.'
Dist Loies: 'Nous en consilleroins,
Et le matin savoir le vous ferons
Ma volenté, se je irai o non.'
Guillaume l'ot, si taint come charbon;
Il s'abaissa, si a pris un baston.
Puis dit au roi: 'Vostre fiez vos rendon,
N'en tenrai més vaillant une esperon,
Ne vostre ami ne sera ne vostre hom,
Et si venez, o vos voillez o non.'"

MS. de *Gérard de Nevers*, No. 7498, thirteenth century, corrected from the oldest of the MS. of *Guillaume au Court Nez*, No. 6955.

(Great was the throng in the hall at Laon, the tables spread with fowl and venison: let who would eat flesh and fish, not a bit passed William's chin, but he eat pie (bread?) and drank plenty of water. When the knights and barons had done:quire and page removed the cloths. Count William took the king to book: "What have you determined about your son Charles? Will you aid me against the Turks?" Louis replied, "We will take council, and, in the morning, will let you know my will, whether I go or not." William heard, and reddened like a coal. He stooped down, picked up a stick, and said to the king, "Send your son, or I will not value you a stick, nor be your friend nor your man, and you shall go, whether you will or not.")
† Roquefort, p. 196, n. 3. "The said Marceul et Salomon, No. 7218, and Fonds de Notre-Dame, N. No. 2, has no doubt been built on an ancient work, the *Contradictio Salomonis*. This romance, one of the oldest in Europe, seems to be drawn from Greek, or rather Asiatic sources. It was at first translated into Latin; and, subsequently, into all the vulgar

against authority, the king, and the written law, is the sword—force : that of the popular buffoon, far more piercing, is reasoning and irony.

The king is to overcome the baron, not only in power, but in popularity. The epopee of feudal resistance early loses all its popular character, and restricts itself to the limited sphere of the aristocracy. Especially will it fade away in the South, where feudalism was never aught else than an odious importation, and where municipal life, the vivacious remain of antiquity, had always prevailed in the cities.

The idea common to the two cycles of Roland and of Renaud, is war, heroism : foreign war, civil war. But to complete the idea of the heroic, heroism extends its horizon and tends to the infinite. The poetic unknown which floated at first over the two frontiers, over the Ardennes and the Pyrenees, falls back towards the East, as that of the ancients pushed on towards the West with their Hesperia, from Italy to Spain, and from Spain to the Atlantides. After the *Iliads* come *Odysseys*. Poetry goes on seeking in distant lands—seeking what? The infinite—infinite beauty, infinite conquest. Then is it remembered that a Greek, that a Roman conquered the world. But the West adopts Alexander and Caesar only on condition of their becoming Westerns. They are knighted. Alexander becomes a paladin ; the Macedonians and Trojans are ancestors of the French ; the Saxons descend from Caesar's soldiers, the Britons from Brutus. That affinity between the Indo-Germanic nations which science was to prove in our days, poetry, in its divine prescience, has foreseen.

Yet is the hero still incomplete. In vain to attain it does the middle age raise itself on antiquity. In vain to complete the conquest of the world, is Aristotle turned into a magician, who leads through air and over sea the knightly Alexander*. The foreign element not sufficing, they trace back to the old indigenous element, up to the Celtic dolmen and Arthur's tomb†. Arthur revives ; no more

tongues. As early as the end of the fifth century, pope Gelasius placed it in the number of apocryphal books. William of Tyre speaks of it ; but he is mistaken when he thinks he may discover it in the Jewish antiquities of Josephus. It is extant in old German and French verse ; and is the *Berto* of the Italians, which has been rendered the most celebrated of all the versions, from the circumstance of a literary society's having conceived the notion of continuing it, and arranging it in stanzas. But this idea, though whimsically carried out, has been the means of procuring us an excellent dictionary of the Italian dialects."

* See the poem of Alexander, by Lambert-le-Court and Alexander of Paris, born at Bernai. They assert that they only translate from the Latin.—There is also a Latin *Alexandriad* (often printed), published in 1180 by a canon of Amiens, Gautier de Chatillon, born at Lille ; it was read in the schools in preference to the ancient writers.—The verses of the French *Alexandriad*, quoted by Legrand d'Aussy (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Roy.*), are elegant and sonorous.

" Si long comme il estoit, mesura la campagne . . .

M'espee meurt de faim et ma lance de sol . . . "

(Tall as he was, he measured his length on the plain. . . . My sword is dying of hunger, and my lance of thirst.)

† The chief storehouse of the Breton traditions of the middle age, is the work of the famous Geoffrey of Monmouth. With regard to this author's veracity, and the sources from which he has drawn, see Ellis, *Intr. to Metrical Romances* ; Turner, *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1820 ; De-

the petty chief of a clan as barbarous as his Saxon conquerors ; no, an Arthur purified by chivalry. Pale, very pale, it is true, is this king of the valiant, with his queen Genevieve, and his twelve paladins seated round the round table. And what do they bring into the world after the long sleep into which woman has cast Merlin ? They bring with them the love of woman—it is their heroic idea—ever woman, ever Eve, that deceiving symbol of nature, of pagan sensuality, which promises infinite joy, and which keeps mourning and tears. Let them go, then, sad lovers, seeking adventures in forests, weak and agitated, revolving in their interminable epopee as in that circle of Dante, in which gyrate the victims of love at the sport of a constant wind.

What was the end of these religious forms, these initiations, these tables of twelve, these chivalrous love-feasts in imitation of the last Supper ? An effort is made to transfigure all this, to correct this mundane poesy, and to bring it to penitence. By the side of the profane chivalry, which sought woman and glory, another is erected. The latter is allowed wars and adventurous expeditions ; but the object is changed. It is left Arthur and his brave knights ; but on condition of their amendment. This new poetry leads them, devout pilgrims, to the mysterious temple in which the sacred treasure is kept. This treasure is not woman : it is not the profane cup of Giamschid, of Hyperion, of Hercules, but the chaste cup of Joseph and of Solomon, the cup in which our Lord drank at his last Supper, and in which Joseph of Arimathea collected his precious blood. The mere sight of this cup, or Graal, prolongs Titivel's life for five hundred years. The guardians of the cup and of the temple, the Templars, must remain pure. Neither Arthur nor Perceval are worthy to touch it. For merely approaching it, the amorous Lancelot remains all but lifeless for thirty-four days. The new chivalry of the Graal is the work of priestly hands : it is a bishop who dubs Titivel a knight. This sacerdotal poetry places its ideal so high, that it is sterile and powerless therefore. Vainly does it exalt the virtues of the Graal : the Graal remains unattainable, the children of Perceval, Lancelot, and Gawain alone can approach it. And when the true knight, the fitting guardian of the Graal, is at last to be produced, it is obliged to take one Sir Galahad, perfect at all points, a saint in his lifetime, but much unknown. This obscure hero, brought into the world on purpose, has no great influence.

Such was the powerlessness of chivalrous poetry. Daily, more sophisticated and more subtle, it became the sister of scholasticism, a scholasticism of love as of devotion. In the South, where the *jongleurs* hawked it about in lays and ballads through court and castle, it was overlaid and extinguished by the refinements of form, and the fetters of the most artificial and laboured system of versification ever devised. In the North it sank from the epopee to the romance, from symbol to allegory ; that is, into the void. In its decrepitude, it still anticked on throughout the fourteenth century, in the sorry imitations of

Jarue, *Bardes Armoricains* ; and, especially, the last edition of Warton (1824), with Douce's and Park's notes ; also Ritson, and some passages from the poems of Marie de France, published by M. Roquefort, 1826, &c.

the sorry "Romance of the Rose;" whilst above its notes there rose by degrees the shrill voice of popular derision in the tales and *fabliaux*.

The poetry of chivalry, then, had to resign itself to death. What had it done for humanity during all these ages? Man, whom it had been pleased in its confidence to take simple, still ignorant, mute as Perceval, brutal as Roland or Renaud, and had promised to conduct through the different steps of chivalrous initiation up to the dignity of Christian hero—it left weak, discouraged, miserable. From the cycle of Roland to that of the Graal, his sadness has gone on increasing. He has been led wandering through forests, in pursuit of giants and monsters, and with woman ever in view. His have been the labours of the ancient Hercules, and his weaknesses as well. The poetry of chivalry has scarcely developed its hero, and has retained him in a state of infancy; like the thoughtless mother of Perceval, who prolongs the imbecility of her son's early age. And therefore he quits this mother of his, just as Gérard of Roussillon throws up chivalry, and turns charcoal-burner; and Renaud of Montauban turns mason, and carries stones on his back to help to build Cologne cathedral*.

The knight turns man, turns one of the people, devotes himself to the Church; for in the Church, alone, resides at this time manly intellect, his true life, his repose. Whilst this silly virgin of the chivalrous epopee hastes over mountains and valleys, mounted on the crupper, behind Lancelot and Tristan, the wise virgin of the Church keeps her lamp lighted, waiting for the great awakening. Seated near the mysterious manger, she watches over the infant people who grow up between the ox and the ass, during her Christmas night: presently, kings will come to worship her. The Church is herself—people. Together they play in the great drama of the world the combat of the soul and of matter, of man and of nature, the sacrifice, the incarnation, the Passion. The chivalrous and aristocratic epopee was the poetry of love, of the human Passion, of the pretended happy of this world. The ecclesiastical drama, otherwise called worship, is the poetry of the people, the poetry of those who suffer, of the suffering—the divine Passion.

The church was at this time the real domicile of the people. A man's house, the wretched masonry to which he returned in the evening, was only a temporary shelter. To say truth, there was but one house, the house of God. Not in vain had the church her right of asylum†; she was now the universal asylum: social life altogether sought refuge with her. Man prayed there; there the commune held its deliberations. The bell was the voice of the city: she summoned to the labours of the field‡, to civil affairs, sometimes to the battles of

liberty. In Italy, it was in the churches that the sovereign people assembled. It was at St. Mark's that the deputies of Europe sought from the Venetians a fleet for the fourth crusade. Trade was carried on around the church: the places of pilgrimage were fairs. The articles of merchandize received the priestly blessing. Even cattle, as still continues to be the custom at Naples, were brought to receive benediction. The Church did not refuse it: she suffered *these little ones to draw near*. Here-tofore, in Paris, Easter ham was sold in the parvis Notre-Dame, and as the buyers took them away, they had them blessed. Formerly they did better: they eat in the church, and after the feast came the dance. The Church encouraged these infantine joys.

At this period, the people and the Church, which was recruited from among the people, were one and the same thing, like child and mother. Both were still free from distrust: the mother wished to be all in all to her child. She took him wholly to her, and without reservation, . . . "Pandemtemque sinus et tota veste vocantem coruleum in premium *."

Worship was a tender dialogue between God, the Church, and the people, expressing one and the same thought. Impassioned and grave by turns, she blended the old sacred language with that of the people. The solemnity of the prayers was broken—dramatized with pathetic chants, like that dialogue between the foolish and the wise virgins† which has been handed down to us. And sometimes, also, the great, the learned, the eternal Church herself made herself a child to prattle with her child, and translated the ineffable to it in puerile legends, such as fitted its tender age. She spoke: it listened. The people lifted up their voice: not the fictitious people who speak in the choir, but the true people, rushing from without tumultuously and innumerable through all the vomitories of the cathedral, with their loud confused voice—a giant child, like the St. Christopher of the legend‡, brute, ignorant, passionate, but docile, imploring initiation, and praying to bear Christ on their colossal shoulders. They entered, dragging into the Church the hideous dragon of sin, gorged with victuals, to the Saviour's feet, to wait the stroke of the prayer which was to immolate it§. At times, also, recognizing that the animalism was in themselves, they exposed in symbolical extravagances their miseries and infirmity. This was called the festival of idiots, *fiduorum*||; and this

to announce the resumption of agricultural labour. Another bell used to be rung from the year 1498, every morning and evening, at the hour of opening and shutting the gates and the manufactories of the town.

* (Throwing open her bosom, and inviting with outstretched robes to her azure lap.)

† Monuments Primitifs de la Langue Romane—given by M. Raynouard in his great work.—Since writing this, I have perused on this dramatic character of the middle age an important article of my friend, M. Ch. Magnin's (*Revue des Deux-Mondes*), and several chapters of Mr. Digby's fine work, *Mores Catholici*, London, 1832–1834.

‡ This will be noticed elsewhere.

§ At Tarascon, the *drag*; at Metz, the *grauvill*; at Rouen, the *gargouille*; at Paris, the monster of the Bièvre, &c. See note at p. 126. The gargouille is on the seals of Rouen.—Archives du Royaume.

|| See Ducange, verb. *Kalendar*, *cerulus*, *abbas cornardorum*; Lobineau, *Hist. de Paris*, t. i. p. 224; Dutillet,

* After treating of chivalrous, I ought to proceed to consider Christian poetry, as exemplified in legends, &c. But I hope to discuss this great subject thoroughly, elsewhere. Here, I shall only treat of the poetry of worship, and of Christian art. See note, p. 131.

† As at Paris, the churches of St. Jacques-la-Boucherie, St. Geneviève, &c. The abbé Lebœuf noticed on the façade of the latter church an enormous iron ring, through which those who sought asylum passed their arms.—It was in churches, too, that the sick were laid; especially those attacked by the *mal des ardens* (burning or sweating sickness).

‡ The silver bell at Reims was rung on the 1st of March

imitation of the pagan orgies, tolerated by Christianity as man's farewell to the sensualism which he abjured, was repeated at the festivals of the Nativity, the Circumcision, Epiphany, the Murder of the Innocents, and likewise on those days on which mankind, saved from the devil, fell into the intoxication of joy—at Christmas and Easter. The clergy themselves took a share in it. Here, the canons played at ball within the church; there, they insultingly dragged after them the odious Lent herring*. Beast as well as man was rehabilitated. The humble witness of our Saviour's birth, the faithful animal which warmed his infant body as he lay in the manger with his breath, which bore him with his mother into Egypt, which carried him in triumph into Jerusalem—it had its share in the general joy†. The middle age, juster than we,

Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Fête des Fous; Floegel, Geschichte des Grotteskomiichen; Marlot, Metropolis Remensis Historia; Millin, Description d'un dyptique (register) qui renferme un missel de la Fête des Fous. In 1198, the legate, Peter of Capua, prohibited the celebration of this festival in the diocese of Paris; but it was not given up in France till about 1444. We find it held in England, in 1530.—In 1761, the children of the choir of the Sainte-Chapelle still claimed to direct on Innocents' Day, and occupied the first stalls, with the chanter's cope and bâton. Morand, Hist. de la Sainte-Chapelle, p. 222.—At Bayeux, on Innocents' Day, the children of the choir, headed by a little bishop who performed the service, occupied the upper stalls, and the canons, the lower. Histoire du Diocèse de Bayeux, par Herment, curé de Maltot. Chap. Cathédrale de Bayeux.

* See, above, note at p. 135, an enumeration of the burlesque festivals, partially preserved in our provinces

† At Beauvais, Autun, &c., they celebrated the Feast of the Ass.—Rubricæ MSS. festi asinorum, ap. Ducange.—“At the end of the mass, the priest turning to the people with the words, ‘Ite, missa est’ (Ye may depart, church is over), shall neigh thrice, and then the people, with the formula, ‘Deo gratias’ (all thanks to God), shall thrice answer *hi-haw, hi-haw, hi-haw*. Then the following hymn was sung:—

Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus.
Hez, sire asnes, car chantez
Belle bouche rechignez
Vous aurez du foin assez
Et de l'avoine a plantez.

Lentus erat pedibus
Nisi foret baculus
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.
Hez, sire asnes, &c.

Hic in collibus Sichem,
Jam nutritus sub Ruben,
Transiit per Jordanem,
Salit in Bethleem.
Hez, sire asnes, &c.

Ecce magnis auribus
Subjugalis filius,
Asinus egregius,
Asinorum dominus.
Hez, sire asnes, &c.

Salto vincit hinnulos,
Damas, et capreolos,
Super dromedarios
Velox Madianeos.
Hez, sire asnes, &c.

discerned in the ass sobriety, patience, resignation, and I know not how many Christian virtues. Wherefore be ashamed of the ass! The Saviour had felt no such shame*. . . . At a later time these simple manifestations turned into mockery; and the Church was obliged to impose silence on the people, remove them, keep them at a distance. But in the first centuries of the middle age, what harm was there in all this? Is not all permitted to the child? So little alarm did the Church feel at these popular dramas, that she borrowed their boldest features for the decoration of her walls. In Rouen cathedral† we see a pig playing on a fiddle; in that of Chartres, an ass holds a sort of harp‡; at Essone, a bishop holds a fool's bauble§. Elsewhere, we see the

Aurum de Arabia,
Thus et mvrhrum de Saba,
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.
Hez, sire asne, &c.

Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sar mula,
Illiis mandibula
Dura terit pabula.
Hez, sire asnes, &c.

Cum aristis hordeum
Comedit et carduum,
Triticum e palea
Segregat in area.
Hez, sire asnes, &c.

Amen dicas, asine,
(*hic gnauflectebatur*)
Jam satur de granine:
Amen, Amen itera,
Aspernare vetera.
Hez va! hez va! hez va! hez!
Biax sire asnes car allez
Belle bouche car chantez.

MS. du treizième siècle, ap. Ducange, Glossar.

(From the east, came the ass, fair and sturdy, fitted for burdens. Ha, sir ass, open your fine mouth to sing, you shall have hay enough, and plenty of oats.

He was slow of foot, unless the stick, or the goad should, prick him in the buttocks. Ha, sir ass, &c.

He on the hills of Sichem, reared by Reuben, crossed the Jordan, bounded into Bethlehem. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Lo with his great ears, the son of the yoke, the excellent ass, the lord of asses. Ha, sir ass, &c.

In frisking he excels fawns, deer and kiddings, swift beyond the dromedaries of the Midianites. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Gold from Arabia, frankincense and myrrh from Saba, asinarian worth has brought into the church. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Whilst he drags waggons, with many a little load, with his jawbones he crushes hard food. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Barley with its beard, and thistles he eats; wheat from the chaff, he winnows on the threshing-floor. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Say Amen, O Ass (*here all knelt*), having now thy fill of grass, Amen, Amen repeat, spurn your former way of life. . . . Fine sir ass for going, fine mouth for singing).

• Nostri nec pœnitet illas,
Nec te pœnitent pecoris, divine poeta.

Virgil. Eclog. 10.

† On the north porch of the cathedral (the Booksellers' porch).

‡ On a counterfort of the old tower.

§ In the church of St. Guenault, rats are represented gnawing the globe of the world. Millin, Voyage, t. i. p. 20, et plate iv.—Aristotle does not escape this universal jeer. He is figured at Rouen bending down with his hands on the ground, and carrying a woman on his back.

images of vices and of sins sculptured with all the liberty of pious cynicism*. The courageous artist does not shrink from representing the incest of Lot or the infamies of Sodom†.

The Church exhibited at this period a marvellous dramatic genius, full of boldness and of easy good-fellowship, and often stamped with touching puerility. No one laughed in Germany when the new curé, in the midst of the mass of installation, walked up to his mother, and led her out to dance. If she were dead, there was no difficulty in saving her; he *put his mother's soul under the candlestick*. The love of mother and of son, of Mary and of Jesus, was a rich source of the pathetic to the Church. Even to this day, at Messina, the Virgin carried through all the city, seeks her son, as the Ceres of ancient Sicily sought Proserpine; and at last, just as she is entering the grand square, she is shown our Saviour's image, when she starts back with surprise, and twelve doves flying out of her bosom, bear to God the outpouring of maternal transport‡.

At Pentecost, white pigeons used to be let loose in the church amidst tongues of fire; flowers were rained down, and the inner galleries were illuminated§. At other festivals the illumination was outside||. Let us picture to ourselves the effect of the lights on these prodigious edifices, when the priests, winding through the aerial staircases, animated by their fantastic processions the darksome masses, passing and repassing along the balustrades, under the denticulated buttresses, with their rich costumes, wax tapers, and chants; when light and voice revolved from circle to circle, and below, in dark shadow, answered the ocean of people. Here was the true drama, the true mystery, the representation of the pilgrimage of humanity through the three worlds—that sublime intuition which Dante caught from the transient reality to fix and eternize in the *Divina Commedia*.

* See the stalls of Notre-Dame de Rouen, Notre-Dame d'Amiens, of St. Guenault d'Essone, &c. In the church of l'Epine, a small village near Châlons, are some very remarkable, but also very obscene sculptures. St. Bernard writes about 1125 to Guillaume de St. Thierry—"What is the good of all those grotesque monsters in painting or in relief, which are placed in cloisters in sight of those who are bewailing their sins? What is the use of this beautiful deformity, or this deformed beauty? What is the meaning of those unclean apes, those raging lions, those monstrous centaurs?" Ed. Mabillon, p. 539.

† Thus formed the subject of one of the external bas-reliefs of Reims cathedral. It has been effaced.

‡ J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, London, 1823, p. 158.—How comes it that Mr. Blunt could only see in this a ridiculous mummery?

§ In the Sainte-Chapelle, the figure of an angel used to be let down from the roof, holding a silver jar, from which he poured water on the hands of the officiating priest. Morand, *Hist. de la Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 180.—At Reims, on the day of the Pédication, a lighted taper was placed between each arcade.

|| Over the gallery of the Virgin in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris was the figure of a virgin, with two angels bearing candlesticks in their hands; and in these the dean or treasurer used to place tapers after lauds on Sexagesima Sunday. Gilbert, *Description de Notre-Dame de Paris*.—In some churches, the priest represented our Lord's Ascension on the portal.—Sometimes even the clergy were obliged to perform the ceremony on the loftiest parts of the church: for instance, when relics were sealed up under the tower or steeple; as was done in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris.

After its long carnival of the middle age, this colossal theatre of the sacred drama has sunk into silence and into shade. The priest's weak voice is powerless to fill vaults, whose ample span was reared to embrace and contain the thunder of a people's voice. Widowed and empty are the churches. Their profound symbolism, which then spoke with so clear a voice, is mute. They are now objects of scientific curiosity, of philosophical explanations, of Alexandrian interpretations—Gothic museums, visited by the learned, who walk round, gaze irreverently, and praise instead of pray. Yet do they clearly know what they praise? That which finds favour in their sight is not the church itself, but the delicate workmanship of its ornaments, the fringe of its cloak, its lace of stone, some laborious and subtle piece of workmanship of the later Gothic (*du Gothique en décadence*).

Gross-minded men, who look upon these stones, as stones, and do not feel the sap and life-blood which circulate there! Christians or not, revere, kiss the sign they bear, the sign of the Passion—"tis that of the triumph of moral liberty. Here exists a something great and eternal, whatever be the fate of this or that religion. The future fate of Christianity makes no difference here. Let it henceforward be religion or philosophy, let it pass from mysticism to rationalism, the victory of human morality must ever be adored in these monuments. Not in vain were Christ's words—"Let these stones become bread." The stone became bread; the bread became God, matter, spirit—the day on which the great sacrifice honoured, justified, transfigured, transubstantiated them: incarnation, passion, synonymous words, are explained by a third—transubstantiation. By three different stages, here is the struggle, the hymen, the identification of the two substances: a dramatic and dolorous hymen in which the spirit sinks and matter suffers. The mediator is the sacrifice; the death, a voluntary death. There is blood on these nuptials. That terrible, that memorable day, it was yesterday, it is to-day, it will be to-morrow, and ever. The everlasting drama is daily played in the church. The church is itself this drama—a petrified Mystery, a Passion of stone, or rather, it is the Passioned, the sufferer. The whole edifice, in the severity of its architectural geometry, is a living body, a man. The nave, extending its two arms, is the Man on the cross; the crypt, the subterranean church, is the Man in the tomb; the tower, the steeple, is still He, but upright and rising to heaven. In this choir, which inclines from the direction of the nave, you see His head drooping down in the agony*; you recognize His blood in the glowing purple of the windows.

Touch these stones with cautious tread, step lightly over these flags—all are bleeding and suffering still. A great mystery is being enacted here†. All around I see death, and am tempted to weep‡. Yet may not this immortal death, whose

* The choir inclines to the north-west in the churches of Notre-Dame at Paris, and of Notre-Dame and St. Ouen, at Rouen, Quimper, &c.—It must be premised that in some churches this inclination depends on the localities.

† "Mark each thing mystically; for there is nothing irrelevant here." Hugo de S. Victore, *Rothomagi*, 1648, vol. iii. p. 335, *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesie*.

‡ (I subjoin the original, down to the close of the paragraph:—"Cependant cette mort immortelle dont l'art inscrit

image art inscribes in a flowery vegetation, this flower of the soul, this divine fruit of the world, which nature decorates with her leaves and her roses, may it not be, under a funeral form, life and love? "I am black, but I am comely," exclaims the bride in the Song of Songs. These sombre vaults may veil a hymen. Do not Romeo and Juliet unite in the tomb? Painful is the embrace, bitter the kiss, and the bride smiles through tears. This vast vault, in which the mystery is shrouded, is it a winding sheet, is it a marriage garment? . . . Yes, 'tis the robe of nature, the antique veil of Isis, on which all living creatures are embroidered. This living foliage, whereon art has woven the beasts of the earth and fowls of the air, is her cloak, her tunic of love. The mystery is arrayed in its mistresses*.

The solemn and holy comedy revolves with its divine drama according to the natural drama played by the sun and stars. It proceeds from life to death, from the incarnation to the passion, and thence to the resurrection, whilst nature turns from winter to spring. When the sower has buried the grain in the earth, to bear there the snow and the frost, God buries himself in human life, in a mortal body, and plunges this body into the grave. Fear not; the grain will spring up from the earth, life from the tomb, God from nature. With the breath of spring the spirit will breathe. When the last clouds shall have fled, in the transfigured sky you descry the ascension. Finally, in harvest time, the creature itself, ripened by the divine ray that penetrated it, mounts with the Virgin to the Lord†.

How has humanity arrived at this marvellous symbolization? What road did art pursue in its long career, to reach such a height? I must attempt to give the answer. My subject so wills; and far from digressing, I enter the rather the more into it, and sound its depths. The middle age, the France of the middle age, have given expression in architecture to their most intimate thoughts. The cathedrals of Paris, of St. Denys, and of Reims—those three words tell more than

long recitals. Such monuments are great historic facts. What should I do? describe them, compare them with similar monuments of other countries? Such description and comparison would supply but an external, superficial, confused knowledge of them. We must go further, dig deeper, grasp the principle of their formation, the physiological law which presided over this vegetation of a distinct nature. Thus, beyond the artificial and external classification of Tournefort, science has discovered the system of Linneus and Jussieu. The organic law, then, of Gothic architecture, I have felt impelled to seek, on the one hand, in the genius of Christianity, in its principal mystery, the Passion; and, on the other, in the history of art and in its fruitful metempsychosis.

Art, in Latin, is the contrary of *in-ers*: it is the contrary of inaction, it is action. In Greek, action is named *drama*. The drama is pre-eminently the action or the art, being the principle and the end of art.

Art, action, drama, are strangers to matter. For inert matter to become spirit, action, art, for it to become human and put on flesh, it must be subdued, it must suffer. It must allow itself to be divided, torn, beaten, sculptured, changed. It must endure the hammer, the chisel, the anvil; must cry, hiss, groan. This is its Passion. Read in the English ballad of the *Death of John Barleycorn*, what he suffers under the flail, the kiln, and the vat. Just so, the grape in the wine-press. The wine-press is often the shape of the cross of the Son of man*. Man, grape, barleycorn, all acquire under torture their highest form: heretofore, gross and material, they become spirit. The stone also breathes and gains a soul under the artist's hand; who calls life out of it. Well is the sculptor named in the middle age, *Maître de vivis lapidibus* ("the master of living stones†").

This dramatic struggle betwixt man and nature is to the latter at once Passion and Incarnation, destruction and generation. Together, they engender a common fruit, a mixture of the father and the mother—Humanized nature, spiritualized matter, art. But, just as the fruit of generation more or less resembles father or mother, and yields in turn both sexes, so, in the mixed product of art, man or nature is more or less predominant. Here we have the virile; there, the feminine stamp. We must discriminate between sexual characters in architecture, as we do in botany and zoology.

This characteristic is strikingly marked in Indian architecture; which presents, alternately, male and female monuments. The latter, vast caverns, profound wombs of nature in the heart of mountains, have been fecundated in their darkness by art: they pant for man, and seek to absorb him in their bosom. Other monuments represent man's impulse towards nature, the vehement aspiration of love, and start up, luxurious pyramids, seeking to impregnate the sky. Aspiration, respiration, mortal life and fecund death, light and dark-

l'image dans une efflorescente végétation, cette fleur de l'âme, ce divin fruit du monde, que la nature décore de ses feuilles et de ses roses, ne serait-ce pas, sous forme funéraire, la vie et l'amour? 'Je suis noire, mais je suis belle,' dit l'amante du Cantique des Cantiques. Ces voûtes sombres peuvent voiler l'hymen. Roméo et Juliette ne s'unissent-ils pas dans un tombeau? Douleureuse est l'étreinte, le baiser amer, et l'amante sourit dans les pleurs. Cette voûte immense dont le mystère est enveloppé, est-ce un linceul, est-ce une robe nuptiale? . . . Oui c'est la robe de la nature, le vieux voile d'Isis, où toute créature est brodée. Ce vivant feuillage, où l'art a tissé les bêtes de la terre et les oiseaux du ciel, c'est son manteau à elle, son amoureuse tunique. Il est vêtu de son amante." TRANSLATOR.

* Montaigne says of a cloak of his father's, which he was fond of wearing, "I wrapped myself up in my father." (Je m'enveloppais de mon père.)

† The zodiac and the Gospel were alternated on the front and in the roses of churches. Thus in the churches of Notre-Dame de Paris, and of St. Denys, Reims, Chartres, &c., to each of the signs of the zodiac corresponds a bas-relief representing the labours of the month. In Notre-Dame de Chartres, the series commences with the history of Adam, to indicate that since his fall man has been condemned to labour. —Little figures are often seen on the stalls representing arts and trades, as in those of St. Denys, brought from the castle of Gaillon, those of the cathedrals of Rouen, Chartres, &c.

* On one of the windows of St. Etienne-du-Mont, Jesus Christ is figured in the wine-press; the wine running from his body into vats.

† The surname of one of the architects whom Ludovic Sforza sent for from Germany to close the arches of the roof of Milan cathedral. Gaet. Franchetti, Storia e descrizione del duomo di Milano, 1821.

ness, male and female, man and nature, activity, passivity,—the whole, combined, is the drama of the world, of which art is the serious parody.

Yes, in face of the all-powerful nature which laughs at us in the deceiving phantasmagoria of her works, we erect a nature fashioned by ourselves. To this solemn irony, this eternal comedy, with which the world, whilst amusing man, makes him its sport and mock, we oppose our Melpomene. We take so little umbrage at the homicidal and charming nature which smiles upon as she crushes us, that we make it the delight of our lives to track and imitate her. Spectators and victims of the drama, we take our parts in it with a good grace, and dignify the catastrophe by embracing, accepting, idealizing it.

The fecundity of this double drama seems to have been seized by the Indians. The Indian fig-tree, the *bôdhi*, the tree-forest (the mangrove), each branch of which strikes root in the earth, another tree,—this arcade of arcades, this pyramid of pyramids, is the shelter under which God reached, they say, the perfect state of contemplation, the state of *bôdhi*, buddhist, of absolute sage. As the God, so the tree—their name becomes identical; it is natural fecundity and intellectual fecundity. This tree, in which there are so many trees, this thought, in which there are so many thoughts, rise both together, and aspire to being: here is the ideal of fecundity, of creation. Aspiration, aggregation—these are the male and female principles, the paternal and maternal, the two principles of the world, and of the little world of art as well. Rather, we should say, the one only principle—aspersion after aggregation, of all in one, of all to one, as all the lines of the pyramid tend to the point.

The pyramidal form, the abstract pyramid, reduced to its three lines, is the triangle. In the ogival triangle, in the ogive, two lines are curves; that is, composed of an infinity of right lines. This common aspiration of innumerable lines, which is the mystery of the ogive, first appears in India and Persia*, and in the middle age it prevails throughout our West. At the two ends of the world we see the efforts of the infinite towards the infinite; in other words, the universal, *Catholic* tendency. It is the endless repetition of the same within the same †; a repetition graduated in one same ascent.

* John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy to the court of Ava*, in the year 1827, p. 64. "The gothic arch is observable in all the ancient temples; a characteristic which does not mark modern buildings."—M. Lenormant conceives the ogive to be originally from Persia; the palace of Sapor and the other monuments of the Sassanides present many examples of it. It would, indeed, be strictly logical for this mystic form to have been invented by the mystic nation. (See Chardin.) M. Lenormant has seen in Egypt ogives of the ninth century. Sicily and Naples must have been the ring, connecting oriental with western architecture.

† Report by M. Eug. Burnouf on Daniel's collection of Indian views, Nov. 5th, 1827. (*Journal Asiatique*, t. xi. p. 316.) "The religious monuments drawn by this artist belong to all parts of the peninsula, but especially to the vicinity of Benares, Bahar, and Madura, whither the Mussulman conquest did not extend, and to the southern extremity of the peninsula. Considered in a general point of view, these vast constructions are marked by one common character; which fact constitutes an essential distinction between them and monuments of Greek architecture. Whilst the latter are composed of inseparable parts, from the agree-

Rear them, as in the Indian monuments, pyramid on pyramid, lingam on lingam; heap, as in our cathedrals, ogives and roses, spires and tabernacles, churches on churches, and let humanity stop in the erection of its pious Babel, only when its arms shall fail it.

It is far, however, from India to Germany, from Persia to France. Identical in its principle, art varies on the road, has been enriched by its variations, and has brought us the rich tribute. India has contributed, but Greece too, Rome too, and undoubtedly other elements besides.

GOthic ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

On first leaving Asia, the Greek temple, a simple collection of columns under the flattened triangle of the pediment, scarcely presents a trace of the aspiration to the sky, which characterised the monuments of India, of Persia, and of Egypt. The aspiration disappears; beauty here consists in aggregation and order; but the aggregation is weak. This phalanx of columns, this architectural republic, is not yet united and closed in by a vault. In Greek art, as in the social world of Greece, the bond is imperfect. How little unity there was in the Hellenic world, despite its Amphictyonic assemblies, is well-known. Between republic and republic, city and city, there was little connexion. Even its colonies were only bound to their metropolis by religion and filial recollections.

Far more closely cemented was the Etruscan and Roman world; and so with Italian art. Here the arcade reappears, intersects itself, and the vault closes in: in other words, aggregation is strengthened, and aspiration seeks to reappear on high. As is art, so is the constitution of society. We find here social hierarchy: the power of association is great. The metropolis keeps her colonies subjected to herself: however distant they may be, they are included *within the city*. *As* to be the expression of such a world, the column is not enough; nor even the arcade—witness the monuments of Trèves and Nîmes with their double and triple stories of arcades and porticos. All this is insufficient to represent what is to follow. *The East has given nature* Greece, the city; Rome, the city of law: the West and the North are about to make it the city of God!

Primitively, the Christian Church is known to have been only the basilica of the Roman tribunal.

ment of which results the harmony of the whole, and which would be nothing except as a whole, and without which there would be no whole,—the hugest Hindoo temples are formed by the junction, and so to speak, by the addition of parts all identical with each other, and which might remain independent of the edifice to which they belong, because they are so many reproductions of all its proportions, so many copies of it in little. Each monument, therefore, is the total, *it* may so express myself, of a greater or lesser number of other monuments of similar construction, though of different dimensions, so that their junction forms, not a whole, but an aggregation, in every respect conformable to each of its component parts. This character, which, perhaps, has not attracted sufficient notice, recurs in the smallest details of Indian sculpture, for instance, in the singular statues of their divinities, which the artist purposely loads with the same attributes a thousand times repeated. Without entering into the question here, how far the Hindoos may have been indebted for their architectural system to the natural scenery around them, or to the original, if not always just ideas that prevail throughout their religious system, we must confess that it is impossible not to be struck with this character on looking at these drawings of Mr. Daniel's."

The Church takes possession of the very prætorium in which Rome pronounced her condemnation. The divine invades the juridical city. Here the pleader is the priest; the prætor, God. The tribunal is enlarged, is rounded, and forms the choir. Like the Roman city, this church is still restricted, and exclusive; it does not open to all. It envelops itself in mystery, and requires initiation. It still loves the darkness of the catacombs in which it was born, and hollows out vast crypts, which recall to it its cradle. The catechumens are not admitted within the sacred inclosure; they still wait at the door. The baptistery is without, without is the cemetery; the tower itself, the organ and voice of the church, rises at its side. The heavy Roman arcade seals with its weight the subterranean church, buried in its mysteries. Things go on thus as long as Christianity has to struggle, as long as the storm of invasions lasts, as long as the world has no belief in its duration,—but when the fatal era of the year 1000 is past, when the ecclesiastical hierarchy has conquered the world, and it is completed, crowned, and closed in by the pope; when Christendom, enlisted in the army of the crusade, has become conscious of its unity,—then the church casts off her narrow vestments, waxes large as if to embrace the whole world, issues forth from her darksome crypts, soars upwards, elevates her vaulted roofs, raises them in bold ridges, and in the Roman arcade the oriental ogive once more appears.

The Roman hierarchy heaped arcade upon arcade, the sacerdotal heaps ogive on ogive, pyramid on pyramid, temple on temple, city on city. Here the temple, nay the city itself, enters but as an element. The Christian world contains all preceding worlds; the Christian temple all temples. The Greek column is there, but dilated to colossal size, and exfoliated into a sheaf of gigantic pillars. There, too, is the Roman arch, at once more solid and bolder*. In the spire reappears the Egyptian obelisk, but raised on a temple. The figures of angels and of prophets, standing on the counterforts, seem to cry out to the four quarters of heaven the summons to prayer, like the innum on the minarets: whilst the arched buttresses, which rise to the roofing of the nave†, with their light balustrades, their radiant wheels, their denticulated bridges, seem Jacob's ladders,

* Arched ceilings are apt to sink in at the crown.—Gothic ceilings are hardly ever built of free-stone, but of small stones mixed with a great quantity of mortar; and in several churches the ceiling is not more than six inches thick. The roof of *Nôtre-Dame* at Paris is only three or four, and the frame or *forêt* passes above the ceiling, and rests solely on the lateral walls. It is covered with a leaden tiling of forty-two thousand two hundred and forty pounds weight, formerly surmounted by a handsome steeple one hundred and four feet high.—Gilbert, *Description de Nôtre-Dame de Paris*.

† It was in the twelfth century (the first period of the primitive ogival style) that buttresses were first projected from the walls; in the eleventh century, they used to be hidden under the roofing of the wings.—Next, the counterforts were raised like towers above the roofing of the wings, and were crowned with small steeples. Niches were hollowed in the right feet of the counterforts; the arcades were denticulated, and were pierced with trefoils and roses. Caumont, t. ii. p. 258. See, also, the magnificent plates in Boissere's work, *Description de la Cathédrale de Cologne*.

or that sharp bridge of the Persians, over which the souls of the departed are obliged to cross the abyss, at the risk of losing their balance under the weight of their sins.

Behold this prodigious pile, this work of Ence-ladus. To rear these rocks, four, five hundred feet in the air*, giants must have sweated,—Ossa on Pelion, Olympus on Ossa,—but no, it is no work of giants, no confused mass of enormous materials, no inorganic aggregation,—something stronger has been at work than the arm of the Titans.—What? The breath of the Spirit; that light breath which passed before the face of Daniel, carrying away kingdoms and dashing empires to pieces, is what has swelled these roofs and wafted these towers to the sky. It has animated all the parts of this vast body with a powerful and harmonious existence, and has drawn out of a grain of mustard-seed the vegetation of this marvellous tree. The Spirit is the builder of its own dwelling. See, how it labours out the human figure in which it is enclosed, how it stamps its physiognomy, how it forms and de-forms its features; how it sinks the eye with meditation, worldly trials, and griefs; how it ploughs the forehead with wrinkles and with thoughts; how it bends and curves the very bones, the powerful frame-work of the body, to the motions of the life within. In like manner, the Spirit was the architect of its own stony covering, and fashioned it to its own use, traced on it, without and within, the diversity of its own thoughts, told its history upon it, took care not to leave unchron-icled one hour of the long life which it had lived, and engraved upon it all its remembrances, all its hopes, all its regrets, all its loves. To this cold stone it transferred the dreams and cherished thoughts of its existence. After it had once escaped from the catacombs, from the sacred crypt in which the pagan world had detained it†, it reared this crypt to the sky. The more deeply it had sunk, the higher did it rise. The glittering spire escaped like the deep sigh of a chest oppress-ed for a thousand years. And so powerful was the respiration, so strongly did the heart of the human race beat, that it revealed itself in every part of its stony covering, which shone with love to meet God's looks. Regard the contracted but deep orbit of the Gothic window, of that *ogival eye*‡ when it endeavours to open itself in the

* This height would seem to be the ideal to which German architecture aspired. Thus, according to the plans, which are still extant, the towers of Cologne cathedral were designed to be five hundred German feet high; the spire of Strasburg is five hundred Strasburg feet high. Fiorillo, *Geschichte der Zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland*, t. i. p. 411.

† There is hardly an instance of a crypt after the twelfth century. Caumont, *Antiquités Monumentales*, t. ii. p. 123. It was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the great impulse was given to ogival architecture.—The largest crypt in France is that of the cathedral of Chartres. See Gilbert, *Notice Historique et Descriptive sur Nôtre-Dame de Chartres*, p. 76.

‡ The root of the word *ogive* is the German *aug*, "eye;" its curvilinear angles are like the corners of the eye. Gilbert, *Description de Nôtre-Dame de Paris*, p. 56.—In the primitive ogival architecture, the windows were long and narrow; they are styled by the English antiquaries, *lancet*. Two lancet windows are often joined and framed in one principal arch. Between the tops of these double lancet windows, and that of the principal arch, remains a space in

twelfth century,—this eye of the Gothic window is the distinguishing sign of the new architecture*. Ancient art, worshipper of matter, was distinguished by the material support of the temple, by the column—whether Tuscan, Doric, or Ionic. The principle of modern art, child of the soul and of the spirit, is not form, but the physiognomy, the eye; not the column, but the window; not the full, but the void. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the window, buried in the depth of walls, like the solitary of the Thebaid in his granite cell, is wholly to itself; it meditates and dreams. By degrees, it advances from within to without, till it reaches the external superficies of the wall. It radiates in beautiful mystic roses, all triumphant with celestial glory. But hardly is the fourteenth century past, than the roses alter, and change into burning shapes,—are they flames, hearts, or tears? Perhaps all three at once.

A similar progress is observable in the progressive enlargement of the Church. The spirit, whatever it does, is ever ill at ease in its dwelling, which it vainly seeks to extend†, vary, and adorn. It cannot rest there: it is stifled. No, beautiful as you are, marvellous cathedral, with your towers, your saints, your flowers of stones, your forests of marble, your great Christs, with their glories of gold, you cannot contain me. Round the Church must be built little churches: it must be radiant with chapels‡. Beyond the altar must be reared another altar, a sanctuary behind the sanctuary; behind the choir we must conceal the chapel of the Virgin—there we shall breathe better, there will be woman's knees for man to lay his fainting head on, a voluptuous repose beyond the cross, love beyond death. . . . But still, how small is this chapel, how repressive the walls!—Will the sanctuary, then, have to escape from the sanctuary, and the arch have to be replaced by tents and the dome of the sky?

The miracle is, that this impassioned vegetation of the spirit, which must, one would think, have thrown out at random its capriciously luxurious phantasies, should be developed under a regular law. It subdued its exuberant fecundity to the number and rhythm of adivine geometry: geometry and art, the true and the beautiful, met. It is thus that in later times it has been calculated, that the truest curve for the construction of a solid vault, was exactly that which Michel-Angelo had chosen as the most beautiful for the dome of St. Peter.

This geometry of beauty burst brilliantly forth in the type of Gothic architecture, in the cathedral of Cologne§; it is a regular body which has grown

which a trefoil, quatre-foil, or small rose is usually inserted. Caumont, p. 251.

* It is, at least, the chief element of classification which our Norman antiquaries have conceived that they have established, after a comparison of more than twelve hundred churches of different ages. The glory of having given a scientific principle to the history of Gothic art, belongs to the province which contains the greatest number of monuments of the kind. At the head of our Norman antiquaries I must mention MM. Auguste Prévost and de Caumont.

† In the thirteenth century, the choir became longer than before, in comparison with the nave. The collateral naves were prolonged round the sanctuary, and were always bordered with chapels. Caumont, p. 36.

‡ This was the mode of construction in general use in the eleventh century. Ibid. p. 122.

§ The masters of this city have built many other churches.

in the proportion proper to it, with the regularity of crystals. The cross of this normal church is strictly deduced from the figure by which Euclid constructs the equilateral triangle*. This triangle, the principle of the normal ogive, may be inscribed within the arcs of the arches, or vaults; and it thus keeps the ogive equally removed from the unseemly meagreness of the sharp-pointed windows of the north, and from the heavy flatness of the Byzantine arcades. The numbers, ten and twelve, with their subdivisors and multiples, are the guiding measures of the whole edifice. Ten is the human number, that of the fingers; twelve, the divine, the astronomical number—add seven to these, in honour of the seven planets. In the towers†, and throughout the building, the inferior parts are modelled on the square, and are subdivided into the octagon; the superior, modelled on the triangle, exfoliate into the hexagon and the dodecagon‡. The column presents the proportions of the Doric order in the relation of its diameter to its height§; and its height, in conformity with the principle laid down by Vitruvius and Pliny, is equal to the width of the arcade. Thus, the traditions of antiquity are preserved in this type of Gothic architecture.

The arcade, thrown from one pillar to another, is fifty feet wide. This number is repeated throughout the building, and is the measure of the height of the columns. The side aisles are half the width of the arcade; the façade is thrice its width. The entire length of the edifice is thrice its entire breadth; or, in other words, is nine times the width of the arcade. The breadth of the whole church is equal to the length of the choir and of the nave||, and to the height of the middle of the roof¶. The length is to the height as 2 to 5.

John Hiltz of Cologne continued the steeple of Strasburg.—John of Cologne, in 1369, built the two churches of Campen, on the borders of the Zuider-zee, after the plan of Cologne cathedral.—That of Prague is built on the same plan.—That of Metz is very much the same.—In 1442, the bishop of Burgos brought two stone-cutters from Cologne, to finish the towers of his cathedral. They made the spires on the plan of that of Cologne.—It was artists from Cologne who built Notre-Dame de l'Épine at Châlons-sur-Marne Boissérée, p. 15.

* We are indebted for this observation, and, generally, for all the following details, to the description of Cologne cathedral by Boissérée (in French and German), 1823.

† The metropolitan churches had towers; the inferior churches, only bellfries. Thus the hierarchy was maintained even in the external form of the church.

‡ In addition, the choir is terminated by five sides of a dodecagon, and each chapel by three sides of an octagon.

§ The relation is that of 1 to 6, and of 1 to 7.

|| The porch, the square of the transept, and the chapels with the side aisle that separates them from the choir, are each equal to the width of the principal arcade, and are together equal to the extreme width of the edifice. The width of the transept or cross-aisle, compared with its extreme length, is in the proportion of 2 to 5, and compared with the width of the choir and nave, is in that of 2 to 3.

¶ The height of the lateral vaults is equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the extreme breadth; that is, twice 120 or 60 feet.—The extreme

width of the central vault is, to the height, in the proportion of 2 to 7, and that of the lateral vault, in the proportion of 1 to 3.—Externally, the extreme breadth of the church is equal to the extreme height. The length is to the height in the proportion of 2 to 5. The same proportion exists between the height of each story, and that of the entire building.

Finally, the arcade and the side-aisles are repeated externally, in the counterforts and buttresses which support the edifice. Seven, the number of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and of the sacraments, is the number of the chapels of the choir; and twice seven, that of the columns by which it is supported.

This predilection for mystical numbers occurs in all the churches. The cathedral of Reims has seven entrances, and both it and the cathedral of Chartres have seven chapels round the choir*. The choir of Notre-Dame at Paris has seven arcades. The cross-aisle is 144 feet long (16 times 9) and 42 feet wide (6 times 7)—which is likewise the width of one of the towers, and the diameter of one of the large roses. The towers of Notre-Dame are 204 feet high (17 times 12). It has 297 columns ($297 : 3 = 99$, which divided by $3 = 33$, which, too, divided by $3 = 11$) and 45 chapels (5×9). The belfry, which rose above the cross-aisle, was 104 feet high, the same height as the chief arch of the roof. The church of Notre-Dame at Reims is 408 long in the clear ($408 : 2$ gives 204, the height of the towers of Notre-Dame at Paris; $204 : 17 = 12$)†. The church of Notre-Dame at Chartres is 396 feet long ($396 : 6 = 66$, which, divided by $2 = 33 = 3 \times 11$). The naves of St. Ouen at Rouen, and of the cathedrals of Strasbourg and of Chartres, are all three of equal length (244 feet). The Sainte-Chapelle at Paris is 110 feet high ($110 : 10 = 11$), 110 feet long, and 27 feet (the third power of 3) wide.

To whom belonged this science of numbers, this divine mathematics?—To no mortal man did it belong, but to the Church of God. Under the shadow of the Church, in chapters and in monasteries, the secret was transmitted together with instruction in the mysteries of Christianity‡. The Church alone could accomplish these miracles of architecture. She would often summon a whole people to complete a monument. A hundred thousand men laboured at once on that of Strasbourg§, and

such was their zeal, that they did not suffer night to interrupt their work, but continued it by torch-light. Often, too, the Church would lavish centuries on the slow accomplishment of a perfect work. Renaud de Montauban bore stones for the building of Cologne cathedral, and to this day it is in process of erection*. Such patient strength was all-triumphant.

No doubt, affinities with Gothic art may be traced at Byzantium, in Persia, or in Spain. But what does this matter? It belongs to that spot in which it has struck deepest root, and has most closely approached its ideal. Our Norman cathedrals are singularly numerous, beautiful, and varied; their daughters of England are marvellously rich, and delicately and subtly wrought. But the mystic genius seems more strongly stamped on the German Churches. The land there was well prepared; the soil expressly fitted to bear the flowers of Christ. Nowhere have man and nature—that brother and sister—disported under the Father's eye with a purer and more infantile love. The German mind has attached itself with simple faith to the flowers, trees, and beautiful mountains of God, and has reared out of them, in its simplicity, miracles of art, just as on the anniversary of the Nativity they arrange the beautiful Christmas tree, hung all over with garlands, ribands, and little lamps, to delight the hearts of their children. Here the middle age brought forth golden souls, who have passed away unknown and unnoticed, fair souls, at once puerile and profound, who have hardly entertained the idea that they belonged to time, who have never quitted the bosom of eternity, and have suffered the world to flow on before them without seeing in its stormy waves any other colour than

Histoire de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg; and Fiorillo, Gesch. der Zeich. Künste in Deutschland, t. i. p. 350, sqq.

* The vaulting of the choir alone is finished; it is two hundred feet high. M. Boisserée has subjoined to his description of this cathedral a project for its restoration and completion, based on the original plans of the designers, which were discovered a few years since by a lucky accident. See, also, Fiorillo, t. i. p. 389—423.

(The completion of this cathedral is going on rapidly under the auspices of the present king of Prussia.—The following is from the Athenæum of Feb. 18th, of the present year, 1845.—“The model of the pulpit intended for the cathedral of Cologne is exhibiting at Berlin, and astonishing the public by its beauty and magnificence. The pedestal is a bundle of columns, about two feet in height, imitating in their clustering the huge pillars which sustain the building. These are terminated by a capital of acanthus leaves and scrolls artistically disposed, out of which spring a system of ribs that embrace the pulpit, developing themselves in exact resemblance to those which climb towards the key-stones of the vault. Bas-reliefs, and niches containing the figures of the benefactors of the cathedral, or saints more especially revered by the diocese, constitute the principal decoration of the monument. At its base is the archbishop Conrad of Hochstaden, and higher up, surrounding the pulpit, the twelve Apostles, and our Saviour bearing the banner of the redemption, and blessing his disciples. The canopies, beneath which these figures stand, form so many little steeples of florid workmanship, in whose upper portions are sculptured the arms of the principal German cities. The pulpit is covered by a sounding-board, on which sit the four Evangelists, with their recognized attributes. Over them, in a carved niche, is the Holy Virgin; and the cupola is closed in by a crown of flowers, on which sculpture has lavished its resources. The pulpit is ascended by a spiral staircase, winding round the pillar before-mentioned.”) TRANSLATOR.

* See Povillon-Piérard, Descript. de Notre-Dame de Reims; Gilbert, Descript. de Chartres.

† Its length, externally, is 438 feet, 8 inches; 438 is divisible by 3, by 2, by 4 (?), by 12 (?): divided by 12, it gives 365, 5 (?)—the number of the days of the year, plus a fraction, which is a step further in exactness.—It has 36 exterior and 34 interior buttresses.—The central arcade is 35 feet wide; it has 35 statues, and 21 lateral arcades.

‡ There is a tradition that the most illustrious bishops of the middle age were architects and builders. It was Lanfranc who built the magnificent church of St. Etienne-de-Caen.—According to a tradition that we have noticed above, Thomas Becket built a church during his exile, &c. (See p. 109.)—Each of the ten abbots, successors of Marcargent, was master of the works of St. Ouen. An archdeacon of Paris constructed all Simon de Montfort's machines of war. In the fourteenth century, William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, built Windsor for Edward III. See Bayle, at the word, Wickham.—In 1497, a carmelite of Verona rebuilt the bridge Notre-Dame at Paris, after it had fallen in. Corrozet, Antiquités de Paris, 1586, p. 156, &c. &c.—Under the first and second race, up to the time of Philip-Augustus, there was not a single artist but belonged to the priesthood.—No one has better drawn the line of demarcation between the sacerdotal and the following epochs than M. Magnin, in an article (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1832) on the statue of queen Nantechilde, and in another article on the origin of theatrical representations (Dec. 1834).

§ See Grandidier, Essai sur la Cathédrale de Strasbourg,

heaven's own azure. What were their names? Who can tell them? . . . All that is known is, that they were of that obscure and vast association which has spread in every direction. They had their lodges at Cologne and at Strasbourg*. Their sign, as ancient as Germany herself, was the hammer of Thor. With the pagan hammer, sanctified in their Christian hands, they continued through the world the great work of the new temple, a renewal of the temple of Solomon. With what care they worked, obscure as they were, and lost in the general body, can only be learnt by examining the most out of the way and inaccessible parts of the cathedrals which they built. Ascend to those aerial deserts, to the last points of the spires, where the slater only mounts in fear and trembling, you will often find—left to God's eye alone and visited but by the ever-blowing wind—some delicately executed piece of workmanship, some masterpiece of art and of sculpture, in carving which the pious workman has consumed his life. Not a name is on it, not a mark, not a letter; he would have thought it, so much taken from the glory of God. He has worked for God only, for the health of his soul. One name, however, which they have preserved with a graceful preference, is that of a virgin who wrought for Nôtre-Dame of Strasbourg; part of the sculpture which crowns its prodigious spire was placed there by her weak hand†. So, in the legend, the

* ("During the crusades, another circumstance took place, which also contributed much to the perfection of their ecclesiastical buildings. Some Greek refugees, Italians, French, German, and Flemings, united into a fraternity of builders, and procured papal bulls and particular privileges. They assumed the name of free-masons, and travelled from one nation to another, where their services were required. Their government was regular. Adjacent to the building which was to be erected, they constructed a camp of huts; a surveyor governed in chief, and every tenth man, called a warden, overlooked nine. (Wren's *Parentalia*.) This establishment, similar to the Dionysiacs of Ionia, upon whose model it was probably formed by the Greek refugees, was the means of creating great dexterity in the workmen, and of making the surveyors become perfectly well acquainted with every circumstance which related to the plans and decorations. From the different national styles which were formed and closely adhered to, it is probable that the ecclesiastics furnished the designs; because if the surveyors had done so, the same plans would have been repeated in the several countries where they were employed. Still it was of the first importance, to have men who understood plans, and workmen who were familiar with all the minutæ of execution." Civil Architecture, in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia.) TRANSLATOR.

† Sabina of Steinbach, who began the towers in 1277, together with Erwin of Steinbach. They were to have been five hundred and ninety-four feet high. Fiorillo, t. i. p. 356. Some other names of German architects have been handed down; but this does not invalidate the general truth of my assertion.—In France, art begins to individualise itself, and monuments to bear the sculptors' names, only with the thirteenth century. It is at this period we find Ingelram directing the works of Nôtre Dame de Rouen, and building the monastery of Bec (A.D. 1214); Robert de Lusarche built, in 1220, the cathedral of Amiens; Pierre de Montereau, the abbey of Longpont, in 1227; Hugues Lebergier, the church of St. Nicaise of Reims, in 1229; Jean Chelle, the south lateral front of Nôtre-Dame, 1257, &c.—See M. Magnin's ingenious article on the Revolution of Art in the Middle Age, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1832; and, in *La Revue du Progrès Social*, August, 1834, a report of M. Didron's to the Minister for Public Instruction, in which will be found numerous observations founded on personal

rock which man's combined efforts could not move, rolls at the touch of a child's foot*.

St. Catherine, the patron saint of the *masons*, who is seen with her geometric wheel, her mysterious rose, on the ground-floor of Cologne cathedral, is also a virgin. Another virgin, St. Barbe, likewise rests there on her tower, pierced by a trinity of windows. All these humble *masons* worked for the Virgin. Their cathedrals, reared with difficulty a toise's height in a generation, address their mystic towers to her. She alone is conscious how much of human life, of secret devotion, how many sighs of love, how many prayers were there exhausted—*O mater Dei!*

Offspring of the free impulse of mysticism, the Gothic, as has been said without any knowledge of the reason, is the free style. I say free, and not arbitrary. If it had adhered to the beautiful type of Cologne, if it had remained bound by the laws of geometric harmony, it would have perished of languor. In other parts of Germany, and in France and England, being less guided by rule and by religious idealism, it has been more susceptible of the varied imprint of history. In the same manner as the German law, transported into France, loses its symbolical character, and acquires one more *real*, more historical, more variable, and more capable of successive abstractions; so Gothic art loses some of its divinity there, in order to represent, together with the religious idea, all the variety of real events, of men, and of times. German art, more impersonal, has seldom given the names of the artists, whereas our artists have signalized their eager personality in our churches—and their names are read on the walls of Nôtre-Dame at Paris, on the tombs of Rouen†, on the tumular stones and meanders of the church of Reims‡. A restless craving for name and glory, and rival efforts, spurred on these artists to desperate acts. At Caen and at Rouen, we find over again the story of Dædalus' envious murder of his nephew. In a church in the last-named city, you see on one and the same monument the hostile and threatening figures of Alexandre de Berneval and of his

experience, and a bibliography of the History of Art in France.

* This is the legend of Mont St. Michel.

† On a tombstone, in the church of St. Ouen, is the following inscription—*Hic jacet frater Johannes Marcargent, alias Roussel, quondam abbas istius monasterii, qui incepit istam ecclesiam edificare de novo, et fecit chorum, et capellam, et pillaria turris, et magnam partem crucis monasterii antedicti.* (Here is buried brother John Marcargent, otherwise named Roussel, formerly abbot of this monastery, who began the rebuilding of this church, and built the choir, the chapels, the pillars of the tower, and a great part of the cross of the aforesaid monastery.) Gilbert, *Description de l'Eglise de Saint Ouen*. p. 18.—This Marcargent was abbot from 1303 to 1339. But the cross-aisle, with its tower, was not finished till the beginning of the sixteenth century. *Id. ibid.*

‡ In many churches, as for instance, in those of Chartres and Reims, was a spiral of mosaic, or labyrinth, or *dædalus*, placed in the centre of the cross-aisle. Pilgrimages were made to these spots; which were supposed to image the interior of the temple of Jerusalem. The labyrinth of Reims bore the name of the four architects of the church. Pavillon-Piéard, *Description de Nôtre-Dame de Reims*.—That of Chartres is called the *Lieu*; it is seven hundred and sixty-eight feet in length. Gilbert, *Description de Nôtre-Dame de Chartres*, p. 44.

pupil, whom he stabbed; their dogs, couchant at their feet, threaten each other as well; and the ill-starred youth, in all the sadness of an unfulfilled destiny, wears on his bosom the incomparable rose in which he had the misfortune to surpass his master*.

How reckon our beautiful churches of the thirteenth century? I would at least speak of *Nôtre-Dame de Paris*†; but there is one who has laid such a lion's paw on this monument, as to deter all others from touching it: henceforward, it is his, his fief, the entailed estate of *Quasimodo*—by the side of the ancient cathedral he has reared another cathedral of poetry as firm as its foundations, as lofty as its towers‡. Were I to turn to the consideration of this church, it would be as to a history, as to the great register of the destinies of the monarchy. Its front, formerly covered with the images of all the kings of France, is the work of *Philippe-Auguste*; the south-east front, that of *St. Louis*§; the northern, that of *Philippe-le-Bel*||: the latter was built out of the spoil of the *Templars*, no doubt to ward off the curse of *Jacques Molay*¶. On the red door of this funeral front is the monument of *Jean-sans-Peur* (John the Fearless)**; the assassin of the duke of Orleans. The great and heavy church, covered with *fleurs-de-lis*, appears rather to history than religion. There is in it little of the soaring, little of that ascending movement, so striking in the churches of *Strasbourg* and *Cologne*. The longitudinal bands, intersecting *Nôtre-Dame de Paris*, arrest the upward flight: they are as the lines of a book, and narrate instead of praying.

Nôtre-Dame de Paris is the church of the monarchy; *Nôtre-Dame de Reims* that of the coronation. Contrary to what is the case with most cathedrals, the latter is finished—rich, transparent, bridling up in its colossal coquetry, it seems to be expecting a fête: it is but the sadder for it; the fête returns not. Charged and surcharged with sculpture, and covered more than any other church with the emblems of the priesthood, it symbolises the union of the king with the priest. Devils gambol on the external balustrades of the cross-aisle, slide down the rapid descents, and make mouths at the town, whilst the people are pilloried at the foot of the *Clocher-à l'Ange* (the Angel's Tower).

* About the beginning of the fifteenth century *Berneval* finished the cross-aisle of *St. Ouen*, and constructed in 1439 the southern rose window. His pupil executed that of the north, and excelled him. *Berneval* slew him, and was hung. D. Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Ouen*, &c., p. 196.—Cardinal Cibo, Leo the Tenth's nephew, and abbot of *St. Ouen*, erected the principal facade, in 1515, at his own expense.—Gilbert, *Description de Saint Ouen*, p. 23.

† Alexander III. laid the first stone of this church, in 1163. The principal front was finished, at the latest, in 1223. The nave, also, belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

‡ (The author's allusion is to *Victor Hugo's* romance of *Nôtre-Dame*.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Begun in 1257.

|| Begun in 1312 or in 1313.

¶ He was burnt in the *Parvis Nôtre-Dame*. The bishop's gallows was in the *Parvis*; it was destroyed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was replaced, in 1767, by an iron collar, fixed to a post. All the itinerary distances of France (as the English would say, mile-stones) were calculated from this post: it was pulled down in 1790. Gilbert, *Description de Nôtre-Dame de Paris*.

** 1404—1419.

St. Denys is the church of tombs; not a sombre and saddening pagan necropolis, but glorious and triumphant,—resplendent with faith and hope, large and without shade, like the soul of *St. Louis* who built it; simple without, beautiful within; soaring and light, as if to weigh less on the dead. The nave rises to the choir by a staircase, which seems to expect the procession of generations which have to mount and descend with the spoil of kings.

At the epoch at which we have now arrived, Gothic architecture had attained the fulness of its growth; it was in the severe beauty of virginity—a brief adorable moment, which can last with nothing here below. To the moment of pure beauty, succeeds another which we also know full well. It is that second youth, when we have felt the weight of life, when the knowledge of good and evil displays itself in a sad smile; when a penetrating look escapes from the long eyelids,—one cannot then plunge too deeply into pleasures to cheat the troubles of the heart. It is the time for indulging in dress and in rich ornaments. Such was the second age of the Gothic church. She was charmingly coquettish in her apparel—displaying rich windows, capped with imposing triangles*, beautiful tabernacles appended to the door and the towers, like sets of brilliants, a fine and transparent lace of stone-work, spun by fairies' distaffs: thus she went on more and more ornate and triumphant, in proportion as the evil gained ground within. Vain are your efforts, suffering beauty, the bracelet hangs loosely on a fading arm. You know but too well that your own thoughts burn you up, and that you sicken through the impotence of your love.

Art sunk daily deeper into this emaciation: warred furiously upon the stone, waxed wroth at it, as if it had dried up her source of life, hollowed, dug into, thinned, refined upon it. Architecture became the handmaid of logic; she divided and subdivided. Her process was *Aristotelic*; her method, that of *St. Thomas*. She raised as it were a series of syllogisms of stones, which were never concluded. A feeling of coldness has been observed in these refinements of Gothic art, in the subtleties of scholastic philosophy, and in the scholastic of love of the troubadours and of *Petrarch*. It is to betray ignorance of what passionate devotion means, of its ingenuity and obstinacy, of the subtlety and acuteness with which it madly pursues its ends. Thirsting for the infinite, of whose fugitive light it has had a glimpse, it gifts the senses with an extraordinary distinctness, and becomes a magnifying-glass that distinguishes and exaggerates the smallest details. It pursues the infinite in the imperceptible air-bubble in which floats a ray of heaven, seeks it in the thickness of a fine fair hair, in the last fibre of a quivering heart. Divide, divide, sharp scalpel,—thou mayst pierce, tear, split the hair and cut the atom, thou wilt not find thy God there.

Pushing on further each day this ardent pursuit, that which man found was man himself. The human and natural part of Christianity was more and more developed, and invaded the church. Gothic vegetation, wearied of climbing in vain, laid

* These triangles are the favourite ornament of the fourteenth century, when they were added to many doors and casements of the thirteenth; for instance, those of *Nôtre-Dame de Paris*.

itself down upon the ground, and gave out its flowers. What flowers! images of man, painted and sculptured representations of Christianity, saints, and apostles. Painting and sculpture, the material arts which call the finite into a second existence, gradually stifled architecture; the latter, an abstract art, infinite, silent, could not make head against its more lively and talkative sisters. The human figure varied and peopled the holy nudity of the walls. Under pious pretences man placed his own image every where—either as Christ, apostle, or prophet, and then, in his own name, humbly couched on tombs. Who could have refused the asylum of the temple to these poor defunct? At first they were content with a simple flagstone, on which the likeness was carved. Then the flagstone rose, the tomb swelled out, the likeness became a statue. Next, the tomb rose into a mausoleum, a funeral pomp of stones that filled the church,—what say I? it was a chapel, a church of itself. God, with his house narrowed, was happy to keep a chapel for Himself. Man had enthroned himself in the Christian Church; what remained to the latter, except to relapse into paganism, and resume the form of the Hellenic temple?

Architecture rests on two ideas: the natural, or the idea of order; the supernatural, or that of the infinite. In Greek art, order directs and guides the natural and rational idea. The strong Greek column, elegantly grouped, bears at its ease a light pediment,—the weak rests on the strong; this is logical and human. Gothic art is supernatural, superhuman. It is born of the belief in the miraculous and poetic, up to absurdity: I speak not in scorn, but after the words of St. Augustine, "*Credo, quia absurdum.*" The divine house, inasmuch as it is divine, needs not strong columns: should it accept material support, it is in pure condescension; the breath of God were all it required. If possible, it will do without any supports of the kind. It will delight in rearing enormous masses on slender

* Painting on glass begins with the eleventh century (from Nero's time the Romans made use of coloured glass, the blue by choice). A fine red is the commonest in old casements; so that "Wine, the colour of the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle," became a proverb. The windows of this church belong to the first age; those of St. Gervais to the second and third: they are from the hands of Vinaigrier and of Jean Cousin. In the second age, the figures, becoming gigantic, are cut by the squares of glass. The beautiful stained glass of the large windows of Cologne cathedral belong to this period: they bear the date of 1509, the apogee of the German school, and are treated in a monumental and symmetrical style.—Angelico da Fiesole is the master of painters on glass—and the names of William of Cologne, and Jacques Allemand, are still held in honour. John of Bruges was the inventor of the second coating of colour.—The Reformation reduced the practice of the art in Germany to purely heraldic uses. In Switzerland, it flourished till the year 1700. France had acquired so great a reputation in this art, that Julius II. invited William of Marseilles to Rome, to decorate the windows of the Vatican. When the Italian school began to prevail, the desire of harmony and of chiar oscuro led to the introduction of cameo into the windows of Anet and of Ecouen: it is Protestantism entering into painting. In Flanders, the epoch of the great colourists (Rubens, &c.) brought with it a distaste for painting on glass. See in the *Revue Française* an extract from M. Brogniart's report to the Academy of Sciences on painting on glass; see, also, M. Langlois' account of the stained windows of Rouen cathedral, and M. Caumont's forthcoming work on painting in the middle age.

pillars. The miracle is clear. This is the vital principle of Gothic architecture: it is the architecture of the miraculous. But it is, likewise, its principle of death. This human miracle imperfectly fulfils the condition of the miraculous. The idea of the miraculous is that of an instantaneous act, of a *fiat*, of a sudden assistance granted to the necessities of mankind; it is then sublime. A regular miracle, like the course of the sun, becomes common and unnoticed. An immovable, petrified miracle, proceeding from no urgent necessity, strikes as an absurdity. Love loves to believe in the absurd; it is an act of devotion, or self-identification the more. But the day that love shall fail, the singularity and fantasticalness of the forms its object has assumed, will be felt at leisure, and the sentiment of the beautiful will be shocked, as well as the logical sense*.

If it is of the essence of art to be disinterested, to be "its own exceeding great reward;" Gothic art is less art than Greek. The latter seeks the beautiful, and nothing beyond; it is a young art, which is satisfied with the form. The Gothic seeks the good and holy, and uses art as a means of religion, as a moral power. Art, in the service of a religion of death, of a morality which prescribes the annihilation of the flesh, must necessarily meet and cherish the ugly. *Voluntary ugliness is a sacrifice, natural ugliness an occasion of humility.* Penitence is ugly, vice uglier. The god of sin, the hideous dragon, the devil, is in the church, conquered and humbled, indeed, but still there. The Greek style often renders the brute divine; the lions of Rome, the coursers of the Parthenon, are remains of gods. The Gothic reduces man to beast, that he may blush for himself before he is made divine. Such is Christian ugliness—where is Christian beauty? It is in that tragic image of maceration and of grief, in that pathetic look, in those arms opened to embrace the world—fearful beauty, adorable ugliness, which our old painters did not shrink from presenting to the sanctified soul. Must there a time come when man will seek aught else, when he will prefer the graces of life to the sublime of death, when he will quibble about forms with a God who died for him?

Throughout Gothic art, whether sculpture or architecture, there was, it must be confessed, something complex, aged, and painful. The enormous mass of the church rests on innumerable counterforts, and is laboriously raised up and supported, like Christ on the cross. It is fatiguing to see it surrounded with countless props, which give the idea of an old house threatening to fall, or of an unfinished building.

Yes, the house threatened to fall; it could not be finished.* Gothic art, assailable with regard to its form, failed as well in its social principle. The social state in which it took its birth, was too unequal and too unjust. *The sway of caste, weakened as it was by Christianity, was still in vigour.* The Church, which sprang out of the people, was early in fear of the people, kept herself at a distance from them, contracted an alliance with her old enemy—feudalism, and then with monarchy on its

* Architecture sank from poetry to romance, from the marvellous to the absurd, when, in the fifteenth century, it adopted tail-pieces, and pyramidal forms reversed their spires. See those of St. Pierre de Caen, which seem on the point of crushing you.

triumph over feudalism. She took an interest in the lamentable victories of the monarchy over the communes, which, in their infancy, she had aided. At the foot of one of the belfries of the cathedral of Reims are representations of citizens of the fifteenth century, punished for having resisted the imposition of a tax *—representations which are a stigma on the church herself. The voice of these unfortunates rose to heaven with the hymns. Did God receive such homage willingly? I know not; but, methinks, churches built by forced labour, raised out of the tithes of a famished people, all blazoned with the pride of bishops and of lords, all filled with their insolent tombs, must have daily pleased Him less. These stones had cost too many tears.

The middle age could not suffice the wants of mankind. It could not support its proud pretensions to be the last expression of the world—the consummation. The temple was to be enlarged. The divine embrace which the extended arms of Christ promised to mankind, was to be realized; and this embrace was to work the marvel of love—the identification of the object loving with the object loved. Humanity had to recognise Christ in itself; to feel in itself the perpetuation of the Incarnation and the Passion, which it had remarked in Job and Joseph, and rediscovered in the martyrs. This mystic intuition of an everlasting Christ, unceasingly renewed in human kind, may be everywhere detected in the middle age,—confused, it is true, and obscure, but daily acquiring a new degree of clearness, and spontaneous and popular, foreign from, and often contrary to, the influence of the Church. The people, whilst all obedient to the priest, clearly distinguish apart from the priest, the Holy One, the Christ of God; and from age to age, cultivate, raise and purify this ideal into an historical reality. This Christ of meekness and of patience is made manifest in Louis-le-Débonnaire, spat upon by the bishops; in the good king Robert, excommunicated by the pope; in Godfrey of Bouillon, a man of war and a Ghibeline, but who dies in the odour of chastity at Jerusalem, a simple baron of the Holy Sepulchre. This ideal grows greater still in St. Thomas of Canterbury, deserted by the Church, and dying for her; and attains a new

degree of purity in St. Louis, king-priest and king-man. Presently the ideal, generalized, will reach the people, and in the fifteenth century it will be realized not only in the man of the people, but in the woman—in the pure woman, in the Virgin; let us call her by her popular name, the Pucelle (the maid who has not known man). She, in whom the people dies for the people, will be the last visible representation of Christ to the middle age.

This transfiguration of the human race—who recognized the image of God in themselves, who generalized that which had been individual, who chained to an everlasting present that which had been supposed temporary and past, who made a heaven upon earth—was the redemption of the modern world; but it seemed to be the death of Christianity and of Christian art. Satan let loose on the unfinished Church a burst of loud and witheringly derisive laughter—and the laugh is still visible in the grotesque figures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He thought that he had conquered. Never has the insensate learnt that his apparent triumph is ever but a means towards a greater end. He does not see that God is not the less God for having made himself mankind; that the temple is not destroyed because it has become as large as the world. He does not see that through having become immovable, divine art is not dead, but only gathers breath; that before rising to God, humanity needed once more to retreat within itself, try, examine, and complete itself by founding a juster, a more equal, and a diviner state of society.

Before this arrives, the old world must pass away, all trace of the middle age must be effaced, we must see all that we love die—even that which suckled us in our infancy, which was both father and mother to us, and which sang so sweetly to us in our cradle. Vainly does the old Gothic church ever raise towards heaven her supplicatory towers; vainly do her casements weep; vainly do her saints do penance in their niches of stone. . . . "Though the fountains of the great deep should break up, their waters will never reach the Lord." This condemned world will pass away, as have done the worlds of Greece, of Rome, of the East. He will lay its spoils by the side of their spoils. At the most, God will grant to it, as to Hezekiah,—a revolution of the dial.

Is it then over, alas! will there be no pity? Must the tower be stayed in its flight towards heaven? Must the spire fall down, the dome crumble upon the sanctuary? must this heaven of stone sink in and crush those who have adored it? . . . The form ended, is all ended? Does nothing remain to religions after death? When the dear and precious relics, torn from our trembling hands, sink into the coffin, is nothing left? . . . Ah! for my own part I rely, both as regards Christianity and Christian art, on the words which the Church addresses to her dead—"Whoso believeth in me, cannot die." Lord, Christianity has believed, has loved, has comprehended,—in it have met God and man. It may change its vestment, but perish, never! It will transform itself to perpetuate its life. One morning it will show itself to those who think they are watching its tomb, and will rise again the third day.

* These are eight figures, of colossal size, serving as Caryatides. One of them holds a purse, from which he is drawing out money; another bears marks of branding; others, pierced with wounds, hold out tax-papers in pieces. Some are of opinion that these figures are in allusion to a revolt which took place on account of the Gabelle, in 1461, known by the name of *miquemaque*. Louis XI. hung up two hundred of the rebels. Others think, that the citizens having risen against their archbishop, Gervais, in the eleventh century, were condemned to build the towers at their own expense. Four similar statues were placed on silver columns, which stood round the grand altar. Povillon-Piérard, Description de Notre-Dame de Reims.—New lights on the history and antiquities of this important city are looked for from M. Varin, one of the most distinguished professors of history belonging to the university.—A dealer in corn at Rouen having been hung for making use of a false measure, his property was confiscated, and part given to the poor, part devoted to building one of the fronts of the cathedral, on which his life is portrayed from his childhood to his death. Talleyrand, Antiquités de Rouen, p. 77.

BOOK THE FIFTH.



CHAPTER I.

THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

THE son of St. Louis, Philippe-le-Hardi (the Bold), returning from the luckless crusade against Tunis, deposited five coffins in the crypts of St. Denis *. Weak and dying himself, he found himself the heir of almost all his family. Not to speak of the Valois, which reverted to him by the death of his brother, Jean Tristan,—his uncle, Alphonse, bequeathed him a whole kingdom in the south of France (Poitou, Auvergne, Toulouse, Rouergue, Albigeois, the Quercy, the Agenois, and the Comtat): and, finally, the death of the count of Champagne, king of Navarre, who had but one daughter, placed this rich heiress in Philippe's hands. He married her to his son.

By the possession of Toulouse, Navarre, and the Comtat, this great monarchical power turned its looks southward, to Italy and Spain. But, all-powerful as he was, the son of St. Louis was not the true head of the house of France; its head was the sainted king's brother, Charles of Anjou. The history of France at this period is the history of the king of Naples and of Sicily; of which that of his nephew, Philippe III., forms only an incidental branch.

Charles had used, and abused, his unexampled good fortune. Youngest son of the house of France, he had become count of Provence, king of Naples, of Sicily, and of Jerusalem, and more than king—the master and ruler of popes. To him might have been applied what was said to the famous Ugolin. "What is there wanting to me?" asked the tyrant of Pisa. "Nothing but the anger of God †."

We have seen the advantage he took of the pious simplicity of his brother to divert the crusade from its destination, in order to gain a footing in Africa and make Tunis his tributary. He was the first to return from this expedition, undertaken by his advice and on his own account; and found himself in time to profit by the tempest which wrecked the vessels of the crusaders, and to seize their spoils—arms, clothes, and provisions—on the rocks of Calabria, coldly objecting to the remonstrances of his companions, his brother crusaders, the right of *wreck*, which gave the lord of the fatal coast whatever the sea cast up to him.

* (These were the remains of his father, of his brother, of his brother-in-law Thibaud, king of Navarre, who had expired at Trapani, worn down by the fatigues of his late campaign, of his queen Isabella of Aragon, and of a babe who survived only a few hours after an accident which, by giving him premature birth, occasioned the death of his mother.) TRANSLATOR.

† Et Marco li rispose: Perché non vi falla altro che l'ira d'Iddio. . . . "And certainly," adds Villani, "God's anger soon overtook him." G. Villani, c. 120, p. 320.

He thus swelled his state by the great shipwreck both of the Empire and the Church. For three years nearly, he reigned almost pope in Italy, as he would not allow of the nomination of a pope on the demise of Clement IV. This pontiff had found that for twenty thousand pieces of gold which the Frenchman promised to pay him yearly, he had delivered into his hands not only the Two Sicilies, but all Italy. Charles got himself named by him senator of Rome, and imperial vicar in Tuscany. He was accepted as suzerain by Piacenza, Cremona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Reggio, and, subsequently, even by Milan, as well as by many cities of Piedmont and of Romagna. All Tuscany had chosen him peace-maker. "Kill every man of them," was the reply of this peace-maker to the Guelphs of Florence, when they asked him what they should do with their Ghibeline prisoners *.

But Italy was too small. He was not at his ease in it. From Syracuse, Africa met his eye; from Otranto the Greek empire. He had already married his daughter to the Latin pretender to the throne of Constantinople, to the young Philip, an emperor without an empire.

The popes had reason to repent of their melancholy victory over the house of Suabia. Their avenger, their dear son, was settled among them, and on them; and the question with them was, the means of escaping from this terrible friendship. They felt with dread, the irresistible force, the malignant attraction which France exerted over them; and rather late in the day they sought to win the affection of Italy. Gregory X. essayed to quiet the factions, which his predecessors had so carefully kept up; and desired the suppression of the epithets Guelph and Ghibeline. The popes had ever been the antagonists of the emperors of Germany and of Constantinople: Gregory declared himself the friend of both empires. He proclaimed the reconciliation of the Greek Church, and succeeded in ending the long interregnum which had prevailed in Germany, by inducing, at least, the election of such an emperor—a simple knight, spare, meagre, and out at elbows†—as might re-assure the prince-electors with regard to a title but recently so formidable. This poor emperor was, however, Rodolph of Hapsburg, founder of the house of Austria, which was thus raised up by the popes to oppose that of France.

Gregory the Tenth's idea was to lead himself all Europe to the crusade with his new emperor, and so to elevate both empire and papacy. A different project was entertained by Nicholas III., a Roman, and of the house of Orsini; who sought to found a

* Only one child was spared, who was sent to the king of Naples, and who died in prison, in the tower of Capua. Id. c. 35, ann. 1270.

† Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, vi. b. 1, 1 cap., § 3. (edit. 1786).

central kingdom in Italy, in favour of his own family. He seized the opportunity of Rodolph's great victory over the king of Bohemia, and used him as a check upon Charles. The latter, all whose thoughts were directed to Constantinople, resigned the titles of senator of Rome, and imperial vicar; and in the interim Nicholas signed a secret treaty with Aragon and the Greeks to compass his ruin.

Conspiracy abroad, conspiracy at home: the Italians reckon themselves masters of the art. They have always conspired, rarely succeeded; yet enterprises of the kind have had to this artistic people the captivation of a work of art, of a drama unalloyed by fiction, of a real tragedy, in which they desiderated all the effects of the drama, requiring numerous spectators and some solemn occasion, as that of a great festival for instance:—their theatre would often be a temple; the hour, that of the elevation of the host*.

The conspiracy of which we are about to speak was of a far different character from those of the Pazzi, or of the Oligati. The work in hand was not a dagger's blow—the killing a man at the sacrifice of your own life, and which after all leads to nothing; but the rousing of Sicily and of the world; conspiring, negotiating, encouraging conspiracy by insurrection, and insurrection by conspiracy; the raising up of a whole people, and yet holding them in; the organizing of war, yet simulating peace. This design, so difficult of accomplishment, was of all others the most just—for it was undertaken to expel the foreigner.

The strong head which conceived this great thing, and which accomplished it, a head coldly ardent, hardly obstinate and astute, such as are found in the South, was Calabrian. He was a physician†, one of the barons of the court of Frederick II., lord of the island of Prochyta; and, as his physician, he had been the friend and confidant both of Frederick and of Manfred. To please these freethinkers of the thirteenth century, it behoved to be a physician, either Arab or Jew; and admission was gained into their houses rather through the channel of the school of Salerno than of the Church. Probably, this school taught its adepts something more than the innocent prescriptions which it has left us in its Leonine verses‡.

After the downfall of Manfred, Procida took refuge in Spain. Let us look at the situation of the different Spanish kingdoms, and see what the house of France had to fear from them.

And, firstly, Navarre, the narrow and venerable cradle of Christian Spain, was in the power of Philippe III. Its last national king had invited, first, the Moors, then the French, against the

Castilians. His nephew, Henri, count of Champagne, having no other family than one daughter, entrusted her, at his death, to the care of the king of France, who, as we have just mentioned, married her to his son. By inheriting Toulouse, Philippe III. found himself here, too, close to Spain; and, apparently, he had only to descend from the *ports* of the Pyrenees into his city of Pampeluna, and take the road to Burgos.

But experience has proved that Spain is not to be thus laid hold of. She guards her gate badly; but so much the worse for him who enters. The aged king of Castille, Alphonso X., father-in-law and brother-in-law of the king of France, in vain desired to leave his kingdom to his eldest son's sons, who, by their mother's side, were descended from St. Louis. Alphonso was not in good repute with his people, either as a Spaniard or a Christian. A great clerk, devoted to the evil sciences of alchemy and astrology, he was ever closeted with his Jews*, to make spurious money† or spurious laws—adulterating the Gothic law by a mixture of the Roman‡. He loved not Spain; his mania was a longing for the imperial crown. Spain paid him back his dislike with interest. The Castilians chose for their king, in conformity with the law of the Goths, Alphonso's second son, Sancho the Brave, the Cid of his day§. Disinherited by his father, threatened at once by the French and the Moors, moreover excommunicated by the pope for having married too near a relative, Sancho made head against all, and kept both his wife and his kingdom. The French monarch uttered loud threats, collected a large army, took the oriflamme, and penetrated into Spain as far as Salvatierra. There he found himself equally unprovided with provisions and warlike stores, and could not advance. The expedition redounded little to his credit. The chronicle of St. Magloire, after narrating the death of St. Louis, contrasts with him his pitiable son—

* They were employed preferentially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the Spanish kings. The Aragonese, likewise, complained at the same period, with regard to the treasurers and receivers, "que eran Judios," (that they were Jews). Curita, *Anales de la Corona d'Aragon*, p. 264.

† Ferreras, ann. 1281, t. iv. p. 323. The reference is to the French translation.

‡ I do not intend by this to undervalue the code of the *Siete Partidas*; with which I hope my friend, M. Rosset Saint-Hilaire, will bring us acquainted in the second volume of his History of Spain, the publication of which is so eagerly looked for. I have only sought to embody, with regard to the laws of Alphonso, the patriotic rather than enlightened judgment of Spain at the time. It is but fair, too, to allow that this prince, clerkly and learned as he was, loved the Spanish tongue. "He was the first of the Spanish kings to ordain that contracts and other public acts should henceforward be drawn up in Spanish. He had the Scriptures translated into Castilian. . . . He opened the door by which the profound ignorance of humane letters and of other sciences, neglected by priests equally with laymen through disuse of Latin, might be amended." Mariana, t. iii. p. 188, of the French translation.

§ This is the Sancho who replied to the threats of the Miramolin—"I offer you a cake in one hand, a stick in the other, choose." Ferreras, t. iv. p. 345. He felt himself popular enough to deprive the nobles and the military orders of the privilege they enjoyed of exemption from taxation. Id. *ibid.* p. 360. As to Sancho's bravery, see Rodericus Sanctius, apud Schottum, *Hisp. Illustrata*, p. 199.

* The moment chosen by the Pazzi for the assassination of the Medici, and by the Oligati to put to death John Galeas Sforza.

† Procida enjoyed such celebrity as a physician, that a noble Neapolitan sought permission of Charles II. to repair to Sicily to have the benefit of his advice. *Sism. Rép. It.* t. iii. p. 437.

‡ For instance:—

"Cur moriatur homo, cui salvia crescit in horto?

Contra vim mortis, non est medicamen in hortis."

c. 67. ed. 1667.

(Why should a man die who has sage growing in his garden? Gardens have no remedies against the power of death.)

"In Spain and at Salvatierra, his son made a fool of himself." (A. D. 1276 *.)

This was a glorious epoch for Spain. The king of Aragon, Don Jayme, son of the troubadour king who fell at Muret, fighting on behalf of the count of Toulouse, had just wrested from the Moors the kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia. Speaking with Spanish sentimentousness, Don Jayme gained thirty-three battles, and founded or took from the infidels two thousand churches. But he was said to have still more mistresses than churches. He refused the pope the tribute promised by his predecessors; and had dared to give his son Don Pedro to wife Manfred's own daughter, the last surviving branch of the house of Swabia.

The kings of Aragon, always warring either with Moor or Christian, needed the love of their people, and had it. Read their portrait as drawn by the brave and simple-spoken Ramon Muntaner, the soldier historian—how they "rendered good justice," how they accepted the invitations of their subjects, how they ate freely in public, taking whatever was offered them, fruit, wine, or aught else, and not hesitating to partake of it†. Muntaner forgets one thing; which is, that the popular monarchs were not renowned for their good faith. They were crafty Aragonese mountaineers, true Almogavars, semi-Moors, plundering friends and enemies.

* Chronique de Saint-Magloire.—Fabiiaux de Barbazan, ii. 228.

† "Did the subjects of our kings know how hard and cruel other monarchs are to their people, they would kiss the prints of their lords' feet. Were I asked, 'Muntaner, what kindness do the kings of Aragon show to their subjects more than other kings?' I would answer, Firstly, they make their nobles, prelates, knights, citizens, burgesses, and country-folk observe justice and good faith, better than any other lords on the face of the earth; each may become rich without his fearing that any thing will be exacted of him beyond what is reasonable and just, which is not so with other lords; also, the Catalans and the Aragonese have loftier sentiments, because they are not constrained in their actions, and no one can be a good man-at-arms without lofty sentiments. Moreover, their subjects have this advantage, that each can say to his lord whatever he desires, being very certain of being ever listened to with kindness, and of receiving a satisfactory reply. On the other hand, if a rich man, a knight, or honest citizen, desire to marry his daughter, and pray them to honour the ceremony with their presence, they will repair either to the church, or elsewhere; in like manner, they will attend the burial or the birthday of any man, as if he were a relative; which, assuredly, other lords, whoever they may be, do not. Besides on great festivals, they invite a number of worthy people, and make no difficulty of taking their meal in public; and all who are invited eat there, which happens nowhere else. Then, if rich men, knights, prelates, citizens, burgesses, labourers, or others, make them presents of fruits, wine, or other objects, they will not hesitate to partake of them; and in castles, cities, hamlets, and farmsteadings they accept the invitations given them, eat what is laid before them, and sleep in the chambers designed for them; they also go out on horseback in all towns, places, and cities, and show themselves to their people; and if poor souls, men or women, entreat them, they stop, listen to them, and aid them in their wants. What more can I say? They are so good and affectionate to their subjects, that one cannot describe all, so much would there be to do; and so their subjects are full of love for them, and fear not to die to exalt their honour and power; and nothing can stay them when it behoveth to endure cold and heat, and to brave every danger." Ramon Muntaner, t. i. c. 20, p. 60, of M. Buchon's translation.

It was to the young king, Don Pedro, that the faithful servant of the house of Swabia first betook himself; to the daughter of his master, the queen Constanza. The Aragonese received him kindly, gave him lands and lordships, but listened coldly to his suggestions of war with the house of France: the forces were too disproportionate. The hatred of Christendom against this house had first to be aggravated; and he preferred refusing and waiting. So he allowed the adventurer to pursue his plans, without compromising himself. To take all suspicion from him, Procida sold his Spanish estates, and disappeared. None knew what had become of him.

He left secretly, attired as a Franciscan: so humble a disguise was also the safest. The mendicants strayed everywhere; begged, lived on little, and were everywhere well received. Subtle, eloquent, and able men, they discharged a multiplicity of worldly commissions with discretion. Europe was filled with their activity. Messengers, preachers, and, at times, diplomatists, they were then what the post and press now are. Procida, then, assumed the dirty gown of the Mendicants and went humbly and barefoot to seek throughout the world enemies to Charles of Anjou.

Enemies were not wanting. The difficulty was to bring them to an understanding, to bring them to act simultaneously and contemporaneously. At first, he repairs to Sicily, to the very volcano of the revolution; sees, listens, and observes. The signs of approaching eruption were visible—concentrated rage, a stifled sound of effervescence, murmurs, and silence. Charles was exhausting his unhappy people, in order to subject another; and the isle was full of preparations and menaces against the Greeks. Procida passes on to Constantinople, warns Palaeologus, and gives him exact information of his enemy's movements; Charles had already despatched three thousand men to Durazzo, and was about to follow with a hundred galleys and five hundred transports. His success was assured; for Venice did not hesitate to embark in the enterprise, and contributed forty galleys and her doge, who was still a Dandolo. The fourth crusade was about to be repeated; and Palaeologus, in despair, knew not what to do. "What to do? Give me money. I will find you a defender, who has no money, but who has arms *."

Procida returned to Sicily with one of Palaeologus's secretaries, introduced him to the Sicilian barons, and then to the pope, with whom he had a secret interview in the castle of Soriano. The Greek emperor desired, above all, the signature of the pope, to whom he had been but recently reconciled; but Nicholas hesitated to embark in so vast an undertaking. Procida gave him money. According to other accounts, he had only to remind the pontiff, who was a Roman and an Orsini, of a saying of Charles of Anjou's. When the pope proposed a marriage between his niece Orsini and Charles of Anjou's son, Charles had said, "Does he fancy, because he wears red stockings, that the blood of his Orsini can mingle with the blood of France †?"

Nicholas signed the treaty, but died shortly

* Ferretus Vicentinus, ap. Muratori, ix. 952.

† G. Villani, p. 270.

after. The whole work seemed broken up and destroyed. Charles became more powerful than ever. He succeeded in having a pope of his own. He drove from the conclave the Ghibeline cardinals, and compelled the nomination of a Frenchman, an old monk of Tours, a servile and trembling creature of his house. This was to make himself pope. He became once more senator of Rome, and placed garrisons in all the holds of the Church. This time, the pope could not escape him. He kept him with him at Viterbo, and would not let him out of his sight. When the unhappy Sicilians came to implore the pope's mediation with their king, they saw their enemy by their judge, the king sitting by the side of the pope. The only answer the deputies received was to be thrown into a dungeon—yet were they a bishop and a monk.

Sicily had no pity to expect from Charles of Anjou. Half-Arab, it had held out obstinately for the friends of the Arabs, for Manfred and his house. All the insults with which the conquerors could load the Sicilian people, seemed to them but so many reprisals. The petulance of the Provençals, and their brutal joviality, are well-known; but had national antipathies and the insolence of conquest been the only subjects of complaint, there might have been hopes of the evil's mitigating. What, however, threatened to increase and to weigh each day more heavily, was a first and unskilful attempt at taxation—the invasion of treasury agents and of finance in the world of the Odyssey and the Æneid. This nation of husbandmen and of shepherds had, under every change of master, preserved something of its ancient independence. Till now, they had found solitude in the mountain, and liberty in the desert. But now, the tax-gatherer explored the whole island. Inquisitive traveller! he measures the valley, scales the rock, values the inaccessible peak. He rears his office under the mountain chestnut, or hunts out and registers the goat wandering on the ledges of the rocks, in the midst of lava and of snow.

Let us essay to disentangle the complaints of Sicily from that wilderness of solecisms and of barbarisms, through which the torrent-like eloquence of Bartolomeo de Neocastro forces and tears its way:—"How toll of their unheard-of inventions! of their decrees respecting forests! of the absurd interdiction of the shore! of the inconceivable exaggeration of the produce of the flocks! Though all was drying up under the heavy autumnal heats, no matter, the year must be good, the harvest abundant. . . . He, all of a sudden, had a pure silver coin minted, and only returned in the proportion of one Sicilian denier for thirty. . . . We had thought to receive a king from the Father of Fathers, we have received Anti-Christ."

"It was required," says another chronicler, "to make returns of every flock at the year's end, and to return more young than the flock could have yielded. The poor husbandmen wept. There was an universal terror among the cow-herds, the goat-herds, and all the shepherds. They were held accountable even for their bees, even for the swarm which the wind bears away. They were prohibited

the chase; and then skins of stags or deer would be secretly introduced into their huts, to serve as a pretext for fining them. Whenever it pleased the king to coin new money, a trumpet was sounded in all the streets; and they had to give up their money to be recoined from door to door."

Such has been the fate of Sicily for ages; ever the milch-cow, drained both of milk and blood by a foreign master. Her only hours of independence and of healthy existence have been under her tyrants, the Dionysiuses and the Gelons. They alone rendered her formidable abroad. Since then, she has been a constant slave. Firstly, it is in her bosom, that all the great quarrels of the ancient world have been decided—Athens and Syracuse, Greece and Carthage, Carthage and Rome, have made her their battle-field; and, lastly, there the servile wars were fought out. All these solemn battles of mankind have been contested within sight of Etna—like the "Judgment of God" before the altar. Then come the Barbarians, Arabs, Normans, Germans. Each time that Sicily hopes and desires, each time she suffers; she turns, and then back to the same side, like Enceladus under the volcano. Such are the weakness and incurable irreconcilableness of a people composed of twenty races, and so heavily oppressed by the double fatality of history and climate.

All this is but too clearly visible in the beautiful and soft lament with which Falcano begins his history†. "I was anxious, my friend, now that rugged winter has been smoothed by a softer breath, I was anxious to write and to address thee some grateful strain, as the first-fruits of the spring. But the mournful news presages to me new storms; my songs sink into tears. In vain do the heavens smile, in vain do the gardens and groves inspire me with unseasonable joy, and the returning concert of the birds tempt me to resume my own. I cannot behold with dry eyes the approaching desolation of my kind nurse, Sicily. . . . Which of the two should they choose, the yoke or honour! I ruminate in silence, and know not how to decide. . . . I see that in the confusion of a moment like this, our Saracens are oppressed. Will they not second the enemy? . . . O that all, Christians and Saracens, would agree to elect a king! . . . That on the eastern coast of the island, our Sicilian brigands should combat the barbarians, amidst the fires and lava of Etna, well and good: they are a race of fire and flint. But for the interior of Sicily, for the country honoured by our beautiful Palermo, to be sullied with the sight of the barbarians, it were impious, monstrous. . . . I have no hopes from the Apulians, who love novelty alone. But thou, Messina, powerful and noble city, art thou thinking of thy defence, of driving the stranger from the strait! Wo to thee, Catania! Never have thy calamities been able to satisfy and subdue fortune. War, pestilence, the fiery torrents of Etna, earthquake and ruins—there wants but servitude to fill up thy measure. Rouse thee, Syracuse, shake off peace, if thou canst; devote the eloquence in which thou arrayest thyself, to revive the courage of thy citi-

* Regni Siculi antichristum. Bart. à Neocastro, ap. Muratori, xlii. 1026. Neither Bartholomew nor Ramon Muntaner makes any mention of Procida. The one wishes to give all the glory to the Sicilians, the other to the king of Aragon, Don Pedro.

• Nic. Speculari, ap. Muratori.

† Hugo Falcanus, ap. Muratori, vii. 252. The latinity of this great historian of the twelfth century is singularly pure, compared with that of Bartolomeo, who however wrote a hundred years later.

zens. What avails it to have freed thyself from thy Dionysuses. . . . Ah! who will restore us our tyrants! . . . I now come to thee, O Palermo, head of Sicily! How pass thee over in silence, and how laud thee fitly! . . ." But no sooner has Falcando named the beautiful Palermo, than he thinks of nothing else, and forgets the barbarians and all his fears. He plunges insatiably into a description of the voluptuous city, its fantastic palaces, its port, its marvellous gardens, silk mulberry trees, orange, lemon trees, and sugar cane. He is lost in fruits and flowers. Nature absorbs him: he dreams, and has forgotten all. I fancy that I hear in his prose the echo of the lazy, sensual, and melancholy poetry of the Greek idyll—"I will sing, sheltered by the cave, holding thee in my arms, and gazing at the flocks as they graze on the shores of the Sicilian sea."

It was Monday, the 30th of March, 1282, Easter Monday. In Sicily, it is already summer—just as it would be with us on St. John's day, when the heat has begun to be intense, and the ground, moist and warm, is lost beneath the grass, and the grass beneath the flowers. Easter is a voluptuous moment in these countries. With the closing of Lent, abstinence disappears, and sensuality awakens, fierce and ardent, and sharpened by devotion—God has had his share, the senses claim theirs. The change is a sudden one: every flower starts at once from the ground, every beauty is in fulness of bloom. 'Tis a triumphant outburst of life, sensuality's revenge, an insurrection of nature.

This day, then, this Easter Monday, all, both men and women, went up the beautiful hill, according to custom, from Palermo to Mouréale, to hear vespers. The foreigners were there to trouble the festival: so great an assemblage of people was not without giving them uneasiness. The viceroy had forbidden the wearing of arms, or exercising with them, as was the custom on that day. Perhaps he had noticed the concourse of nobles, for Prociada had had the address to assemble them at Palermo. The opportunity, however, was wanting; and it was presented by a Frenchman beyond Prociada's hopes. This man, named Drouet, stopped a beautiful girl, of noble birth, whom her bridegroom and the whole family were conducting to church. Having searched the bridegroom and found no arms, he pretended to think the maiden had them about her, and passed his hand under her gown. She faints. The Frenchman is at once disarmed, and slain with his own sword. A cry is raised, "Death, death to the French!" In all directions they are cut down. Their houses, it is said, had been marked with a distinguishing mark beforehand. Whoever could not pronounce the Italian *c or di* (*ceci, ceci*), was immediately put to death.

* Ἄλλα ἰπὸ τῆ πέτρα τῆς ἑσπέρης, ἄγκυς ἔχων τὴν Σίννομα μὴν ἑσπέρην τὴν Σικελίαν ἐξ ἄλλας. Theoc. Id. 8.

† Quodam Gallicus, nomine Drohetus. Barth. à Neoc. p. 1027.

‡ Moriantur Galli. Id. p. 1028.

§ "Ceux de Palermo et de Meschines, et des autres bonnes villes, signèrent les huys de Francoys de nuit; et quant ce vint au point du jour qu'ils purent voir entour eux, si occirent tous ceulx qu'ils peurent trouver, et ne furent épargnés ne vœux ne jeunes que tous ne fussent occis." Chroniques de St. Denis, Ann. 1282.

¶ Traditional.

They disembowelled Sicilian women, to tear from their bosom a French offspring.

It was a whole month before the other towns, gaining assurance from the impunity of Palermo, followed its example. The oppression had been felt unequally, unequal, too, was the vengeance; and sometimes the people displayed a capricious magnanimity*. Even at Palermo, the viceroy, surprised in his house, had been insulted, but not slain: it was wished to send him back to Aigues-Mortes. At Calatafimi, the inhabitants spared their governor, the honest Forcelet †, and suffered him to depart with his family. Perhaps in this there might be some fear of the vengeance of Charles of Anjou. The people—such is the mobility of the southern—had already cooled, and felt discouraged. The inhabitants of Palermo sent two priests to intercede with the pope, and these deputies durst venture no other entreaty than the words of the Litany, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis," (Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us), which they repeated three times. The pope replied with the verse, "Ave, rex Judæorum, et dabant ei alapam‡," (Hail, king of the Jews, and they smote him), which, in like manner, he repeated thrice. Messina succeeded no better with Charles of Anjou. His answer to its envoys was, that they were all traitors to the Church and to the crown, and he advised them to defend themselves as they best might.

The people of Messina lost no time in profiting by his advice, and prepared for a desperate resistance. Men, women, and children, all set to work to carry stones, and in three days had raised a wall, under cover of which they bravely repulsed the first attacks. A fragment of a song remains, commemorating this—"Ah! how pitiful it is to see the dames of Messina, with dishevelled hair, bearing stones and mortar! . . . God confound him, who seeks to lay waste Messina! "

It was full time for the Aragonese to arrive. The crafty prince had from the first kept on the watch, leaving all risk to the Sicilians. The massacre had irrevocably compromised them; still Don Pedro waited to see how they would follow up this inconsiderate deed. He kept aloof, but at

* Fazello asserts that Sperlinga was the only town where the French were not massacred, and hence the Sicilian saying:—"Quod Siculis placuit, sola Sperlinga negavit." (Sperlinga alone refused what the Sicilians desired). Fazello, p. 210, ed. 1575.

† "Propter multarum probitatum suarum cumulum." (On account of his innumerable good qualities). Barth. p. 1029.

‡ G. Villani, l. 7, c. 62, p. 279.

§ Villani adds the thoroughly Machiavelian sentiment—"Which was, and ever will be, a striking example to all now, and hereafter, to take what conditions they can make with the enemy, so long as they can manage to get the land in their power." Vill. c. 65, l. vii. p. 281, 282.—The legate endeavoured to persuade Charles to accede to the terms of the inhabitants, "Since, after they got obstinate, they would be for proposing harder terms every day, but when he had got possession of the land, he might be able every day to free himself from them with the consent of the citizens themselves; which was sound and good advice." Id. ibid.

¶ "E una canzonetta che dice: 'Deh! come gli e gran pietate delle donne di Messina, veggendole scapigliate portare pietre et calcina! Iddio li dia briga et travaglia a chi Messina vuole guastare.'" Id. l. vii. c. 67, p. 283.

hand, in Africa, leisurely employing his army against the infidels. His preparations had given some uneasiness to the king of France and the pope; but he reassured the first by pretending that they were directed against the Moors, and the better to deceive him, borrowed money of him: he even borrowed from Charles of Anjou*. His barons could only open the sealed orders which he had given them at sea; and they contained instructions for the African war alone†. It was not till after a delay of several months, and after he had received two deputations from the Sicilians, that he took his resolution, and landed in the island‡.

He at once sent his defiance to Charles of Anjou, who lay before Messina; but he made no haste to attack his formidable enemy. Like a skilful taurador, he goaded, and then slipped aside from the bull. Only he despatched to the succour of that city some of his Almogavarian brigands, active and sober footmen, who performed in three days the

* Id. c. 59. p. 277.

† See Muntaner's fine narrative, t. i. c. 49, p. 183, sqq.

‡ Nothing can be more romantic, and yet more probable, than the picture drawn by the Sicilian chronicler, when the cold Aragonese ventured to descend on this burning land, where all was passion and danger. He was entering the territory of Messina, and had already come to a church dedicated to Our Lady—an ancient temple, situated on a promontory, whence was descried the sea and the distant smoke of the Lipari isles. He could not refrain from admiring this view, and encamped in the adjoining valley. It was the evening, and already all the world was at rest. An aged mendicant arrives, and humbly asks to speak to the king of matters that concern the honour of the kingdom:—"Excellent prince," he said, "disdain not to listen to one covered with the skins of the goats of Etna. I loved your brother-in-law, king Manfred, of everlasting memory. Banished and despoiled of my possessions on his account, I visited Christian and barbarian kingdoms. But I longed to see Sicily once more, and ran every risk to return here; where I have lived with the shepherds, shifting my place of concealment in the gorges of the hills and in the woods. You know not the Sicilians, over whom you are about to reign; you are ignorant of their duplicity. How trust yourself, for instance, to the Leontine, Alayne, and to his wife Machalda, who governs him? Know you not that he was banished by Manfred, and brought back and enriched by Charles of Anjou? His wife will find the means to turn him against yourself.—Who art thou, my friend, who seekest to inspire us with distrust of our new subjects?—I am Vitalis de Vitali. I am from Messina." . . . At that moment arrives Machalda, attired as an Amazon; she came boldly to take possession of the young king.—"Lord," said she, with Sicilian vivacity, "I have arrived late. All the lodgings are taken; I come to ask your hospitality for a night." The king gave up to her the spot which he had chosen for himself. But this was not what she wanted, and she did not stir. In vain he observed to his major-domo, "It is time to retire." She remains immovable. Then the king takes his resolution. "Well," he said, "let us talk till day. Madam, what do you fear the most?—The death of my husband.—What do you love the most?—What I love, is not mine.—The king then assuming a graver tone, relates the strange phenomena which he stated to have accompanied his birth. He was ushered into the world by an earthquake; so marked out by Providence, he only took up arms to fulfil the holy duty of avenging Manfred. Machalda, thus trifled with, became the king's implacable enemy. "Would to heaven," naïvely remarks the patriotic historian, "she had seduced the king! She would not have troubled the kingdom." Barthol. à Neoc. ap. Muratori, xlii. 1060—1063.

six days' journey between Palermo and Messina*. The Catalan fleet, commanded by the Calabrian, Roger di Loria, was a more efficacious succour still. It was to secure possession of the straits, and so starve out Charles of Anjou, and at the same time bar his return. The king of Naples distrusted his own naval forces, and with reason: he therefore crossed to the mainland under cover of the night, leaving his tents and his provisions behind. The Messenians were struck with surprise when they saw no enemy, and had only to plunder his camp.

If we may credit Muntaner, the Catalans could only oppose twenty-two galleys to Charles of Anjou's ninety: of which, ten which were from Pisa were the first to fly, and were followed by fifteen which belonged to Genoa. Twenty others, belonging to the Provençals, Charles's subjects, behaved no better. The remaining forty-five, which were from Naples and Calabria, thinking that all was over, ran themselves ashore; but did not escape the Catalans, who slew six thousand men. The conquerors, scattered by a storm, found themselves at daybreak before the Pharos of Messina.

"When day came they appeared before the little tower. The citizens, seeing so great a number of sails, cried out, 'Oh, Lord, oh, my God! what is this! See, king Charles's fleet is coming upon us, after having taken the king of Aragon's galleys!'"

"The king was up, for he constantly rose at daybreak, both winter and summer. He heard the noise, and asked the reason. 'Wherefore these cries throughout the city?'—'Lord, 'tis king Charles's fleet which has come back, largely increased by the taking of our galleys.'"

"The king called for a horse and left the palace, attended by hardly ten persons. He hastened along the shore, where he met a great number of men, women, and children, in despair. He encouraged them, saying, 'Good people, fear nothing, it is our galleys which are bringing in king Charles's fleet.' He repeated these words as he rode along the shore, and all these people exclaimed, 'God grant that it be so!' Now, what shall I say—all the men, women, and children of Messina hurried after him, and he was followed by the Messenian army as well. When he had reached the golden fountain, the king, seeing such a number of sails coming on with the mountain breeze, reflected a moment, and murmured to himself—'God, who has brought me here, will not abandon me, any more than the unhappy people; all thanks to them!'"

"Whilst he was busied with these thoughts, an armed vessel, bearing the flag and arms of the lord king of Aragon, and commanded by En Cortada, bore towards the king, who was seen above the golden fountain, banners displayed, at the head of the cavalry. That all those who were there with the king were transported with joy, may be imagined. The vessel touched the shore, En Cortada landed, and said to the king, 'Lord, behold

* What others were unable to endure, was to them a sport and pastime. . . . Their exterior was strange and wild, and as they were very swarthy, gaunt, and dirty, the Sicilians were filled with great wonderment and anxiety, on seeing them alone arrive as their defenders. . . . "Y porque ivan muy negros y magros y mal peynados." Curiat, p. 251.

your galleys; they bring you those of your enemies. Nicotera is taken, burned and destroyed, and more than two hundred French knights are slain.* At these words, the king dismounted and knelt down. All present followed his example. They raised altogether the psalm, *Salve regina*. They lauded God, and returned thanks to him for this victory; for they did not ascribe it to themselves, but to God alone. At last, the king answered En Cortada, 'You are welcome.' He then told him to go back, and to tell all those who were before the custom-house to approach, praising God. He obeyed, and the twenty-two galleys entered the first, towing after them more than fifteen galleys, barks, or ships, each; and so made their entry into Messina, decked with their scutcheons and flags, and dragging the enemy's flags in the sea. Never did any one witness such joy. One would have said that heaven and earth had come together; and in the midst of all these cries, one heard the praises of God, of Madame (our Lady) St. Mary, and of all the celestial court. . . . When they had reached the custom-house, and were in front of the king's palace, they vociferated shouts of joy; and the seamen and the landsmen responded to them, but with such power that—you may believe me—they were heard as far as Calabria.*

Charles of Anjou witnessed from the shore the disaster of his fleet. He saw, without the power of saving them, those vessels burned which had been but lately built for the conquest of Constantinople. He is said to have bit in his rage the sceptre which he had in his hand, and to have repeated the sentiment that he had given utterance to on hearing of the massacre: "Ah, Lord God, you have given me much to get over! Since 'tis your pleasure to send me bad fortune, may it be your will to let my descent be by small steps and gently!†"

But pride soon hurried him out of his resignation. Already in years, and fallen into flesh, he proposed to the young king of Aragon to decide their quarrel in the lists, each at the head of fifty of his knights. The Aragonese accepted a proposition so favourable to the weaker party, and which gave him time‡. The two kings covenanted to be present at Bordeaux on the 25th of May, 1283, and that the combat should take place there under the protection of the king of England. As the time drew nigh, Don Pedro, who had travelled by night, well mounted, and guided by a dealer in horses, well acquainted with all the roads and *ports* of the Pyrenees, repaired with only one more companion to Bordeaux. He arrived there on the day fixed for the battle, and entered a protest with a notary to the effect, that as the king of France was close to Bordeaux with his troops, there could be no security for him. Whilst the notary was drawing up the document, the king rode round the lists,

then set spurs to his horse, and hardly drew bridle till he was nearly a hundred miles on his way to Aragon.

Charles of Anjou, thus played with, levied a new army in Provence. But before he could return to Naples, he sustained at the hands of the admiral, Roger de Loria, the bitterest blow he had yet received. Having come with forty-five galleys to parade boastfully before the port of Naples and to bravo Charles-le-Boiteux (the Lame), Charles of Anjou's son, the young prince and his knights could not brook such an insult, but sailing out to meet him with thirty-five galleys, all that were in the port, they were defeated and taken at the first shock. Charles of Anjou arrived the day after—"Why is he not dead?" he exclaimed on hearing that his son was a prisoner. By way of consolation, he hanged a hundred and fifty Neapolitans.

This proved an overwhelming stroke to Charles. He lost his wonted activity, and wasted the summer in endeavouring to effect through the pope's mediation an arrangement with the Sicilians. In the winter he made new preparations; of which he was not destined to avail himself. Life slipped from him, as well as the hopes of vengeance. He died with the piety and sense of security of a saint—bearing witness to himself that he had only conquered the kingdom of Sicily in order to promote the glory of the Church. (Jan. 7th, 1285).

Meanwhile the pope, a Frenchman both by birth and heart, had declared Don Pedro to have forfeited his kingdom of Aragon (A. D. 1283), and promised all the indulgences of a crusade to whoever would fall upon him. The following year he awarded the kingdom to the young Charles of Valois, second son of Philippe-le-Hardi, and brother of Philippe-le-Bel (the Fair). It was in fact a *real* crusade. France had not made war for a long time; and all desired to witness it, even the queen herself and many noble ladies. The army was the strongest that had left France since Godfrey of Bouillon's day. The Italians estimate it at twenty thousand knights and four thousand foot soldiers. The fleets of Genoa, Marseilles, Aigues-Mortes, and Narbonne, were to coast along Catalonia, and second the troops. All augured an easy triumph. Don Pedro was deserted by his ally, the king of Castile, and even by his own brother, the king of Majorca. His subjects, too, had just formed a *hermandad* against him. He found himself reduced to a few Almogavars, with whom he occupied unassailable positions, watching and harassing the enemy. Elna offered some resistance, and all in it were cruelly massacred. Gerona held out longer. The French monarch, who had made a vow that he would take it, persisted, and wasted precious time there. By degrees the maleficent influence of the climate began to be felt. *Feyras* broke out in the army. The defeat of the fleet increased the general discouragement: the victorious admiral, Roger de Loria, had exercised fearful cruelties on the prisoners. It became necessary to think of retreat; but all were ill. The soldiers fancied themselves pursued by the saints, whose tombs they had violated. All the passes were oc-

* Ramon Muntaner, c. 63.

† "Sire Dio, dappoi t'è piaciuto di farmi adverso la mia fortuna, piacciati, che'l mio calare sia a *petti pasci*." Villani, l. vii. c. 61, p. 278.

‡ "He did this, prompted by his great knowledge of war, and sound sense, since he was straitened in means, and unable to proceed to the succour and defence of the Sicilians. . . . Whence he feared . . . that they might surrender . . . perceiving that they were neither constant nor firm . . . and his wise foresight was tested by experience." Id. c. 85, p. 296.

* "Lo re Carlo . . . come intese la novella . . . della presura del prence . . . fu molto crucioso e diase con irato animo: *Ore fo-sti-mort, porsè qu'ist fali nostre monement!* (Would that he were dead, since he has disobeyed our command!) Id. c. 93, p. 302.

cupied. The numbers of the Almogavars, attracted by booty, perceptibly increased. The king was carried back dying on a litter in the midst of his fainting knights. The rain fell in torrents on this army of invalids, and most sank by the way. The king reached Perpignan—to die there. Not an inch of Spanish ground remained his.

The new king, Philippe-le-Bel, managed to arm the king of Castile against his ally of Aragon. Charles of Anjou's son obtained his liberty by a perjury. Sicily and its new kings, younger sons of the house of Aragon, saw themselves abandoned by the elder branch, which even took up arms against them. Meanwhile, Charles of Anjou's grandson, the son of Charles-le-Docteur, had been made prisoner by the Sicilians, as his father had been. A treaty followed (A.D. 1299), by which king Frederick was to retain possession of the island for the term of his life. His descendants, however, kept it above a century.

The monarchy of Naples, so badly acquired, was not wholly overthrown; but it was, at least, mutilated and humbled. The dead, too, had some reparation made them. "The pious Charles, our present king (Charles of Anjou's son)," says a chronicler who died about the year 1300, "has built a Carmelite church over the tombs of Conradin, and of those who perished with him *."

CHAPTER II.

PHILIP THE FAIR.—BONIFACE VIII. (A.D. 1285—1304.)

"I was the root of the evil plant which covers all Christendom with its shade. From bad plant, bad fruit. . . .

"I was named Hugh Capet. Of me were born those Louises, those Philips, who have lately reigned in France.

"I was son of a butcher of Paris †; but when the stock of the ancient kings had failed, one except, who took the grey robe, I found the reins in my hand; and I had such friends, such strength, that the widowed crown fell to my son ‡. From him springs that race, whose dead constitute relics§.

"As long as the great Provençal dowry did not deprive them of all sense of shame, their power was small; at least, they wrought little evil.

"But from that time they pushed on through force and through lying, and then, through penitence ||, they took Normandy and Gascony.

"Charles crosses into Italy, and then, through penitence, murders Conradin.—Through penitence, too, he sends St. Thomas to heaven. ¶

"Another Charles will soon go out of France. Without arms goes he out, save with the lance of the perjured, the lance of Judas. With this he strikes Florence in the belly.

* Ricobald. Ferrar. sub finem, ap. Muratori, ix.

† This popular tradition rests on no very ancient authority, any more than a number of the sarcasms that follow.

‡ This is the literal fact. It is known that Hugh Capet never would wear the crown; and that his son Robert was the first of the Capets who wore it.

§ An allusion to the recent canonization of St. Louis.

|| Cary translates "For amends." It is said ironically.

"The other, taken prisoner at sea, trades and traffics in his daughter: the corsair, at least, only sells the stranger.

"But here is one who effaces the evil done, and to do. . . . I see him enter Anagni, the crowned with fleurs-de-llys! . . . I see Christ captive in the person of his vicar; I see him mocked a second time; once more he is given gall and vinegar to drink. He is put to death betwixt thieves *."

This furious Ghibeline invective, filled both with truths and libels, is the complaint of the old dying world against the ugly young world that succeeds it. The latter begins about the year 1300; it is opened by France, by the hateful figure of Philippe-le-Bel.

* Dante, *Purgatorio*, c. xx.

(The following is Cary's version:—

"I was root

Of that ill plant, whose shade such poison sheds
O'er all the Christian land, that seldom thence
Good fruit is gather'd. . . .

Hugh Capet was I hight: from me descend
The Philips and the Louis', of whom France
Newly is govern'd; born of one, who play'd
The slaughterer's trade at Paris. When the race
Of ancient kings had vanish'd (all save one
Wrapt up in sable weeds!) within my gripe
I found the reins of empire, and such powers
Of new acquirement, with full store of friends,
That soon the widow'd circlet of the crown
Was girt upon the temples of my son,
He, from whose bones th' anointed race begins.
Till the great dower of Provence² had remov'd
The stains, that yet observ'd our lowly blood,
Its sway indeed was narrow; but howe'er
It wrought no evil: there, with force and lies,
Began its rapine: after, for amends,
Degan its rapine: after, for amends,
Poitou it seiz'd, Navarre and Gascony.

To Italy came Charles; and for amends,
Young Conradine, an innocent victim, slew;
And sent th' angelic teacher back to heaven,
Still for amends. I see the time at hand,
That forth from France invites another Charles³. . . .
Unarm'd he issues, saving with that lance
Which the arch-traitor tilted with; and that
He carries with so home a thrust, as rives
The bowels of poor Florence. . . .

I see the other (who a prisoner late
Had stept on shore) exposing to the mart
His daughter, whom he bargains for, as do
The Corsairs for their slaves. . . .
. . . . To hide with direr guilt
Past ill and future, lo! the flower-de-luce
Enters Alagna; in his vicar, Christ
Himself a captive, and his mockery
Acted again. Lo! to his holy lip
The vinegar and gall once more applied;
And he 'twixt living robbers doom'd to bleed!"

¹ The posterity of Charlemagne, the second race of French monarchs, had failed, with the exception of Charles of Lorraine, who is said, on account of the melancholy temper of his mind, to have always clothed himself in black.

² Louis IX. and his brother Charles of Anjou, married two of the four daughters of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence.

³ Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV., was sent by pope Boniface VIII. to settle the disturbed state of Florence. In consequence of the measures he adopted for that purpose, Dante and his friends were condemned to exile and death.

⁴ Charles the Lame, made prisoner by Roger di Loria. In consideration of a large sum of money, he married his daughter to Azzo VIII., marquis of Ferrara.) TRANSLATOR.

At least, when the French monarchy, founded by Philippe-Auguste and Philippe-le-Bel, closed with Louis XVI., it had one consolation in its death. It perished in the midst of the vast glory of a young republic which, as its first trial of strength, conquered Europe and gave it new life. But the poor middle-age—but papacy, chivalry, feudalism, by whose hands do they perish? By those of the attorney, the bankrupt, the false-coiner.

The complaint is excusable; this new world is ugly. If more legitimate than that which it replaces, yet what eye, were it even Dante's, could discover it at this period? It is born with the wrinkles of the old Roman law, of the old imperial system of finance. It is born lawyer, usurer, Gascon, Lombard, and Jew.

What most provokes against this modern system, against France, its first representative, is its perpetual contradictions, its doubleness of nature, the naive hypocrisy, if I may so speak, with which it goes on adorning by turns its two principles—Roman and feudal, and shifting from one to the other. France is at this period a legist in cuirass, a lawyer barred in iron; and has recourse to feudal force to carry into execution the sentence of the Roman and canonical law.

Obedient daughter of the Church, she takes possession both of Italy and the Church itself. If she beat the Church, it is as a daughter, obliged in conscience to correct her mother.

The first act of the grandson of St. Louis was to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and to prohibit their sitting in any court, not only in the king's parliament and in his domains, but in those of the barons (A. D. 1287). "It is ordered by the council of our lord the king, that dukes, counts, barons, archbishops and bishops, abbots, chapters, colleges, gentlemen (*milites*), and, in general, all who have temporal jurisdiction in France, shall choose laymen for bailiffs, provosts, and officers of justice; and that they shall by no means appoint priests to these offices, so that if they commit any fault (*delinquant*), their superiors may straightway punish them. Whatever priests may fill the aforesaid offices must be removed.—Also, it is ordered, that all who after the present parliament have or shall have any suit in the court of our lord the king, and before the regular judges of the kingdom, shall choose laymen for their solicitors.—Registered in parliament, this All-Saints' day, in the year of our Lord 1287 *."

Philippe-le-Bel composed his parliament altogether of laymen. This is the first express separation of the civil ecclesiastical orders; rather, 'tis the foundation of civil order.

The priests were far from humbly submitting. They seem to have endeavoured to resume their seats in the parliament forcibly. In 1289, the king forbids "Philippe and Jean, door-keepers of the parliament, to allow any prelate to enter the chamber without the permission of the masters (presidents)."

Placed on its proper basis by the exclusion of the foreign element, the parliament proceeded to organise itself, by a division of labour, and the distribution of its different functions. Some were to receive and expedite petitions; others formed

themselves into committees of inquiry. Regular days were appointed for sitting, lists of challenge made out, and the functions of the king's officers determined. A great step was made towards judicial centralization. The parliament of Toulouse was suppressed, and the Languedocian appeals henceforward referred to Paris*: business of importance must have been more calmly transacted at a distance from this impassioned land, which bore the trace of so many revolutions.

The parliament has rejected the priests. It is not long before it proceeds to overt acts against them. In 1288, the king forbids the arresting of a Jew on the suit of a priest or a monk, previous to information laid before the seneschal or the bailiff of the grounds of the arrest, and without handing him in a copy of the writ. The religious tyranny under which the South groaned was moderated; and the seneschal of Carcassonne forbidden to imprison any one on the requisition of the inquisitors alone†. No doubt these concessions were interested. The Jew was the king's thing, his property; the heretic his subject, his *taxable*, would not have remained for him to plunder, had he been resigned to the extortions of the Inquisition. But let us not search too narrowly into the motive. The ordinance seems honorable to him who signed it; and we discern in it with pleasure the first light of tolerance and of religious equity.

In the same year, 1291, the king struck a bolder blow at the Church. He limited and loosened that fearfully absorbing power, which would by degrees have swallowed up all the lands of the kingdom‡—*gifts in mortmain* (*main-morte*, "dead-hand"). Dead, indeed, either to sell or give, the priest's and monk's hand was open and living to receive and take. The king raised the payment to be made by the clerical heir in compensation of the reliefs upon succession and fines upon alienation lost to him by an estate's devolving on the undying corporations of the Church, to treble, quadruple, and even sextuple its yearly value; and thus every donation of the kind made to the Church turned henceforward to the king's profit. The king, this new god of the civil world, came in for his share of pious gifts with Jesus Christ, with our Lady, and the saints.

So much for the Church. Feudalism, all armed and warlike as it is, is not the less attacked. It gives out from itself the principle which is to be its ruin—the principle of the feudal suzerainty of the crown. St. Louis expressly says in his Establishments (*Etablissements* §),—"If any one bring an action against his lord in the king's court for debt due to him, or on account of promises or covenants entered into with him, his lord shall not hold the court; for no lord ought to be judge, or to administer law in his own cause, according to the law inscribed in the code, 'Ne quis in sua causâ judicet,' in the only law which begins with

* D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, l. xxviii. c. 21, p. 72.

† Ordonnances, pp. 307. 322.

‡ "It was said (in parliament), that neither prelates nor their officials can inflict money fines on the Jews, or compel them by ecclesiastical censures, but that they can only punish them as laid down in the canon, namely, by cutting them off from the communion of the faithful." *Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ii. 148.—One is tempted to take this for a bitter irony on excommunication.

§ L. ii. c. 27.

* Ordonnances, i. 316.

Generali, in red and black," &c. The Establishments of Louis were drawn up for the king's own domains. Beaumanoir, in the *Coutume de Beauvoisis*—laws drawn up for the domains of one of St. Louis's sons, Robert of Clermont, progenitor of the house of Bourbon—writes (this is in the time of Philippe-le-Bel), that the king has a right to draw up Establishments not for his own domains only, but for the whole kingdom. The original should be consulted, to see with what skill he advances this scandalous and paradoxical opinion*.

Philippe-le-Hardi facilitated the acquisition of fudal property by plebeians (*roturiers*†). He enjoined his officers of justice "not to molest those non-nobles who shall purchase feudal property." As the "non-noble" was unable to discharge the noble services attached to the fief, the consent of the intermediate lords, up to the monarch, was required for the completion of the purchase. This number Philippe III. restricted to three.

The tendency of this legislation is easily explained, when we know who were the royal counsellors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the class from which they were taken.

Philippe-le-Hardi's chamberlain and counsellor was St. Louis's father, or surgeon, Pierre la Brosse, a native of Touraine. His brother, bishop of Bayeux, shared his power and his ruin as well. La Brosse had accused Philippe's second wife of having poisoned a son of his by his first. The party of the barons, at the head of which was the count d'Artois, maintained that this was a calumny of the favourite's, and accused him besides of selling the king's secrets to the Castilians‡. La Brosse

persuaded the king to consult a *beguine*, or mystic nun, of Flanders. The baronial party set up against her the Dominicans, ever the enemies of the mystics; and a Dominican delivered a casket to the king, in which were found, or supposed to be found, proofs of la Brosse's treason. His trial was conducted secretly; and they did not fail to find him guilty. His execution was witnessed by the count of Artois and numerous lords, the heads of the baronial party.

At the head of St. Louis's counsellors we may place Pierre de Fontaines, the author of the *Conseil à Mon Ami* (Advice to My Friend)—a work chiefly translated from the Roman laws. He was a native of the Vermandois; of which county he was bailiff in the year 1253. We afterwards find him among the Masters of the parliament of Paris. In this capacity, he delivers a judgment in the king's favour against the abbot of St. Benoît-sur-Loire (A. D. 1260); and then another, in the king's favour as well, against the monks of the wood of Vincennes. In these judgments, we find him signing his name after the chancellor of France. He styles himself knight (*chevalier*⁴); which at this period is no great thing. These gentlemen of the long robe early assumed the ridiculous title of Chevaliers-ès-Loi (knights-at-law⁵).

No more is there anything to show that Philippe de Beaumanoir, bailiff of Senlis, the author of the bulky book—the *Coutumes de Vermandois*, could boast of his birth. The house of the same name, which figures in the wars with the English in the fourteenth century is Breton, not Picard; and, besides, it cannot trace its descent regularly higher than the fifteenth.

The two brothers, Marigni, so powerful under Philippe-le-Bel, called themselves by their own family name of Le Portier‡. They were Normans, and purchased in their native country the estate of Marigni. The most celebrated of the two, the king's chamberlain and treasurer, and captain of the tower of the Louvre, is styled *coadjutor and governor of all the kingdom of France*. "He was," says a contemporary, "like a second king, and everything was done at his pleasure§." Nor are we inclined to suspect this to be an exaggeration, when we know that Marigni placed his own statue in the Palais-de-Justice by the side of the king's||.

Among Philippe-le-Bel's ministers, we must number two Florentine bankers, to whom undoubtedly the fiscal violences of this reign are in great part to be ascribed. The managers of the great and cruel trials instituted by this prince were Pierre Flotte, chancellor of the kingdom, who had the honour of being killed, all the same as if he were a knight, at the battle of Courtrai; and Plasian and Nogaret, his colleagues and successors. The latter, who acquired so tragical a celebrity, was born at Caraman, in Lauraguais. His grandfather, if we credit the aspersions of his enemies, had been burnt as a heretic. Nogaret was, at first, law professor at Montpellier, and then *juge-mage* (the

* Beaumanoir, c. 49, pp. 266, 267.—See, also, c. 48, and c. 34.

(“Beaumanoir lays it down, though in very moderate and doubtful terms, that ‘when the king makes any ordinance specially for his own domains, the barons do not cease to act in their territories according to the ancient usage; but when the ordinance is general, it ought to run through the whole kingdom, and we ought to believe that it is made with good advice, and for the common benefit.’ In another place he says, with more positiveness, that ‘the king is sovereign above all, and has of right the general custody of the realm, for which cause he may make what ordinances he pleases for the common good, and what he ordains ought to be observed; nor is there any one so great, but may be drawn into the king's court, for default of right, or for false judgment, or in matters that affect the sovereign.”)

“These latter words,” subjoins Hallam, “give us a clue to the solution of the problem, by what means an absolute monarchy was established in France. For though the barons would have been little influenced by the authority of a lawyer like Beaumanoir, they were much less able to resist the coercive logic of a judicial tribunal. It was in vain for them to deny the obligation of royal ordinances within their own domains, when they were compelled to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, which took a very different view of their privileges.” Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 250, 251. TRANSLATOR.

† (Hallam remarks on this word—“We have no English word that conveys the full sense of *roturier*. How glorious is this deficiency in our political language, and how different are the ideas suggested by *commoner*! Roturier, according to Du Cange, is derived from *ruptuarius*, a peasant, *ab agrum rumpendo*—that is, from breaking the soil.” See note at p. 207, vol. i. of Hallam's *Middle Ages*.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Guill. Nangiac, p. 532.—Chron. de St. Denis, p. 107.—Mariana, t. xiv. p. 616.—Sismondi, t. viii. p. 277.

• Dupuy, *Différent de Boniface VIII.* p. 615.

† (The title of *Sergeant-at-law*, equally absurd, is still retained.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Dupuy, *Templiers*, 1751, note at p. 45.

§ Ita ut secundus regulus videretur, ad cuius nuntum regni negotia gerebantur. Bern. Guidonis, *Vita Clem. V.* ap. Baluze, p. 82.

|| See Felioben, *Histoire de Paris*.

Seneschal's lieutenant), at Nîmes. The family of the Nogarets, so haughty in the sixteenth century under the name of Epemon, was noble on neither side in 1372. Shortly after that bold expedition in which Guillaume Nogaret laid hands on the pope, he was made chancellor and keeper of the seals. Philippe-le-Long revoked the grants which had been made him by Philippe-le-Bel; but he was not included in the proscription of the Marignis—an exemption no doubt due to a fear of throwing discredit on his judicial acts, which were of the last importance to the crown.

These legists, who from the twelfth century had governed the English kings, and who in the thirteenth directed St. Louis, Alphonso X., and Frederick II., were under St. Louis's grandson the tyrants of France. These knights-at-law, these souls of lead and iron, these Plasians, Nogarets, and Marignis, proceeded with frightful coldness in their servile imitation of the Roman law and of imperial fiscality. The Pandects were their Bible, their Gospel. They stopped at nothing as soon as they could say, whether wrongly or rightly, *Scriptum est*. . . . With texts, quotations, and falsifications, they battered down the middle age—popedom, feudalism, and chivalry. They went boldly to make *bodily seizure* on pope Boniface VIII.; they burnt the crusade itself in the person of the Templars.

Painful though it be to avow it, these cruel demolishers of the middle age are the founders of civil order in modern times. It is they who organize the centralization of the monarchy; and who scatter over the provinces bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, auditors, notaries, royal attorneys, masters, and weighers of coin. The forests are invaded by royal verdorers and *gruiers**. All these functionaries set about confusing, discouraging, and destroying the feudal jurisdictions. In the centre of this vast spider's web, sits the council of legists under the name of Parliament (fixed at Paris in 1302). There, all will gradually be absorbed and swallowed up by the kingly power. This lay law is especially the enemy of the ecclesiastical. At need, the legists will enrol the citizens with themselves; in fact, they are nothing better, although, whilst persecuting the nobility, they solicit ennoblement.

Creating government on this fashion was certainly a costly process. We are without sufficient details to arrive at exactitude; but we know that the provost's sergeants, that is, the executors and agents of this administration, so tyrannical at its birth, had at first—the horse-sergeant three sous (Paris) daily, which was subsequently doubled, and the foot-sergeant eighteen deniers, &c. Here is a complete judicial and administrative army. Presently, mercenary troops will arrive. Philippe de Valois will have at once several thousand Genoese cross-bowmen. Whence draw the enormous sums which all this is to cost? Manufactures are not yet created. This new social system is already attacked by the complaint of which the ancient died. It consumes, but does not produce. In process of time, manufactures, commerce, and wealth, will issue out of the bosom of order and

security. But so vast is the price of the establishment of this order, that it may be long doubted whether it does not increase the miseries it was designed to cure.

These evils are aggravated to excess by one circumstance. The baron of the middle age paid his servitors in lands, and in the produce of the land; great and small, they had seats at his table. Their pay was their daily food. To the immense machine of royal government, which substituted its complicated movement for the thousand natural and simple movements of feudal government, money alone can give the requisite impulse. If the newborn monarchy fail to possess itself of this vital element, it will perish, it will dissolve, and all its parts will crumble back into the isolation and barbarism of feudal government.

'Tis not the fault of this new system of government if it be greedy and hungry. Hunger is its nature, its necessity, the very basis of its constitution; to satisfy which, it must alternately employ craft and force. We have here in the king's individual person, as in the old romance, master Renard and master Isengrin—fox and wolf.

It is but right to observe that naturally the king does not love war; but prefers all other means of getting—purchase and usury. At first, ho traffics, exchanges, buys; the strong can thus strip his weak friends honestly. For instance, as soon as the French monarch despairs of taking Spain by means of papal bulls, he at least buys the patrimony of the younger branch of Aragon, the good city of Montpellier, the only one which remained to king Jayme*. Our prince, well advised and knowing in the law, had no scruples to acquire in this manner the last garment of his prodigal friend, a poor younger son, who sold his patrimony bit by bit; and the management of which he no doubt thought ought to be taken away from him in virtue of the Roman law, "*Prodigue et furiosus*†."

On the north he acquired Valenciennes, which placed itself in his hands (A.D. 1293): undoubtedly money had something to do with the transaction. Valenciennes brought him near to wealthy Flanders, so desirable to lay hold of, both for its wealth, and as being the ally of England. On the side of English France, he had purchased from the necessitous Edward I. the Quercy, a dry, mountainous country, of little value, but affording an entrance into Guyenne. Edward was at the time entangled in his Welsh and Scotch wars, in which he gained glory only. Indisputably, it would have been much to have established Britannic unity, and to have united in himself the sovereignty of the whole island; an object for the effecting of which Edward made heroic efforts, and at the same time committed atrocious barbarities. But in vain did he break the harps of Wales, slay its bards; in vain did he reduce king David to a traitor's doom, and transfer to Westminster the famous stone, the Scottish palladium, from Stone: he could bring nothing to a

* Hist. de Languedoc, l. xviii. c. 30, p. 76.

† Montpellier was at the same time a fief of the bishopric of Maguelone. The bishop, worn out by the opposition of the burghesses, and the support given them by the king of France, sold the latter all his rights; which, though previously judged invalid, seemed on this quite good enough to serve as a pretext for despoiling the aged Jayme. Sismondi, t. viii p. 464.

* (Wood-rangers. According to Borel, the word comes from druïd—gru for dru, dru, "oak." In the Latin of the middle-age we find *gruarius*, *grucius*. See Roquefort, Glossaire de la Langue Romane.) TRANSLATOR.

conclusion, either in the island or on the continent. Whenever he looked towards France with eager desire to cross over, some bad news would be sure to be brought him from the Scotch border, or from the marches of Wales, some new attempt of Llewellyn's or of Wallace's. The latter, the heroic chief of the clans*, was encouraged by Philippe-le-Bel, by this royal attorney, who took care not to stir; his end was secured by rousing Edward with his Scottish blood-hounds. He willingly allowed him to immortalize himself in the deserts of Wales and of Northumberland, proceeded against him at his ease, and let judgment go against him by default.

Thus, when he saw him occupied with repressing Scotland, in arms under Baliol, he summoned him to answer for the piracies of his Gascons upon our Normans. He summoned this king, this conqueror, to appear and clear himself before what he called the tribunal of peers. He first threatened, then beguiled him; offering him in marriage a princess of France, as the price of a fictitious submission, a simple seizure which would arrange every thing. The arrangement ended in the Englishman's throwing open his strongholds, and in Philippe's keeping them, and withdrawing his offers; so that this great province, this kingdom of Guyenne, changed masters by sleight of hand.

In vain did Edward exclaim against this proceeding. He sought and obtained against Philippe the alliance of the king of the Romans, Adolphus of Nassau, that of the dukes of Brittany and of Brabant, of the counts of Flanders, Bar, and of Gueldres. He wrote humbly to his subjects of Guyenne, asking their pardon for having consented to the seizure†. But, too busied with Scotland, he did not repair to Guyenne in person, and his party only experienced reverses. The pope (Boniface VIII.) sided with Philippe, to whom he owed his tiara; and, to give him an ally, he released the Scottish king from his oaths to the king of England. Finally, Philippe managed so well, that the Flemings, discontented with their count, summoned him to their assistance‡. Both kings relied on Flanders for supporting the war. This fat land was a natural temptation to these voracious governments. To that whole world of barons and of knights, whom the French kings weaned from private wars, Flanders was their dream, their poetry, their Jerusalem. All were ready to make a joyous pilgrimage to the magazines of Flanders, the spices

of Bruges, the fine cloths of Ypres, the tapestries of Arras.

It would seem as if God had made this good Flanders, and placed it between all, to be eaten of one or other. Before England was the Colossus we now see, Flanders was an England; but how inferior and incomplete in comparison. Drapers without wool, soldiers without cavalry, merchants without a navy, were the Flemings; and it is these three things, cattle, horses, and ships, which now constitute the marrow of England—the material, vehicle, and defence of her industry.

This is not all. The name of Flanders does not express a people, but a union of several very different countries, a collection of tribes and of cities. Nothing can be less homogeneous. Not to speak of differences of race and tongue, there has ever been hatred between city and city, hatred between the towns and the country, hatred between classes, hatred between trades, hatred between the sovereign and the people*. In a land where women inherited and transferred the sovereignty, the sovereign was often a foreign husband. Flemish sensuality, the materialism of this people of flesh, is manifested in the precocious indulgence of the Coutume de Flandre to women and bastards†. The Flemish women brought in by marriage masters from all countries—a Dane, an Alsatian; then, Frenchmen of different branches, Dampierre (a Bourbon), Louis de Mâle (a Capetian), Philippe-le-Hardi (a Valois); finally, Austria, Spain, then, Austria again. And now, Flanders is under the sway of a Saxon (Cobourg).

Flanders complained of the French count, Guy Dampierre. Philippe offered the Flemings his protection. Guy applied to the English, and sought to marry his daughter, Philippa, to Edward's son. According to the feudal law, this marriage, directed against the king of France, could not take place without his consent, as suzerain of Guy Dampierre. However, Philippe entered no protest; but hypocritically declared, that being the maiden's godfather, he could not allow her to cross the strait without embracing her‡. To refuse, was to declare war; and before the time had come. To go to Paris, was to run the risk of remaining there. Guy went; and did remain. Both father and daughter were detained in the tower of the Louvre. Thus Philippe deprived Edward of his ally and of his wife, just as he had of Guyenne. Subsequently, it is true, the count made his escape: but the maiden died, to Philippe's great damnification, who was interested in keeping such a hostage, and yet was accused of her death.

Edward thought he had roused the whole world against his disloyal enemy. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau, a poor petty prince despite of his title, would willingly have made war in Edward's pay, as Otho of Brunswick had formerly done in John's, and as, subsequently, Maximilian battled for Henry VIII. on a subsidy of a hundred crowns

* "Who could injure Flanders if those two states (cities), Bruges and Ghent, were of one accord." Meyer. Chron. p. 92.

† "It has been ruled in Flanders from the earliest times, that none are bastards on the mother's side." Meyer, fol. 75. This privilege was extended to the men of Bruges by Louis de Nevers: "He freed them from bastardy, were the bastard a citizen, or a citizen's son, without fraud." (1331.) Oudegherst. Chron. de Flandres.

‡ Id. Ibid. c. 120, fol. 213.—Sismondi, t. viii. p. 496.

* (The idea of Scotland and that of clanship seem so identified in the minds of Englishmen, let alone foreigners, that it is not surprising to find M. Michelet falling into this error with regard to Wallace.) TRANSLATOR.

† "We had concluded a treaty with the king of France, by which we had made on behalf of you and your duchy certain concessions, which we had conceived to be for the good of peace and the benefit of Christendom. But in so doing we were guilty towards you, since we did it without your consent; and we were the more guilty, inasmuch as you were prepared to guard and defend your land. However, we beg you to be pleased to hold us as excused, since we were circumvented and deceived at that conjuncture. We regret it more than any one, as Hugh de Vere and Raymond de Ferrers, who negotiated this treaty in our name at the court of France, will assure you. But, by God's blessing, we will henceforward do nothing important with regard to this duchy without your counsel and consent." Ap. Rymer, t. ii. p. 644. Sismondi, t. viii. p. 490.

‡ Oudegherst, Chron. de Flandres, c. 131, f. 214.

a day. The counts of Savoy, Auxerre, Montbelliard, Neuchâtel, Hainault, and Gueldres, the duke of Brabant, the bishops of Liege and of Utrecht, and the archbishop of Cologne, all promised to attack Philippe, all took English money, and, with the exception of the count of Bar, they to a man remained quiet. Edward paid them to act; Philippe, to do nothing.

The war was thus waged without tumult on battle. It was a struggle of corruption, a contest of money—to see which would first ruin the other. They had to give to their friends, they had to give to their enemies. Poor and wretched were the resources of kings of those days to meet such expenses. True, Edward and Philippe banished the Jews and kept their property*: but the Jew is slippery, and glided out of France, managing to take much of his means with him. The French king, whose ministers were at the time Italian bankers, bethought himself, no doubt by their advice, of levying contributions on the Italians, the Lombards, who were then turning France to profit, and who were a variety of the Jewish species. Then, in order to reach more surely still the whole race of money-makers, of those who bought and sold, the king, for the first time, had recourse to that evil expedient so often employed in the fourteenth century, the debasement of the coin†. It was an easy and silent tax, a secret bankruptcy; at least, at the outset. But soon, all profited by it; each paid his debts in debased money. The king gained less by the transaction than the crowd of faithless debtors. At last, he had recourse to a directer means, the universal imposition of the maltôte‡.

This repulsive name, invented by the people, was boldly accepted by the king himself. It was a last means; an invention from which, if there still remained any substance, if there was still anything left to be sucked out of the marrow of the people—that remainder was to be expected. But in vain did they press and screw. The patient was so dry that the new machine could express nothing out of him. Nor could the king of England any more draw anything from his people. His distress reduced him to despair; and in one of his parliaments he was even seen to weep.

Between this famished king and consumptive people there was, however, some one who was rich: that some one was the Church. Archbishops and bishops, canons and monks, ancient monks of St. Benedict, new monks called mendicants, all were rich and gorged with wealth. The whole of this tinsured world thrived on the blessings of heaven, and on the fat of the earth. They were a small, happy people, round, fat and oily, in the heart of the vast, hungered people, who then began to eye them with sidelong looks.

The German bishops were princes, and levied armies. The Anglican Church was said to possess half the lands of the island. Its revenue in 1337 amounted to seven hundred and thirty thousand

marks. At present, it is true, the archbishop of Canterbury receives only twelve hundred thousand francs a-year, and the archbishop of York eight hundred thousand. When the Restoration (la Restauration) was making preparations for the Spanish expedition, in 1822, among other items of information it was ascertained, that the archbishop of Toledo distributed daily before his farms and palaces ten thousand basins of soup, and the archbishop of Seville six thousand*.

Confiscation of the Church was the dominant idea of kings from the thirteenth century, and the chief instigation of their contests with the popes: all the difference is that the Protestants took, and the Catholics compelled her to give. Henry VIII. employed schism, François I. the concordat.

Which then of the two, in the fourteenth century, the king or the Church, was henceforward to make the most of France? This was the question. Already, when Philippe laid on his people the terrible tax of the maltôte, when he debased the coin, when he stripped the Lombards, subjects or bankers of the holy see, he struck Rome directly or indirectly, ruined it, cut off its supplies†.

At last Boniface resorted to reprisals. In the year 1296, in his bull *Clericis laicos*, he declares that every priest who shall pay, and every layman who shall exact relief, loan, or gift, unauthorized by the holy see, is to be held excommunicate by the act; and this without exception of rank or privilege. He also annulled an important privilege of our sovereigns, who, though excommunicated in their kingly capacity, could still hear mass and receive the sacrament in their chapel, with closed doors.

At the same moment, alleging the war with England as the cause, Philippe prohibited the exporting out of the kingdom gold, silver, arms, &c. This was to strike at Rome much more than at England.

Nothing can be more mystically haughty, or more paternally hostile, than the bull launched in reply to this:—"In the sweetness of an ineffable love (Ineffabilis amoris dulcedine sponso suo), the Church, united to Christ, her husband, enjoys the most ample gifts and graces, especially the gift of liberty. He has willed that his adorable spouse shall reign, as a mother, over his faithful people. Who, then, will not dread offending or provoking her? Who but will feel that he offends the husband in the spouse? Who will dare to infringe the liberties of the Church, in opposition to his God

* I should hardly have believed this, had it not been confirmed in my presence by the very minister by whose orders, information had been collected.—One of the monasteries recently suppressed at Madrid (that of St. Salvador) had two millions of revenue, and but one monk.

† Edward I. set to work more roughly still. On the refusal of the clergy to pay a tax that he had imposed, he issued a proclamation of outlawry against them, and the lord-chief justice of the king's bench gave notice in full court, that "no manner of justice should be done to them in any of the king's courts," but "that justice shall be had against them by every one that will complain and require it of us." Knighton, p. 2491. 2502. Math. Westmon. ann. 1296, p. 429. Siamondi, t. viii. p. 515.—Philippe-le-Bel proceeded, at least, according to form: "Since what is given is more acceptable, and is, too, more agreeable to God and man, than what is taken, we exhort you of your charity to give us this double tithe, or fifth." *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ii. 235.

* Edward, in 1289; Philippe, in 1290.

† Leblanc, *Traité des Monnaies*, p. 202.

‡ Guili. Nangiac. ann. 1296, p. 51.

(*Maltôte*, meaning *maltôte*, "wrongfully taken." The tax amounted to the fifth penny on every article deemed taxable, and was arbitrarily and violently raised, with a total disregard to justice.) TRANSLATOR.

and his Lord? Under what buckler will he hide himself, that the hammer of the power from on high may not reduce him to dust and ashes. . . . O, my son, turn not thy ear from the voice of thy parent, &c.*

Boniface goes on to beg the king to examine well into his situation: "Thou hast not prudently taken into consideration the countries and kingdoms which surround thy own, the wills of those who govern them, or, perhaps, the sentiments of thy subjects in the different parts of thy states. Turn thy eyes around thee, look, and reflect. Remember that the kingdoms of the Romans, of the English, and of Spain, environ thee on every side; think of their power, valour, the multitude of their inhabitants, and thou wilt at once see that it was not the time and the day to attack and wound us and the Church by such pricks. . . . Judge thyself what must have been the thoughts of the Apostolic see, when, during the very time that we were occupied with inquiring into and discussing the miracles attributed to the invocation of thy grandsire of glorious memory, thou hast sent us gifts such as provoke God's wrath, and merit, I do not say our indignation only, but that of the Church herself. . . ."

"When have thy ancestors and thyself had recourse to this see, and your petition has remained unheeded? And did a serious need again threaten thy kingdom, not only would the holy see grant thee reliefs at the hands of prelates and churchmen; but were the need urgent, it would lay its hand even on the chalices, crosses, and sacred vessels, rather than not thoroughly protect a kingdom so dear to the Holy See, and so long devoted to it. . . . We exhort, then, thy royal Serenity, and pray and entreat thee to receive with respect the medicaments offered thee by a paternal hand, to heed advice healthful to thee and thy kingdom, to correct thy errors, and not to suffer thy soul to be seduced by a false contagion. Preserve our good will and that of the Holy See, preserve a good reputation among men, and compel us not to have recourse to other and unusual remedies; which, though justice should force us to use them, and make it our duty, we should only employ regretfully and despite ourselves."

These grave words, blending gentleness with menace, must have made an impression. Hitherto, no pontiff had been more partial to our kings than Boniface. It is true, he had been made pope by the house of France; but then, he had, so far as depended on him, made it queen. He had invited Charles of Valois into Italy; and until he could give him the Latin empire of Constantinople, had created him count of Romagna, captain of the patrimony of St. Peter, and lord of the march of Ancona. He obtained the throne of Hungary for French princes; and did all that lay in his power to procure for them the imperial throne, and that of Castile. And in 1298, when chosen as arbiter by the French and English kings, he endeavoured to bring them together by means of marriage, and, by a conditional award, deferred the restitutions which Philippe was to make to the Englishman.

Aged as the Papacy already was, it still appeared to be the arbiter of the world. Boniface VIII. had been invited to judge between France and England, between England and Scotland, between Naples and Aragon, between the emperors Adolphus

of Nassau and Albert of Austria; was not all this enough to blind the pope as to his real strength?

His infatuation had reached its height when, in the year 1300, Boniface promised remission of their sins to all those who would repair to visit for thirty days the churches of the Holy Apostles. This jubilee recalled at once that of the Jews, and the secular festivals of pagan Rome. The Mosaic jubilee, which returned every fifty years, was to restore the slave to liberty, and alienated estates to their original possessors; it was, if I may so speak, to annul history and undo time in the name of the only Eternal. Ancient Rome, in quite a different point of view, borrowed from the Etrusci the doctrine of Ages*; but it was not to recognize in it the fluctuations of this world, the mortality of empires. Rome believed herself God; judged herself immortal as well as invincible; and on the return of each century, solemnized her eternity.

In the year 1300 faith was still great. Prodigious was the crowd which flocked to Rome†. The pilgrims were counted by the hundred thousand, and counting soon became impossible. Neither the houses nor the churches could contain them; and they encamped in the streets and squares, under places of shelter hastily run up, under stretched cloths, tents, and the arch of heaven. One would have thought that the end of time had come, and that the human race had assembled before its Judge in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

To have an idea of the effect of this prodigious spectacle, one must have seen Rome, fallen as she is, during Passion Week, and on the glorious festival of Easter: on these great days, one almost forgets that sorrowing Rome is before one, the widow of two antique worlds.

Whatever may have been Boniface's motive, whether fiscal or political, I owe him no grudge for this beautiful invention of the jubilee. Thousands of men, I feel assured, have thanked him for it in their hearts. Who but would wish thus to be able to lay a stone in the path of time, to find a resting-place in his life between the regrets of the past and the hopes of a better, a less to be regretted future? Who but would wish to pause whilst scaling the rude steep, to breathe a little at mid-day, *Nel mezzo cammin di nostra vita*‡? Great is our need of a resting-place midway, of a station§, of a jubilee.

And wherefore deride those fair souls who believed that evil could be fled by change of place, that one could travel from sin to sanctity, that the devil could be laid aside with the dress which we replace by the pilgrim's? Is it not something to escape from the influence of places and habits; to quit one's accustomed shores and sail to a new

* See my *Histoire Romaine*, t. i. p. 73.

† The concourse was so great as to produce a famine. See the work of cardinal St. George, Boniface's nephew, entitled *De Jubilæo*, in *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, xxv. p. 936.

‡ ("In the middle path of our life."—The opening line of Dante's *Inferno*.) TRANSLATOR.

§ (A "station" is one of the churches or chapels, where the pilgrim is bound to repeat certain prayers, or perform certain acts of devotion. The twelve *Basilicæ* of Rome—being twelve of the earliest Christian churches in Rome, and so called from having been the Halls, so called, used by the ancients, or else built on their model—were the stations appointed to be visited during the jubilee.) TRANSLATOR.

life? Is there not an evil power, strong to blind and infatuate, in those spots to which the heart roots itself—whether it be the Charmettes of Jean Jacques, or the Pinada of Byron, or that Lake of Aix-la-Chapelle, with which, according to tradition, Charlemagne was bewitched.

Let us not marvel at our ancestors' love of pilgrimages, and their attributing a regenerative virtue to visiting distant sanctuaries. "The aged man, all white and hoary, tears himself from the spots where he has pursued his career, and from his alarmed family who see themselves deprived of a cherished father.—Old, weak, and panting, he drags himself forward as he can, helped on by his good-will, overcome as he is by years and by the fatigue of the journey.—He comes to Rome to see the image of Him whom, dwelling on high, he hopes soon to behold again in heaven*." . . .

But there are who arrive not, who sink by the way. . . . Most of our readers will recollect that little painting of Robert's †, where the Roman pilgrim is seated in the arid campagna; she heeds neither her bleeding feet nor her nursing on her knees, panting with thirst, provided she reach the blessed hill which breaks the far distant horizon, *Monte di gioia!*

And when the end of the journey is Rome! when at the birth of a new century, at the solemn moment that an hour of the world's life has struck, we reach the great city, and see and touch those antique memorials and tombs, before only heard of and famed in our minds—and then, finding ourselves contemporary with all ages, both with consuls and with martyrs, and having, from station to station, from the Coliseum to the Capitol, and from the Pantheon to St. Peter, lived all history over again, having seen all death and all ruin—we depart, and retrace our steps towards our country, towards the natal tomb, but with less regret, and reconciled beforehand to die!

The Church, like those thousands of men who came on pilgrimage to her, found in this Jubilee of the year 1300, the sublime and culminating point of its historic life. From that hour, its descent began. In the very multitude there collected, mingled the formidable men who were about to open a new world: some, cold and implacable politicians, like the historian, John Villani; others, disappointed and haughty, like Dante, who was about to have his own Jubilee. The pope had summoned all the living to Rome; Dante, in his *Commedia*, convened all the dead—revised the world that had closed, classified it, judged it. The middle age, as well as antiquity, appeared before him. Nothing was hidden from him. The secret of the sanctuary was told and profaned: the seals were taken off and broken, nor have they since been found. The middle age had lived; life is a mystery, which perishes the moment it has revealed itself. The revelation of the middle age was the *Divina Commedia*, the cathedral of Cologne, the paintings of the Campo Santo of Pisa. Thus art comes to terminate, to close one civilization—to crown it, and place it gloriously in the tomb.

Let us not blame the pope, if this octogenarian, lawyer as he was, and reared in stratagems and

the most prosaic intrigues*, allowed himself to be hurried away by the greatness and poetry of the moment, in which he saw mankind assembled at Rome, and kneeling before him. . . . Besides, there is a sombre influence which gives the vertigo in this tragic city. The sovereigns of Rome, its emperors, have often seemed madmen. And even in the fourteenth century, did not Cola Rienzi, a washer-woman's son, become tribune of Rome, point his sword towards the three quarters of the globe and say, "This and this, and that, too, is mine."

Much greater reason had the pope to believe himself master of the world. When Albert of Austria declared himself emperor on the death of Adolphus of Nassau, Boniface, in his rage, placed the crown on his head, seized a sword, and exclaimed—"It is I who am Cæsar, it is I who am emperor, it is I who will defend the rights of the empire." In the Jubilee of the year 1300, he showed himself in the midst of this multitude of every nation with the imperial insignia, with the sword and sceptre borne before him on the globe, and preceded by a herald, crying, "Here are two swords; Peter, thou seest here thy successor; and you, O Christ! regard your vicar." This was his explanation of the two swords which happened to be in the room in which Jesus Christ celebrated the Last Supper with his apostles †.

This excess of pontifical daring was to perpetuate the war between the two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil. The struggle, which seemed to have ended with the house of Swabia, is resumed by that of France—a war of ideas, not of persons; of necessity, not of will; begun by the pious Louis IX., and continued by the sacrilegious Philippe IV.

"To recognise two powers and two principles," says Boniface, in his magnificent bull, *Unam Sanctam*, "is to be heretical and Manichean." . . . But the world is born Manichean, and will die such; it will ever feel within itself the struggle of the two principles. We would wish, indeed, not to believe in this duality, but we find it everywhere—nowhere more than in ourselves. . . . *What seekest thou? Peace.* This has been ever the riddle of the world, for the six or eight thousand years that there has been a world. But man is, and ever will be double: there will ever be in him pope and emperor ‡.

Peace! It exists in harmony, undoubtedly; but from age to age it has been sought in unity. As early as the second century, St. Irenæus writes against the Gnostics his book, entitled, *De Monarchiâ*,—on the unity of the principle of the world.

* "He was skilled in the law, having first been an advocate in the sacred college, then the pope's notary, then cardinal, and whilst cardinal, assessor in settling forth the judgments of the college, and replying to foreigners," (expeditor ad causas collegii declarandos, seu ad externos respondendos). Muratori, xi. 1113.

† (I give the original—"Il expliquait ainsi les deux épées qui se trouvaient dans le lieu où Jésus-Christ fit sa cène avec ses apôtres.") TRANSLATOR.

‡ "Since every nature is appointed to its own specific end, it follows that the nature of man is two-fold, so that of all beings he alone partakes of corruptibility and incorruptibility. . . . wherefore to twofold man a twofold guide was necessary—to wit, the supreme pontiff, to guide mankind, by the way of revelation, to life eternal; and the emperor, to direct mankind, by the lights of philosophy, to temporal felicity." Dante, *De Monarchiâ*, p. 78, edid. Zatta.

* Petrarcha, sonn. 14.

† (A French artist of high talent, whose untimely death has been a serious loss to art.) TRANSLATOR.

De Monarchiâ, too, is the title of Dante's work,—on the unity of the social world*.

Dante's is a strange work. He lays down peace, as the condition of development; peace, under an only monarch. This monarch, possessing all, has nothing to desire, and inasmuch is impeccable. The root of evil is concupiscence—where all has been supplied, what is there to desire; what concupiscence can arise? Such is Dante's reasoning. There remains to be proved that this ideal is real, and that this reality is the Roman people; and that, lastly, the Romans have transmitted their sovereignty to the emperor of Germany.

This work is a splendid Ghibeline epitaph on the German empire. In the year 1300 the Empire is no longer Germany exclusively, but is henceforward every empire, every monarchy; it is the civil power in every country, and most especially in France. The two adversaries now are the Church, and the eldest son of the Church. On both sides the pretensions are illimitable—there are two infinities, face to face. The king, if he be not the only king, is, at least, the greatest king in the world; the most revered, too, since St. Louis. Eldest son of the Church, he claims to be older than his mother: "Before there were priests," he said, "the king was guardian of the kingdom of France§."

The quarrel had already been begun with regard to church property; but other causes of irritation existed. Boniface had decided between Philippe and Edward, not as a friend and private person, but as pope. The count of Artois, indignant at the pontiff's partiality for the Flemings, snatched the bull from the legate's hands, and tossed it into the fire. By way of reprisal, Boniface favoured Albert of Austria against Charles of Valois, who aspired to the imperial crown. On his side, Philippe seized on the vacant revenues of Laon, Poitiers, and Reims; and countenanced the mortal enemies of Boniface, the Colonna—those rude Ghibelines and leaders of the Roman brigands against the popes.

* Id. *ibid.* t. iv. p. 2*. The editor has given the Imperial eagle by way of frontispiece, with this inscription:—

E sotto l'ombra della sacre penne,
Governò 'l mondo li di mano in mano.

Paradis. c. vi. v. 7.

(And under the shadow of his sacred plumes, he governed the world there, through successive hands.)

† Notandum quod justitie maxime contrariatur cupiditas. . . . Ubi non esset quod possit optari, impossibile est ibi cupiditatem esse. . . . Sed monarchia non habet quod possit optare. Sua namque jurisdictio terminatur oceano solum. Id. *ibid.* p. 47. He proceeds to prove, that charity and universal liberty can only exist on condition of this monarchy. "Oh man! man! what storms, shipwrecks, and losses must be thine, whilst, a beast of many heads, thou pullest different ways; and in like manner, 'rt at variance both in thought and feeling . . . when with the trumpet of the Holy Ghost it is proclaimed to thee, "Lo, how sweet and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." Id. *ibid.* p. 27.

‡ He proves it, 1st. By the origin of Romulus, sprung at once from Europe and Atlas (Africa), "Quem in illo duplici concursu sanguinis à qualibet mundi parte in unum virum; prædestinatio divina latebit?" 2dly, by the miracles wrought by God for Rome, as the ancilia which fell from heaven in Numa's time, the geese of the capitol, &c. 3rdly, by the goodness displayed to Rome by the world, in being pleased to conquer it, &c. Id. *ibid.* p. 27, 28.

§ Antequam essent clerici, rex Franciæ habebat custodiam regni sui, et poterat statuta facere. Dupuy, Pr. p. 178.

A possession evilly acquired, and which for a century had been a bone of contention between the pope and the king, was the immediate cause of the explosion—I allude to that bloody spoil, Languedoc. Boniface VIII. paid for Innocent III. The archbishop loudly claimed the right of homage from Narbonne (A. D. 1300), for which the viscount did homage direct to the king, but showed a disposition to come to terms, when the pope threatened him with excommunication if he entered into treaty without the sanction of the Holy See. He summoned to Rome the king's *man* (the viscount of Narbonne); and, moreover, menaced Philippe, if he did not renounce the countship of Melgueil, of which his officers had despoiled the church of Maguelone*.

This was not all. In Philippe's despite, the pope had created in Languedoc—a land full of hazard to France, lying as it did at the very gates of the count of Foix and of the king of Aragon, a new bishopric, cut out of the diocese of Toulouse, the bishopric of Pamiers. The new bishop was a creature of his own, Bernard de Saisset; and this individual he selected as his envoy to the king, to remind the latter of his promise to undertake the crusade, and to summon him to set at liberty the count of Flanders and his daughter. Philippe-le-Bel was not to be addressed in such fashion with impunity.

This Saisset, who delivered his message with excess of boldness, had been already named to the king by the bishop of Toulouse†, as the originator of a vast conspiracy to deprive the French of the whole of the South. Saisset belonged to the family of the ancient viscounts of Toulouse; and was the friend of all the distinguished men and municipal nobility of this great city‡. His dream was the foundation of a kingdom of Languedoc§, in favour of the count of Foix, or of the count of Comminges, who sprang from the Raymonds of Toulouse, so deeply regretted by their ancient subjects||.

These great lords of the South had not the power, or the patriotism, or the lofty courage required for such an undertaking. The count of Comminges crossed himself when he heard such bold proposals, and exclaimed, "This Saisset is a devil rather than a man¶." The count of Foix

* Dupuy, Differ. p. 9.

† "For there was anciently a count and viscount of Toulouse, and he was descended from the viscounts who governed a certain part of the state of Toulouse." Id. *ibid.* p. 640.

‡ "Because all the best families of Toulouse are akin to me, and will do as I desire." *Ibid.* p. 643.

§ "He had heard the said bishop of Pamiers say to the count of Foix, 'Come to terms with me, and you shall have the town of Pamiers, and shall be king, for that there was formerly a kingdom there as noble as the kingdom of France; and afterwards I will make you count of Toulouse, as I have many very noble and very powerful friends in the city and land of Toulouse.'" . . . *Ibid.* p. 645. See, too, the testimony of the first witness, p. 633, and that of the sixteenth, p. 640.

|| "The bishop himself had always loved the count of Comminges and all his family, and particularly because he was on one side lineally descended from the count of Toulouse, and the people of the said land were attached to the aforesaid count for this reason." *Ibid.* Evidence of the seventeenth witness, p. 642.

¶ Quibus auditis dictus comes signavit se, dicens: "Iste non est homo, sed diabolus." *Ibid.* p. 644, and p. 650,—

played a more odious part. He received all Saisset's confidential disclosures; but only to communicate them to the king through the bishop of Toulouse*. He made known that Saisset designed to seek the hand of the daughter of the king of Aragon, who, he said, was his friend, for the son of the count de Foix†; that, moreover, he had said, "The French will never do any good, but rather harm to the country‡:" and that he would not arrange the disputes regarding his bishopric with the count de Foix, except on condition of his coming to an arrangement with the counts of Armagnac and of Comminges, and so combining the whole country under his influence.

Several bitter sayings against the king were attributed to Saisset:—"Your king of France," he was reported to have said, "is a false coiner. His money is only dirt. . . . This Philippe le Bel is neither a man nor even a beast, he is an image, nothing more§. . . . The birds, says the fable, chose the *duc* for their king, a large and fine bird, it is true, but the most worthless of all. The magpie came one day to complain to the king of the sparrow-hawk, and the king made no answer (*nisi quod flavit*). There is your king of France for you; he is the finest man one can lay eyes on, but he can only stare at people||. . . . The world is now-a-days dead and destroyed through the evil nature of this court¶. . . . But St. Louis has told me more than once, that the French monarchy would perish with its tenth king, reckoning from Hugh Capet**."

"Two of Philippe's commissioners, a layman and a priest, coming into Languedoc to institute proceedings against Saisset, he felt his danger, and was for flying to Rome: but the king's men did not allow him time. They took him, by night, in his bed, and carried him off to Paris together with his servants, who were put to the torture. The king then sent to the pope, not to exonerate himself for having violated the privileges of the Church, but to require the bishop's degradation, before he had him executed. The king's letter breathes a strange thirst of blood:—the king requires the sovereign pontiff to apply such remedy, and so to exercise the duty of his office as that this man of death (*dictus vir mortis*), whose life sullies the very spot he inhabits, be degraded from his order, and stripped of every clerical privilege; and so that the lord king may of this traitor to God and man, this man plunged into an abyss of iniquity, har-

dened and beyond hope of correction—that the king may, by the execution of justice, make an excellent sacrifice. So steeped is he in sin, that all the elements must fail him in death, since he is offensive to God and to all creatures*."

The pope claimed the bishop, suspended the privilege the French kings enjoyed of exemption from excommunication, and summoned the clergy of France to attend at Rome on the 1st of November, of the year following. Finally, he addressed to the king the bull *Ausculat filii*, "Hearken, my son, to the counsels of a tender father." The pope began by these irritating words, which his adversaries well knew how to turn to their advantage: "God has set us, although unworthy, above kings and kingdoms, imposing on us the yoke of apostolic servitude, to root out and pull down, destroy, disperse, scatter, and to build and to plant in his name and by his doctrine†. . . ." Altogether the bull was, under a paternal form, a recapitulation of all the griefs of the pope and of the Church.

Pierre Flotte, the chancellor, undertook to bear the answer to the pope. The answer was, that the king would not release his prisoner, that all he would do was to entrust him to the safeguard of the archbishop of Narbonne; that gold and silver should no more be allowed to quit France, and that the prelates should not repair to Rome. It was a rude insult for the pope, still triumphant from his Jubilee, to be addressed so freely by this little one-eyed lawyer‡. The altercation was violent. The pope took the high tone:—"My power," he said, "embraces the two." Pierre Flotte replied by a sharp *distinction*:—"Yes, but your power is verbal, the king's real§." The Gascon Nogaret, who was associated with Pierre Flotte, could not contain himself. He denounced violently, and with all the impetuous vehemence of the South, the abuses of the pontifical court, and the conduct of the pope himself||. And so they quitted Rome, raging in their professional hatred of priests, having insulted the pope, and certain of perishing if they did not anticipate him.

To arouse the general indignation against Boniface, it behoved to extract some very clear and very offensive consequences from the affected babble in which the court of Rome loved to drown its meaning. So they drew up between them a

* Ib. p. 633. This is a pedantic imitation of a passage, in Cicero's defence of Roscius Amerinus (*Pro Roscio Amerino*), relative to the punishment of pericide.

† Preuves du Différend, p. 48—52.

(The words of the bull, quoted in the text, are those addressed to Jeremiah, in respect to his prophetic mission. (Jerem. c. i. v. 10.) They had been advanced in support of the papal pretensions long before the time of Boniface; as, for instance, in the Letter of Honorius III., written in 1225, to Louis of France.

"*Ausculat filii*, the two first words of this bull, have affixed to it its historical name. It was published in December, 1301, and was preceded only two days by another constitution of Boniface, called *Salvator Mundi*, by which he suspended all favours and privileges which had been accorded by his predecessors to the kings of France, and to all their subjects, whether lay or clerical, who abetted Philip. Pag. Bonif. VIII. sec. 57." Waddington's History of the Church, vol. ii. notes to p. 436.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Belial ille, Petrus Flote, semivivens corpore, menteque totaliter excecatus. Bulle de Bonif. aux prélats de France. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 65.

§ Dupuy, Hist. du Diff. p. 11.

|| Ibid.

where is given the evidence of the count himself, which comprises all the charges sworn to by the rest.

* This bishop of Toulouse was detested in his diocese as being a Frenchman, and unacquainted with the language of the country. . . . "For he is of a tongue, which of ancient date is hostile to our tongue, (*Quia est de lingua quæ inimicatur linguæ nostræ ab antiquo*)." Ibid. p. 643.

† Ibid. First witness, p. 634.

‡ Ibid. p. 645.

§ Ibid. Twenty-second witness, p. 648; and the Twenty-third witness, p. 649.

|| *Aves antiquitus fecerunt regem, ut narratur in fabulis, et fecerunt regem de quadam ave vocata duc, quæ est magna et inter aves major et pulchrior, et absolutè nihil valet, imò est villor avis quàm sit. . . . Talis rex Francie, quod erat pulchrior homo mundi, et nihil aliud scit facere nisi respicere homines.* Ibid. p. 643, 644.

¶ Ibid. The Twenty-second witness, p. 648.

** Ibid. p. 633; and the Twenty-first witness, p. 648. See, also, p. 651.

brutal summary or petty bull (*petite bulle*), in which the pope was made to express all his pretensions in the bluntest terms. At the same time they circulated a false answer to the false bull, in which the king addressed the pope with vulgar violence and grossness. This answer, of course, was not intended to be sent, but to produce two results. In the first place, it degraded the sacrosanct power, on which this dirt was thrown with such impunity; and, in the second place, it intimated that the king felt himself strong, which is the way to be really so.

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philippe, king of the Franks: fear God and keep his commandments. We will thee to know that thou art subjected to us in temporal as well as spiritual matters; that collation to benefices and prebends belongs not to thee; that if thou hast the keeping of vacant benefices, it is to reserve their fruits for those who succeed to them; that if thou hast collated to any, we declare the collation invalid, and revoke it, if it have been executed, declaring all those who think otherwise heretics. Given at the Lateran, on the nones of December, in the seventh year of our Pontificate." This is the date of the bull, *Ausculda fili*.*

"Philippe, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, who gives himself out for pope, little or no greeting. Let thy very great silliness know that we are subject to no one in temporal matters; that collation to vacant churches and prebends belongs to us of royal right; that the fruits are ours; that the collations made and to be made by us, are valid both for past and future; that we will maintain those in possession with all our power, and that we hold all who think differently, fools and madmen."

These strange words, which, a century before, would have armed the whole kingdom against the king, were well received by the nobility, and by the towns. A step further was then taken; and the nobility directly compromised with the pope. On the 11th of February, 1302, the *petite bulle* was burnt, in presence of the king and of a crowd of barons and knights, in the midst of the Parisians; and the act was then proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout the capital. Yet two hundred years—and a German monk will do of his own private authority, what Pierre Flotte and Nogaret are now doing in the name of the king of France.

But it was requisite to engage the whole kingdom in the quarrel; and an unusual measure was resorted to. The pope had convoked the prelates to Rome for the 1st of November; the king convoked the states for the 10th of April—no more the states of the clergy and nobility, no more the states of the South, as assembled by St. Louis, but the states both of South and North, the states of the three orders, of the clergy, the nobility, and the burgesses of the towns. This assembling of the States-General by Philippe-le-Bel constitutes the national era of France, its baptismal register; and the place of its baptism was the basilica of Notre-

Dame, for there the states first met. In like manner as the Holy See, in the time of Gregory VII. and of Alexander III., had relied on the people; so did the enemy of that see now summon the people to his aid. These burgesses, mayors, sheriffs, consuls of towns, under whatever humble and servile form they now assemble to speak as directed by king and nobles, were, nevertheless, the first visible manifestation of the people.

Pierre Flotte opened the states (April 10th, 1302), in bold and able style. He attacked the first words of the bull, *Ausculda fili*:—"God has set us over kings and kingdoms." . . . Then he asked whether the French could without cowardice allow their kingdom, always free and independent, to be thus placed in vassalage to the pope? This was adroitly confounding moral and religious, with political dependence, touching the feudal string, rousing the warrior's contempt of the priest. The fiery count of Artois, who had already snatched from the legate and torn in pieces the bull *Ausculda*, took up the word, and said, that if the king chose to endure or to overlook the pope's designs, the barons would not*. This coarse flattery, wearing the guise of freedom and boldness, was applauded by the nobles. At the same time, they were induced to sign and seal a letter, written in the vulgar tongue, not to the pope, but the cardinals. This letter was probably written beforehand by the care of the chancellor, for it is dated the 10th of April, the very day on which the states met. In this lengthy epistle, the barons, after wishing the cardinals "constant increase of charity, love, and all the good they can wish themselves," declare, that as to the evils which "he who at present is in the seat of the government of the Church," alleges to have been committed by the king, they have no wish, "neither they, nor the universities, nor the people of the kingdom, to have them corrected or amended by any other than by our said lord the king." They accuse "him who at present sits in the seat of the government of the Church," of drawing large sums from the collation of archbishops, bishops, and other beneficiaries, "so that the people, who are subjected to them, are oppressed and fleeced; nor can the prelates confer the benefices in their gift on the noble clerks, and other well-born and well-learned men of their dioceses, by whose predecessors churches were founded†." Indisputably, the barons subscribed with all their heart to this last sentence, in which the able framer of the epistle insinuated, that benefices, mostly founded by their ancestors, should be given to their younger brothers, or their creatures, as has been the practice in England, more particularly since the Reformation. By this stroke of policy the discomfiture of the pope was identified with the restoration of the vast estates of which the barons had stripped themselves to bestow on the Church in the ages of religious fervour‡.

* Dupuy, Hist. du Diff. p. 12.

† Id. Preuves, p. 60—62.

‡ The letter went on to say, in the name of the nobles, "And were it the case that we, or that any of us, should choose to suffer it, neither our said lord the king, nor the common people of the said kingdom would allow of it: and, to our great grief and sorrow, we will you to know by the holder of these letters, that these are not things pleasing to God, or which ought to please any right-principled person, nor ever did such things enter man's heart, nor would now,

* Dupuy, Preuves, p. 44.

† Id. p. 59.—Fuernt litteræ ejus (pape) in regno Francie coram pluribus concemate, et sine honore remissi annuli. Chron. Rothomagensis, ann. 1302; and Appendix Annallum, II. Steronis Althensis. The manuscript quoted by Dupuy (Preuv. du Diff. p. 59), and which he alone has seen, is not, therefore, as M. Sismondi says, the only authority for the fact. Hist. des Franç. t. ix. p. 88.

To judge by the reply of the cardinals, the letter of the citizens was modelled on that of the nobles. But it has not been preserved; whether it was thought unworthy of the care, or that it was feared that the last of the three orders should afterwards advance pretensions on the bold language which it had been allowed to use on this occasion.

The letter on behalf of the clergy is quite opposed to these by its moderation and mildness. It is addressed "Sanctissimo patri ac domino suo carissimo," to their most holy father and dearest lord the pope. . . . They set forth the king's griefs, and claim independence for him as regards temporal matters. They state that they have done all in their power to soften him; and that they have besought him to allow them to throw themselves at the feet of the apostolic beatitude; but that king and barons have answered that they would on no account be suffered to quit the kingdom. They are bound, they say, by their oath to the king, to defend his person, his honours, and liberties, as well as the rights of the kingdom—and *so much the more as numbers of them held duchies, counties, baronies, and other fiefs* *. Finally, in this their hard necessity, they throw themselves on the providence of his sanctity, "with words full of tears and of sobs mixed with tears, imploring his paternal clemency," &c.

nor could they be looked for, except by Antichrist. . . . Wherefore we pray and entreat you with all earnestness and affection . . . that all the evils which have been evoked be altogether done away with, and that for the excesses which he has been in the habit of committing, he be so punished that the state of Christendom be restored to and may remain in peace, and on these matters give us to know by the bearer of these letters your pleasure and intention: for it is for this we send him specially to you, and we will you to be assured that neither for life nor for death we will desert, or wish to desert this quarrel, and that we do now according to the pleasure of our lord the king. . . . And because it would be too long and troublesome, were each of us to put his seal to the present letters, written by our common consent—We, Loys (Louis), son of the king of France, cuens de Eyreux (count of Evreux); Robert cuens d'Artois; Robert dux de Bourgoigne (duke of Burgundy); Jean dux de Bretagne (duke of Brittany); Ferry dux de Lorraine; Jean cuens (count) de Hainaut et de Hollande; Henry cuens de Luxembourg; Guis cuens de St. Pol; Jean cuens de Dreux; Hugues cuens de la Marche; Robert cuens de Bouloigne; Loys cuens de Nivers et de Retel; Jean cuens d'Eu; Bernard cuens de Comminges; Jean cuens d'Aubmarle; Jean cuens de Fores; Valeran cuens de Perigors; Jean cuens de Joigny; J. cuens d'Auxerre; Aymars de Poitiers cuens de Valentinois; Estennnes cuens de Sancerre; Renault cuens de Montbellart; Enjorant sire (lord) de Coucy; Godefroy de Brehan; Raoul de Clermont, constabable de France; Jean sire de Chastilauiain; Jourdain sire de Lille; Jean de Chalon sire Darlay; Guillaume de Chaveigny sire de Chastila-Raoul; Richars sire de Beaujeu; et Amaury vicuens (viscount) de Narbonne, have put at the request, and in the name of all, and for all the rest, our seals to these present letters. Given at Paris, the 10th day of April, the year of grace 1302."

* Prout quidam nostrum qui ducatus, comitatus, baronias, feoda et alia membra dicti regni tenemus adessemus eidem debitis consiliis et auxiliis opportunis. They add, "And we act thus, conscious that difficulties thicken and multiply when laymen shrink from acting with priests." Id. Preuves, p. 70.

† The letter is dated, or, more probably, antedated, March, "Datum Parisiis die Martis prædicta" (the aforesaid day of March); now, no day is previously mentioned; but they would not date from the day on which the king summoned

This letter, different as it is from that of the barons, nevertheless equally puts forward the great grievance of the nobility—"The prelates no longer have aught to give, nor even wherewith to make restoration to, the nobles, whose ancestors founded churches *."

Whilst the struggle was thus going on with the pope, a momentous and fearful circumstance occurred, which widened the breach. The states assembled on the 10th of April. But, on the 21st of March, a repetition of the Sicilian Vespers had taken place at Bruges—where four thousand French had been massacred.

The barons had met for the opening of the states, and were easily persuaded to direct their army against Flanders, filled with wrath as they were and swollen with feudal pride; a victory over the Flemings would be a battle gained over the pope. Pierre Flotte, deeply involved in the issue, would not lose sight of the king. Chancellor though he was, and one of the long robe, he mounted his horse with the men at arms.

Cruelly punished were the Flemings for their having called in the French. From the very first day, a mutual ill-will had sprung up between them. Edward having left the count to his own resources, in order that he might devote himself to the war with Wallace, the French drove him from place to place, and persuaded him to give himself up to Philippe, who would treat him well. This good treatment was throwing him into the prison of the Louvre, where his daughter had already died.

The French king had only to take peaceable possession of Flanders. He himself even had no idea of the importance of his conquest. When he led his queen with him to visit the rich and famous cities of Ghent and Bruges, they were dazzled and alarmed. The Flemings thronged to meet them in vast numbers, curious to see a king. They sallied forth with their huge, fat persons richly arrayed, and wearing heavy chains of gold, thinking to honour and pleasure their new lord †. It was quite the contrary. The queen could not forgive their being so bravely attired, especially the women: "Here," she said with spite, "I see only queens ‡."

Châtillon, an uncle of the queen of France, the governor appointed by Philippe, set about curing them of this pride and insolence of wealth. He deprived them of their municipal elections and the management of public business, which was setting the rich against him; and then struck at the poor by assessing the workman in a quarter of his daily wages. The Frenchman, accustomed to harass our petty communes, did not know the risk he ran in putting in motion these prodigious anti-hills, these formidable wasp-nests of Flanders. The crowned lion of Ghent which sleeps, its head on the Virgin's lap §, slept

his baronage, since they had not complied with the pope's summons.

* Et prælati dum non habent quid pro meritis tribuant, imo retribuunt, nobilibus, quorum progenitores ecclesias fundaverunt, et aliis litteratis personis, non inveniunt servitores. Dup. Preuves, p. 69.

† "The leading men wore garments of two entirely opposite colours; the multitude added a third." Meyer, ann. 1301, p. 89.

‡ Ego rata sum solum me esse reginam: at hic sexcenta conspicio. Ibid.

§ "The city arms are a virgin, within a wooden railing,

badly and awakened often. Roland's bell sounded oftener for tumult than for fire—*Roland! Roland! tingle, 'tis a fire; peal, 'tis a rising* *!

The result was not difficult to be foreseen. The people began to whisper together, and to assemble at night-fall†. The Sicilian Vespers had taken place but twenty years before.

At first, thirty of the heads of the trades appeared before Châtillon to complain that the works undertaken by royal order had not been paid for‡. The high and mighty lord, accustomed to the rights of *corvée* and purveyorship, was indignant at their insolence and threw them into prison. The people flew to arms, set them free, and some lives were lost, to the great alarm of the wealthier classes, who declared for the royal officers. The affair was brought before the parliament. Here we have the parliament of Paris sitting in judgment on Flanders, as it but recently did on the king of England.

The decree of the parliament was that the heads of the trades were again to be thrown into prison. Among them were two men loved by the people; the deacon of the butchers and the deacon of the weavers. The latter, Peter König (Peter King), was a poor man, of wretched appearance, little, and one-eyed; but a man of head, and a popular mob and street-orator§. He led the trades out of Bruges; and they massacred all the French in the neighbouring villages and castles, returning by night. They stretched chains across the streets to hinder the French from *scouring the town*; and each burghess was pledged to remove the saddle and bridle of the knight lodged with him. On the 21st of March, 1302, all the lower classes sound the alarm on their caldrons||; a butcher strikes the first blow; in every direction the French are attacked and cut down. The women were the most furious in throwing them out of the windows; or they were led to the market-places, where they were put to death. The massacre continued for three days; and twelve hundred knights and two thousand foot-soldiers fell victims.

After this plunge, it remained but to conquer or die. The men of Bruges marched at first to Ghent, in the hope of being joined by its citizens. But these were held back by the large manufacturers¶; and, perhaps, by the jealousy Ghent had of Bruges as well. The men of Bruges had with them, besides their own lands, only Ypres, l'Écluse,

Newport, Berghes, Furnes, and Gravelines, which followed them either willingly, or perforce. They had placed at the head of their militia one of the sons of the count of Flanders (the young Guy of Dampierre), and one of his grandsons (William of Juliers), who was a priest, but who unfrocked himself in order to fight along with them*.

They were in Courtrai, when the French pitched their camp in front of it. These mechanics, who had seldom fought in the open country, would, perhaps, have willingly retired; but retreat was dangerous in a large plain, and before so numerous a cavalry†. They waited for the attack bravely. Each man had fixed in the ground before him his *guttertag*, or stake shod with iron. Their device was the fine motto, *Scilt und Vriendt*, "My friend and my buckler‡." Mass was celebrated, and they wished to take the communion together; but as they could not all receive the eucharist, each man stooped down, and raised to his lips a morsel of the turf at his feet§. The knights who were with them dismounted and dismissed their horses; and at the same time that they thus converted themselves into foot-soldiers, they dubbed the heads of the trades knights. All knew that the day of grace was past. Rumours, too, ran from man to man, that Châtillon had brought casks filled with ropes to hang them with||; and that the queen had counselled the French when they were killing the Flemish boys, not to spare the sows¶.

The constable, Raoul de Nesle, proposed a manœuvre by which the Flemings would have been turned, and cut off from Courtrai. But the king's cousin, the count d'Artois, who commanded the army, brutally asked him, "Are you afraid of these rabbits, or have you any of their skin about you?" The constable, who had married one of the count of Flanders' daughters, felt the insult, and haughtily answered, "If your highness will ride even with me to-day, you will ride far enough!" At the same time he commanded and led an impetuous charge in a cloud of July dust (it was the 11th of July, 1302). As each man-at-arms strove to follow him closely through shame of being among the hindmost, the rearward pushed on the leading files, who, when near to the Flemings, found themselves upon what is found in every direction in this canal-cut country, a fosse, five fathoms wide**.

The cavalry were thus precipitated into it; and the fosse being in the shape of a crescent they could not file off on the wings. In this fosse the whole chivalry of France were buried—Artois, Châtillon, Nesle, Brabant, Eu, Aumale, Dammar-

in whose lap rests a lion with the standard of Flanders."

... Sanderus, Gandav. Rer. l. i. p. 51.

* The inscription on the great bell—

"Roelandt, Roelandt, als ick kleepe, dan ist brandt,
Als ick luye, dan ist storm in Vlaenderlant." c

Id. l. ii. p. 115.

† Convenire, conferre, colloqui inter se sub crepusculum noctis multitudine. Meyer.

‡ Villani, l. viii. c. 54, p. 82.

§ Primus ausus est Gallorum obsistere tyrannidi Petrus cognomento Rex, homo plebeius, unoculus, etate sexagenarius, officio textor pannorum, brevi viri statura nec facie admodum liberali, animo tamen magno et feroci, consilio bonus, manu promptus, Flandricâ quidem linguâ comprimis facundus, Gallicè ignarus. p. 91.

|| "Not daring to force their way to the city bell, they struck upon their caldrons (*peltes*) . . . as a signal for a general rising." Id. p. 80.

¶ "The chief men of the city, and those who had influence either by virtue of their office or their wealth, followed the Lillies, dreading the royal power, and fearing for their property." Id. p. 91.

* Sismondi, t. ix. p. 96.—G. Villani, l. viii. c. 55, p. 384.

† (The Flemings, too, were anxious to save the city.)

‡ TRANSLATOR.

§ (This was the Shibboleth used by the Flemings at the massacre of Bruges. Sentinels were posted at the city gates, with orders to put every one to death who could not pronounce words so impossible to all but a native tongue, as *Scilt und Vriendt*. Meyer, p. 92.) TRANSLATOR.

|| G. Villani, l. viii. c. 55, p. 335. See my Symbolique du Droit.

¶ *Vasa vinaria portasse restibus plena, ut plebeius strangularret.* Meyer, p. 92.

¶ Ut apud quidem, hoc est viros, hastis, sed suos verutis confoderent. The men she would have speared, the women *spitted*, "being," says Meyer, "particularly hostile to the latter on account of the bravery of their apparel." p. 93.

** Oudegherst makes no mention of the fosse: undoubtedly, to exalt the glory of the Flemings.

tin, Dreux, Soissons, Tancarville, Vienne, Melun, and a host of other nobles, and with them the chancellor, who, undoubtedly, did not count on perishing in such glorious company.

The Flemings slew these dismounted knights at their ease, choosing their men in the fosse; and when they found their mail impervious to trenchant weapons, they brained them with leaden or iron mauls*. A number of working monks† were with the Flemings, who went about this bloody business as if it were so much task-work. One of these monks boasted‡ of having brained forty knights and fourteen hundred foot-soldiers—evident rhodomontade. Four thousand gilt spurs (another authority says seven hundred) were suspended in the cathedral of Courtrai; unlucky trophies to the city, since eighty years afterwards when Charles VI. saw them hanging there, he put all the inhabitants to death.

This terrible defeat which had exterminated the entire vanguard of the French army, that is to say, most of the great barons,—this battle which made room for so many new possessors, and turned over so many fiefs to minors, wards of the king, undoubtedly weakened for the time his military power, but abated none of his vigour against the pope. In one sense, the monarchy was rather strengthened by it. Who knows whether the pope might not have found the means of turning against the king some of those great feudatories who had signed, it is true, the famous letter; but who, returning rich and victorious from the Flemish war, would have the less feared the king?

He forebore confounding the two powers, as he had appeared desirous to do till then: but when the news of Philippe's defeat at Courtrai reached Rome, the pontifical court changed its language, and a cardinal wrote word to the duke of Burgundy that the king was excommunicated for having hindered the prelates from repairing to Rome, that the pope could not write to an excommunicated person, and that, above all, it was requisite that the king should do penance. Meanwhile, the prelates, rallied round the pope by the king's reverse, left for Rome to the number of forty-five. The king lost at one blow all his bishops, just as he had recently lost almost all his barons at Courtrai§.

But this administration of lawyers displayed

* Incredibile narratu est quanto robore, quantaque ferocia, collectantem secum in fossis hostium nostri exceperint, malleis ferreis plumbeisque mactaverint. Meyer, p. 94.

† Id. p. 77.—See, above, a note at p. 212.

‡ Guillelmus cognomento ab Saltinga . . . Tantis viribus dimicavit ut equites 40 prostravisse, hostesque alios 1400 se jugulasse gloriorum sit. Id. p. 95.

§ A fortnight before the battle of Courtrai, the pope held language to the cardinals which strongly savoured of a wish for reconciliation. Among other things, he observed that in Philippe-Auguste's time the French king's revenue was eighteen thousand francs, but that now, thanks to the munificence of the church, it amounted to more than forty thousand. Pierre Plotte, he added, is blind bodily and mentally, and so God has punished him in this world: this man of gall, this man of the devil, this Athiophel, is supported by the counts of Artois and of St. Pol; he has falsified or forged a letter of the pope's, in which he makes him tell the king that he ought to acknowledge that he holds his kingdom of him. He went on to say, "We have now been a doctor of law for forty years, and know that both powers are ordained of God. Who then can believe that we ever uttered such nonsense? . . . But it is not to be denied, that the king and all others of the faithful are subjected to

extraordinary vigour and activity. On the 23rd of March, a grand ordinance, conceived in a very popular spirit, was published for the reformation of the kingdom, in which the king promised good government, equal justice, repression of venality, protection of ecclesiastics, respect of the privileges of the nobles, security of person and of property, and observance of all established customs*. He promised gentleness, and secured the command of force, recruiting the Châtelet and its armed police, its sergeants, foot-sergeants, horse-sergeants, ordinary sergeants, and sergeants of the watch†.

THE POPE ATTACHED BY THE KING.

The two adversaries, close upon collision, desired to leave nothing behind them, and sacrificed every thing in the interest of this great struggle. The pope made up his quarrel with Albert of Austria, and recognized him as emperor: he had need of some one to oppose to the king of France. The king purchased peace from the English by the enormous sacrifice of Guyenne (May 20th). What must have been his pang, on restoring to his enemy this rich country, this kingdom of Bourdeaux‡!

But it had come to that point, that it was necessary to "do or die§." On the 12th of March, the

us, as regards sin. . . . What the king has done unlawfully, we wish him to do henceforward lawfully. There is no favour that we will refuse him. Let him send us honest men like the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and where they point out to us that we have erred, we will amend the same. As long as I was cardinal, I was French; and since, we have loved the king much. Without us, he would not have a foot on his throne; the English and the Germans would be up in arms against him. We know all the secrets of the kingdom; we know how the Germans, the Burgundians, and the people of Languedoc love the French—"Amantes neminem amat vos nemo" (none love you who love none), says St. Bernard. Our predecessors have deposed three kings of France; and, after all that this one has done, we could depose him like a poor boy (*sicut unum garcionem*), with pain, indeed, and great sorrow, if the unhappy necessity should arise." Dupuy, Preuves, p. 77, 78.—Notwithstanding the insolence of these latter words, the whole discourse is a concession on the pope's part, a step backwards.

* Ordonn. i. p. 354.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 352.

‡ Rymer, Act. Publ. H. p. 928, 934. Sismondi, t. ix. p. 107.

§ A Norman, Master Peter Dubois, attorney to the bailiwick of Coutances, had already been brought forward; and the opinion he delivered against the pope's claims is barbarous and fantastical in style, erudition, and logic to the extreme of pedantry. The following is the substance of this strange pamphlet of the fourteenth century.—After laying down the impossibility of a universal monarchy, and refuting the pretended instances of the Indian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman empires, he quotes the law of Moses against covetousness and theft. "Now the pope covets and would take away the supreme liberty of the king, which is, and ever has been, to be subject to no one, and to command throughout his kingdom without fear of human control. Moreover, it cannot be denied, that since the recognition of *domains*, the usurpation of things possessed, especially of those which enjoy the prescription of an immemorial possession, is a mortal sin. Now the king of France has possessed the supreme jurisdiction and franchise of his temporalities above a thousand years. Likewise, the said king, since the time of Charlemagne, from whom he is descended, as may be seen in the canon *Antecessores*, possesses and has collated to prebends and the fruits of the custody of churches, not without title and through right acquired by occupancy, but by gift from pope Adrian, who, with the consent of the general council, conferred on Charlemagne these rights, and

king's man, Pierre Flotte's successor, the bold Gascon, Nogaret, read and signed a furious manifesto against Boniface * :—

"The glorious prince of the apostles, the blessed Peter, speaking in the spirit, has told us that as in former times, so in those to come, there will arise false prophets who will sully the way of truth, and who, in their avarice, and by their deceitful words, will traffic in us, after the example of that Balaam who loved the wages of iniquity. Balaam had for correction and warning a brute creature, who, gifted with human speech, proclaimed the folly of the false prophet These things, which were announced by the father and patriarch of the Church, we see with our own eyes realized to the letter. In truth, there sits in the chair of the blessed Peter that master of lies who, although *Malefcent* (Mal-faisant), in every possible way, is yet called *Beneficent* (Boniface †). He did not enter through the gate into our Lord's sheepfold, nor as a shepherd and labourer, but rather as a robber and thief. . . . Though the true bridegroom be alive (Celestine V.), he has dared to wrong the bride by unlawful embraces. The true bridegroom has been no party to this divorce. In fact, as human laws say, *Nothing more opposed to consent than error*. . . . He cannot marry, who, whilst a worthy husband lives, has sullied marriage by adultery. Now, as what is committed against God is a wrong and injury to all, and as with regard to so great a crime, the testimony of

many others almost incomparably greater, to wit, that he and his successors might choose and nominate whomsoever they would popes, cardinals, patriarchs, prelates, &c. . . . Besides, the pope can only claim supremacy over the kingdom of France as sovereign pontiff. But, did the supremacy belong of right to the papacy, it would have belonged to St. Peter and his successors who have not claimed it. The king of France has a prescriptive right of twelve hundred and seventy years. Now a hundred years' possession, without a title, creates—according to a new constitution of the said pope—a prescriptive right against him and against the Roman church, and, according to the imperial laws, even against the empire. Therefore, if the pope or the emperor had had any right of servitude over the kingdom, which is not the case, their right would be extinct. . . . Besides, if the pope should rule that prescription does not hold against him, no more will it hold against others, and especially against princes, who own no superiors. Therefore the emperor of Constantinople, who endowed him with all his patrimony (the donation being excessive, as being executed by a simple administrator of the goods of the empire), as donor (or the emperor of Germany, as his surrogate), can revoke this donation. . . . And so the papacy would be reduced to its primitive poverty of the times anterior to Constantine, since this donation, null in law as to its principle, might be revoked but for the prescriptive right of long possession, *longissimi temporis*." Dupuy, p. 15, 17.

* He signs himself *Chevalier et Vénérable Professeur en Droit*. He had, indeed, been knighted by the king in 1297; but he did not dare in an assembly of the nobles to style himself by so laughable a title. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 56.

† Sedet in cathedra beati Petri mendaciorum magister, faciens se, cum ait omnifario maleficus, Bonifacium nominari. Ibid. . . . Nec ad ejus excusationem . . . quod ab aliquibus dicitur post mortem dicti Celestini . . . cardinales in eum denuo consensisse: cum ejus esse conjux non potuerit quam, primo viro viuentis, fide digno conjugii, condit per adulterium polluisse. Ibid. p. 57. . . . Ut sicut angelus Domini prophete Balaam . . . occurrit gladio evaginato in via, sic dicto pestifero viro evaginato gladio occurrere velit, ne possit malum perficere populo quod intendit. Ibid.

the first comer ought to be received, *even that of the wife, even that of an infamous woman*—I, then, like the beast which, through the power of God, was gifted with the voice of a real man in order to reprove the folly of the false prophet who longed to curse the blessed people, address to you my supplication, most excellent prince, our lord Philippe, by the grace of God king of France, that after the example of the angel who presented the naked sword to this curser of God's people, you, who are anointed for the execution of justice, would oppose the sword to this other and more fatal Balaam, and hinder him from consummating the evil which he is preparing for the people."

No decisive step was taken. The king kept still tacking about. He allowed three bishops to justify his prohibition of the prelates' leaving the kingdom. The pope sent a legate to France, no doubt to feel the pulse of the clergy, and see if they would stir. Not one budged. The king told the legate that he would leave the question to the arbitrement of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, which was at once to flatter the nobility and secure their goodwill, and to yield nothing. On this the pope addressed a bull to the legate, in which he declared the king excommunicated by the act of hindering the prelates from repairing to Rome.

The legate left the bull, and fled. The king seized two priests who had accompanied the legate when he brought it, and the ecclesiastics who copied it. The bull bore the date of the 13th of April. Two months afterwards—day for day—the two lawyers who succeeded Pierre Flotte, took the field against Boniface: Plasian was the accuser, Nogaret the executor. The first brought his charge against Boniface before the barons assembled in the states at the Louvre, and cited him to appear at a forthcoming council. Plasian added the charge of heresy to the previous charges * ;

* "I, Guillaume de Plasian, knight, say, advance, and affirm that Boniface, who now occupies the holy see, will be found a perfect heretic, according to the heresies, prodigious facts, and perverse doctrines hereafter mentioned:—1st, he does not believe in the immortality of the soul; 2nd, he does not believe in life everlasting, for he says that he would rather be a dog, ass, or any other brute than a Frenchman; which he would not say, did he believe that a Frenchman has an eternal soul.—He does not believe in the real presence, for he adorns his throne more magnificently than the altar.—He has said that to humble his majesty and the French, he would turn the whole world topsy-turvy.—He has approved of Arnaut de Villeneuve's book, condemned by the bishop and the university of Paris.—He has had silver statues of himself erected in the churches.—He has a familiar demon; for he has said, that if all mankind were on one side, and he alone on the other, he could not be mistaken either in point of fact or of right, which presupposes a diabolical art.—He has advanced in his public preaching that the Roman pontiff cannot commit simony; which is heretical to say.—Like a confirmed heretic, who claims the true faith as his alone, he has termed the French, notoriously a most Christian people, Paterins.—He is a sodomite.—He has had many clerks killed in his presence, saying to his guards if they did not kill them at the first blow, 'Strike, strike, Dali, Dali.'—He has compelled priests to violate the secrets of the confessional.—He observes neither vigils nor fasts.—He inveighs against the college of cardinals, the orders of black and white monks, and of the preaching brothers and brothers minors, often repeating that the world was being ruined by them, that they were false hypocrites, and that nothing good would happen to whoever confessed to them.—Seeking to destroy the faith, he has conceived an old aversion against the king of France, in hatred of the

the king signed the citation; and Nogaret set out for Italy.

To support this definitive step the king was not contented with the consent of the states collectively, but addressed letters to each of the prelates, and to every church, city, and university. These letters were borne from province to province by the viscount of Narbonne and by the accuser himself, Plasian *—"The king prays and requires your concurrence in the decision of the council—*nos requirentes consentire* †." It would not have been safe to have refused the accuser to his face. He brought back more than seven hundred signatures ‡. Every one signed, even those who the preceding year, after the king's defeat at Courtrai, had in his despite repaired to the pope. The seizure of the temporalities of the forty-five had been enough to bring them over to the king's party. With the exception of Cîteaux, which the pope had gained over by a recent favour §, and which was divided, all the monasteries gave Plasian letters of adhesion to the council.

Those bodies which had been the most favoured by the popes—the university of Paris, the Dominicans of the same city, and the Minorites || of Tou-

faith, because in France there is and ever was the splendour of faith, the grand support and example of Christendom.—He has raised all against the house of France, England, Germany, confirming to the king of Germany the title of emperor, and proclaiming that he did so to destroy the pride of the French, who boasted that they were subject to no one in temporal things, adding that they lied in their throat (per gulam), and declaring that if an angel should descend from heaven, and say that they were subject neither to him nor the emperor, it would be anathema.—He has allowed the Holy Land to be lost . . . converting to other uses the money destined to its defence.—He is publicly recognized as simoniacal, much more, as the source and basis of simony, selling benefices to the highest bidder, imposing on the church and on the bishop serfhood and the *taille*, in order to enrich his family and friends with the patrimony of the Crucified, and to make them marquises, counts, barons.—He dissolves marriages . . . he annuls the vows of nuns . . . he has said that he will shortly make all the French martyrs or apostates," &c. Dupuy, Diff., Preuves, p. 102—107; and, also, pp 326—346, 350—362.

* The prior and monks of the brother-preachers of Montpellier, objecting that they could not sign without the express orders of their prior-general, who was at Paris, the king's agents said that they wished to have the resolution of each, individually and secretly, *en particulier et en secret*. The monks still declining, they were ordered to leave the kingdom within three days. They drew up a formal statement of the facts, and entered a protest against the proceedings. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 154.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 110.

‡ Id. Hist. du Diff. p. 19.

§ Dupuy, Preuves, p. 85.

|| In 1295, Boniface released them from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without any regard to the discontent of the French clergy. Rulæus, iii. 511. He was ever increasing their privileges. *Ibid.* p. 516. 545.—As regards the university, Philippe le-Bel had gained it over by repeated favours. *Ibid.* p. 542. 544. And so he had its support in all his fiscal measures against the clergy. From the very beginning of the struggle, it was forced to the king's side by Boniface himself—"Universitates quæ in his culpabiles fuerint, ecclesiastico supponimus interdicto" (We put under interdict of the church all universities which have erred in these matters). Bull. *Clericus Laicos*. Accordingly, the university declared loudly for the king—"We give in our adhesion to the king's appeal, and commit ourselves and our university to the divine protection, and to the decision of the aforesaid

fraine, declared for the king. Some, indeed, as a prior of Cluny and a templar, adhere, but under protest, "*sub protestationibus* *."

They still had a great dread of the pope; and the king was obliged, in return for their adhesion, to grant them letters by which he, the queen, and the young princes undertook to protect such, or such a one, who had adhered to the council †. The monarch and the public bodies of the kingdom had as it were exchanged letters of guarantee with each other in this strait ‡.

On the 15th of August, Boniface issued a bull, to the effect that the pope alone had the right of summoning a council. He answered the charges of Plasian and of Nogaret; in particular, that of heresy, observing in regard to it, "Whoever heard of there being a heretic, I do not say in our family, but in our natal country, in Campania §?" This was an indirect reproach on Plasian and Nogaret, who came from the country of the Albigens. It was even said that Nogaret's grandfather had been burnt.

The two accusers well knew all they had to fear. The pope's fury against Pierre Flotte must have enlightened them. Before the battle of Courtrai he had, in his address to the cardinals, thrown all the blame on the latter, and announced that he reserved to himself his spiritual and temporal punishment ||: which was offering the king a means of finishing the quarrel by the sacrifice of the chancellor. He perished at Courtrai; but how much the more had not his two successors to fear after their audacious accusations? And, accordingly, on the 7th of March, five days before the first manifesto, Nogaret had procured from the king full powers; in fact, a *carte-blanche* to treat and to do whatever was requisite ¶. He started for Italy with this weapon, personally interested in employing it for the destruction of the pope. He hurried to Florence, to the French king's banker, who was to furnish him with whatever money he required; and having as his companion the Ghibeline of Ghibelines, Boniface's exile and victim, a man sworn to damnation to compass the pope's death, Sciarra Colonna, an invaluable man for a sudden stroke. This king of the Sabine mountaineers, of the *banditti* of the Roman campaign, was so well aware of what he had to expect from the pope, that when he fell into the hands of corsairs, he preferred toiling at the oar for years to telling his name at the risk of being sold to Boniface **.

After the bull of the 15th of August, it was to

* General council, and of the future true and lawful pope." Dupuy, Preuves, p. 117, 118.

* Id. *ibid.* p. 134—137.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 113, 114.

‡ See all these Acts in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 112—180.

§ Quis nedom de cognatione nostra, immo de tota Campania unde originem duximus, notatur hoc nomine! Id. *ibid.* p. 166.

|| Et volumus quod hic Achitophel, iste Petrus, puniatur temporaliter et spiritaliter, sed rogamus Deum quod reservet eum nobis puniendum sicut justum est. Id. *ibid.* p. 77.

¶ Philippus, Dei gratia . . . Guillelmo de Nogareto . . . plenam et liberam rerum presentium committimus potestatem, ratum habituri et gratum, quicquid factum fuerit in premissis, et ea *langentibus*, seu *dependentibus* ex eisdem. . . . Id. *ibid.* p. 175.

** Petrarque, Ep. 4, l. ii. ad Famil. ap. Dupuy, Hist du Diff. p. 6.

be supposed that Boniface would launch the sentence which had dethroned so many kings, and declare Philippe's subjects released from their oath to him. Being reconciled with the emperor Albert, he had a king ready for France. Perhaps, he was for renewing in the house of Capet the tragic history of the house of Swabia. The bull was, indeed, prepared by the 5th of September. It was necessary to anticipate it, and to blunt this weapon in the pope's hands by apprising him of the appeal to the council; and, moreover, to apprise him of it at Anagni, his natal city, where he had taken refuge in the midst of his relatives and friends, and of a population that had just dragged in the mud the flag and lilies of France*. Nogaret was no warrior; but he had money. He gained over some of the inhabitants who supplied him with intelligence, and Supino, captain of Ferentino, a city hostile to Anagni, sold himself to him for ten thousand florins (the receipt is extant†), "covenanting to pursue Boniface alive or dead‡." Colonna, then, and Supino, with three hundred horse, and a large body of infantry, either their own "following," or French soldiers, introduced Nogaret into Anagni with cries of "Death to the pope; long live the king of France§!" The townsmen ring the alarm-bell; but having chosen for their captain one of Boniface's enemies||, he holds out the right hand of fellowship to the assailants, and turns to plunder the palaces of the cardinals; who make their escape by the windows. The townsmen, unable to hinder this pillage, join in it. The pope, finding his palace about to be forced, obtains a moment's truce and sends notice to the townsmen, who plead their inability to assist him. On this, this once haughty man applied to Colonna himself; who insisted on his abdicating and surrendering at discretion. "Alas!" exclaimed Boniface, "these are hard words¶."—Meanwhile, the assailing party had burnt down a church which covered the palace. The pope's own nephew deserted him, and made terms for himself. This last stroke broke down the aged pope—bowed with the weight of eighty-six years, and he gave way to tears**. Whilst these things are going on, the doors are burst open, the windows dashed in, and the crowd enters. They threaten and insult the old man. He makes no reply. They

summon him to abdicate. His answer is, "Here is my throat—here is my head*."

According to Villani, he exclaimed as his foes drew near, "Betrayed like Jesus, I shall die, but I will die pope;" and arraying himself in the mantle of St. Peter, placing the crown of Constantine on his head, and holding in one hand a crucifix, in the other the keys, he awaited them, seated on his pontifical throne†.

It is said that Colonna struck the old man on the cheek with his iron gauntlet‡. Nogaret addressed him in words as sharp as a sword—"O thou sorry pope, confess and acknowledge the goodness of my lord, the king of France, who, far as is his kingdom from thee, preserves and defends thee through me§." The pope's courageous answer was, "Thou comest of a heretic family, and I expect martyrdom at thy hands||."

Colonna would willingly have put Boniface to death, had not the man of the law interfered¶, fearful of being too deeply compromised by so sudden a death. He did not choose the prisoner to die in his hands. But, on the other hand, it was hardly possible to take him with him into France**. Fearful of poison, Boniface refused all food; and persisted in so doing for three days, at the end of which time the people of Anagni, perceiving how few the strangers were, rose up, expelled the French, and delivered their pope.

It was too late; the blow had been fatal to the old man. He was borne into the public square, weeping like an infant. "He thanked God and the people for his deliverance, and said, 'Good people, you have seen how my enemies have carried off all that I had, as well as all that belonged to the Church, and have left me poor as Job. I tell you truly that I have nothing either to eat or to drink, and have remained fasting up to this hour. If there be any good woman who will bestow on me alms of bread, or wine, or of a little water if she have no wine, I will bestow on her God's

* Ruptis ostiis et fenestris palatii papæ, et pluribus locis igne supposito, per vim ad papam excoercitus est ingressus; quem tunc permulti verbis contumeliosis tanto aggressi. minæ etiam ei pluribus sunt illatæ. Sed papa nulli respondit. Enimvero cum ad rationem positus esset, an vellet renunciare papatu, constanter respondit non, inquit citius vellet perdere caput suum, dicens in suo vulgari—"Ecco il collo, ecco il capo." Ibidem.

† "Da che per tradimento come Jesu Christo voglio essere preso, convenni morire, almeno voglio morire come papa." E di presente si fece parare dell' amanto di San Piero, e con la corona di Constantino in capo, e con le chiavi e croce in mano e posesi a sedere suso la sedia papale. Villani, l. viii. c. 63.

‡ The chronicle of St. Denys says (Dupuy, Preuves, p. 191), "And he would have been twice struck by one of the Colonna (d'un des chevaliers de la Colonne), had not a French knight interfered" Nicolas Gilles (1492) adds, "The pope was twice on the point of being slain by one of the Colonna, had not those present prevented it: however, he struck him on the face with his gauntleted hand until the blood streamed down." Ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 199.

§ Chron. de St. Denys, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 191.

|| Dupuy, Hist. du Diff. p. 23.

¶ Lettres Justificatives de Nogaret, Dupuy, Preuves, p. 248.

** Nogaret had threatened to take him bound hand and foot to Lyons, there to be judged and deposed by a General Council. Villani, l. viii. c. 63, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 187.

* Ut proditorem fecerint eidem domino Guillelmo et sequacibus suis, ac trascinare fecissent per Anagninam vexillum ac insignia dicti domini Regis favore et adjutorio illius Bonifacii. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 175.

† Id. ibid. p. 608—610.

‡ Guillelmus predictus asseruit dictum dominum Raynaldum (de Supino) esse benevolum, sollicitum et fidelem . . . tam in vita ipsius Bonifacii quam in morte . . . et ipsam dominum Guillelmum receptasse tam in vitam quam in morte Bonifacii predicti. Id. ibid. p. 175.

§ "Muota papa Bonifacio, e viva il Rè di Francia." Villani, l. viii. c. 63.

|| Pulsatâ communi campanâ, et tractatu habito, elegerunt sibi capitaneum quemdam Arneluphum. . . . Qui quidem . . . illis ignorantibus, domini papæ extitit capitalis inimicus. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 194; Walsingham, Hist. ann. 1303.

** "Heu mei me, durus hic sermo!" Ibidem.

** Tandem Marchio, nepos papæ . . . reddidit se Sclarræ et capitaneus memorato, eâ conditione ut vitam ipsius et illi sui salvarent servitiumque suorum. Quibus auditis papa flevit amarè. Ibidem.

blessing and mine. Whoever will bring me the least thing to relieve my wants, I will give him absolution for all his sins'. . . . Then all the people began to cry out, 'Long live our holy father'; and the women hastened in crowds to the palace, bearing bread, wine, or water, and, not finding vessels, they poured all into a coffer. . . . All could enter and speak with the pope, as with any other poor man*.

"The pope gave the people absolution for all their sins, saving for the plunder of the goods of the Church and of the cardinals. His own property he let them keep: however, a part of it was restored to him. He afterwards protested before all, that he desired peace with the Colonnas and all his enemies. Then he set out for Rome, with a great guard of armed men." But when he arrived at St. Peter's and was no longer supported by the sense of danger, the fear and the fasting which he had undergone, the loss of his money, the insolent triumph of his enemies, and the feelings of infinite humiliation sustained by an infinite power, rushed simultaneously to his mind, his aged brain could not bear the tumult of his thoughts, and he lost his reason.

He had thrown himself into the hands of the Orsini, as being the enemies of the Colonna; but he was, or thought that he was, still in their power. Whether they sought to conceal from the people the scandal of an heretical pope, or had come to an understanding with the Colonna to keep him prisoner, it so happened that when Boniface was about to repair to other barons, the two cardinals Orsini barred his passage and forced him to go back. His madness was wound up into phrenzy; he foamed at the mouth and gnashed his teeth, and from this moment refused all food. And when one of his friends, Jacobo of Pisa, said to him, "Holy father, recommend yourself to God and to the Virgin Mary, and receive Christ's body," Boniface gave him a box on the ear, and exclaimed, confounding Latin with Italian—*Allonta de Dio et de Sancta Maria! nolo, nolo* (Away with God and Holy Mary! I won't, I won't). He drove from his presence two Minim friars who brought him the viaticum, and expired an hour afterwards without having communicated or confessed. Thus was verified his predecessor, Celestine's, saying of him—"Thou hast clomb like a fox, thou shalt reign like a lion, thou shalt die like a dog †."

Other details relative to his death have come

down to us, but more suspicious still, in a memoir breathing furious hate against him, and which would seem to have been fabricated by the Plasians and Nogarets, to spread among the populace immediately on that event:—"The life, state, and condition of pope Maleface, related by people worthy of credit. On the 9th of October, Pharaoh, aware that his hour drew nigh, confessed that he had entertained commerce with familiar demons, who had been the instigators of all his crimes. On the following day and night such loud thunders were heard, accompanied by such fearful tempests, and such numbers of black birds were seen clamouring with fearful cries, that all in alarm kept crying out, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy, have mercy, have mercy upon us.' All believed these birds to be demons from hell, who had come for this Pharaoh's soul. On the 10th, when his friends related to him what had taken place, and warned him to think of his soul . . . possessed by the devil, he threw himself upon the priest, all raging and gnashing his teeth, as if to devour him. The priest fled as hastily as possible to the church. . . . Then, without saying a word, he turned himself on the other side . . . As he was borne to his chair he was seen to cast his eyes on the stone of his ring, and he exclaimed—"Oh, you evil spirits enclosed in this stone, you who have seduced me, why do you abandon me now? And he threw his ring from him. His malady and his rage increasing, and hardened in his iniquity, he confirmed all his acts against the king of France and his servants, and published them anew. . . . His friends, to soothe his sufferings, had brought him the son of master James of Pisa, whom he was wont to love to hold in his arms, as if to boast of his sin . . . but at the sight of the child, he threw himself upon him, and would have bit off his nose, had he not been taken from him. Finally, the said Pharaoh, encompassed with tortures by the Divine vengeance, died on the 12th, unconfessed, and having given no sign of faith; and on this day, there were so many thunderings, tempests, and dragons in the air vomiting flames, so many lightnings and prodigies, that the Roman people thought that the whole city was on the point of sinking into the abyss*."

Dante, notwithstanding his violent invective against the murderers of this pontiff, gives him a place in his hell. In the 19th canto of the *Inferno*, Nicholas III. plunged, head downwards in flames, hears a voice, and exclaims—"Art thou, then, already up there, thou, already, Boniface? I have been misled as to thy fate by many years. Art thou, then, so soon satiated with what thou hast not feared feloniously to ravish, with the beautiful Spouse, to lay waste and ruin her †?"

Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., a man of

* Tunc populus fecit papam deportari in magnam platem, ubi papa lachrymando populo predicavit, inter omnia gratias agens Deo et populo Anagnie de vita sua. Tandem in fine sermonis dixit: "Bon! homines et mulieres, constat vobis qualiter inimici mei venerunt et abstulerunt omnia bona mea, et non tantum mea, sed et omnia bona Ecclesie, et me ita pauperem sicut Job fuerat dimiserunt. Propter quod dico vobis veraciter, quod nihil habeo ad comedendum vel bibendum, et jejuniis remansi usque ad presens. Et si sit aliquis bona mulier que me velit de sua juvare elemosyna, in pane vel vino; et si vinum non habuerit, de aqua permixta, dabo ei benedictionem Dei et meam." . . . Tunc omnes hæc ex ore papæ clamabant: "Vivas, Pater sancte." Et nunc cerneret mulieres currere certatim ad palatium, ad offerendum sibi panem, vinum vel aquam. . . . Et cum non invenirent vasa ad capiendum allata, fundebant vinum et aquam in area camere papæ, in magna quantitate. Et tunc potuit quisque ingredi et cum papa loqui, sicut cum alio paupere. Walsingham, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 136.

† Dupuy, Preuves, p. 136.

* Dupuy, Preuves, p. 5. Walsingham, writing under a contrary influence, exaggerates the crimes of Boniface's enemies. According to him, Colonna, Supino, and the French King's seneschal seized the pope, placed him on a horse without a bridle, and set him off until the breath was nearly out of his body: after this, they would have starved him to death but for the people of Anagni. Walsingham, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 135.

† . . . "Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno

La bella Donna e di poi farne strazio!"

Inferno, c. xix.

mean birth, but of great merit, whom the Orsini had made pope, did not feel himself very strong on his accession. He received with a good grace the congratulations of the king of France, brought by Plasian, the accuser of the last pope. Philippe felt that his enemy was not so far dead, but that he might strike some new blow. He carried on the war à l'outrance, sent the pope a memorial against Boniface which might pass for a bitter satire on the court of Rome*, and wrote to himself by his lawyers a *Supplication of the French people to the king against Boniface*. This important paper, drawn up in the vulgar tongue, was rather an appeal from the king to the people, than a supplication of the people to the king†.

* The mode in which this memorial is drawn up is whimsical. Each charge is preceded by an eulogium on the court of Rome, as follows:—"The holy fathers used not to heap up treasure, but distributed to the poor the goods of the churches. Boniface, on the contrary," &c. This formula prevails throughout the whole paper. One might doubt whether the king could be in earnest in attributing thus to one pope all the abuses of the papacy. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 209, 210.

† "Most noble prince, our sire, by the grace of God king of France, we, the people of your kingdom, supplicate and beseech you, since it is needful, to preserve the sovereignty (sovereign franchise) of your kingdom, according to which you recognize no temporal sovereign on earth except God, and to proclaim that pope Boniface manifestly erred and committed deadly sin, to wit, by issuing bulls to the effect that he was sovereign over your temporalities. . . . Likewise . . . to proclaim the said pope, heretic. . . . It can be proved beyond dispute, so that no one can give a reason to the contrary, that the pope was never your temporal lord (seigneur). . . . When God the Father had created heaven and the four elements, and had made Adam and Eve, he said to them and their descendants, 'Where your foot shall tread, that shall be thine' (Quod calaverit pes tuus, tuum erit). . . . That is to say, he willed that each man should be the lord of what ground he should occupy. So the sons of Adam divided the land, and were its lords three thousand years and more before Melchizedek, who was the first priest that was king, as history tells: but he was not king of all the world; and the people being obedient to him as king over temporal things, and not as priest, he was as much king as priest. After his death it was a long time, six hundred years or more, before any other became priest. And God the Father, who gave the Law to Moses, made him ruler over his people Israel; and commanded him to make his brother Aaron high-priest, and his son after him. And Moses entrusted and committed when he was about to die, by God's commandment, the lordship of temporal things not to the high-priest his brother, but to Joshua, without demur from his brother or his son after him; but they kept the tabernacle . . . and they aided each other in defending the temporal kingdom. . . . That God, who knows all things, present and to come, commanded their prince, Joshua, to divide the land between these eleven tribes; and ordered that the tribe of priests should have a share of their share the tithes and first fruits of all, and should remain without land, so that they might the more profitably serve God and pray for this people. And then, when this people of Israel asked a king from our Lord, or asked through the prophet Samuel, he did not give them the high-priest Samuel for king but Saul, who was taller than all the people by the head and shoulders. . . . (an allusion to Philippe-le-Bel?) So that there was no king in Jerusalem over the people of God who was priest, but they had a king and a high-priest distinct from each other, and the one had enough to do to govern the petty people in temporal things, and the other in spiritual, and all the priests were obedient to the kings in temporal matters. Afterwards, our Lord Jesus Christ was High Priest, and we do not find it written that he had ever

On the contrary, Benedict had shown himself at first inclined to hush up this great business, by issuing pardons to all involved in it, with the exception of Nogaret only. But to pardon them was to declare them guilty; and this offensive clemency would have affixed a stigma on the king, the Colonna, and the prelates who had not repaired to Rome on Boniface's summons.

Philippe, overwhelmed at the time by his war with Flanders, had much to fear. The greater number of the cardinals refused to adhere to his appeal to the council; the pope threatened; and the king was constrained to seek the absolution which he had at first disdained. Was he serious in seeking it? One would be tempted to doubt this on seeing that Plasian and Nogaret were the messengers who bore his application to the pope. Probably, Nogaret had secured the mission in order to break off an arrangement which could only be perfected at his expense. The choice of such an ambassador wore a sinister look. The pope's wrath burst forth, and he issued a furious bull of excommunication—"Forasmuch as shocking wickedness and accursed crime have been perpetrated by certain accursed men, who have nefariously offended against the person of pope Boniface VIII. of pious memory* . . ."

This bull seemed to include the king. It was published on the 7th of June (1304). By the 4th of July, Benedict was a corpse. It is said that a veiled lady, who stated herself to be a lay-sister attached to the convent of St. Petronilla at Perugia, presented to him, while at table, a basket of *figues-fleurs*† (figs, the earliest produce of the season). He partook largely of the fruit, of which he was known to be fond, sickened, and, in a few days, died. No inquiry was instituted by the cardinals, who feared that the guilty person might be too easily discovered.

His death happened opportunely for Philippe, pushed to extremity by the war with Flanders. He had been unable to hinder the Flemings from entering France, burning Terouanne, and laying siege to Tournai‡ (A.D. 1303), which town he only saved by asking a truce and releasing the aged count Guy—on the condition, however, that he

any temporal possessions. . . . After Him, St. Peter . . . Great abomination was it to hear that this Boniface, as regards God's saying to St. Peter, 'What thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven,' understood this which was spoken spiritually, perversely, like a Bulgar (heretic), of temporal things. Greater need was there that he should know Arabic, Chaldee, Greek, Hebrew, and all other languages, of which there are many Christians who do not think like the Church of Rome. . . . You, noble king . . . defender of the faith, destroyer of Bulgars, can, and ought, and are bound to require and to procure that the said Boniface be held and judged as a heretic, and punished after what fashion can and should be devised after his death." Dupuy, Hist. du Diff. p. 214—218.

* Flagitiosum scelus et scelestum flagitium quod quidam sceleratissimi viri, summum audentes nefas in personam bonæ memoriæ Bonifacii P. VIII. . . . Id. ibid. p. 282, 283.

† Sismondi, Hist. des Français, t. ix. p. 147. Id. Rép. Ital. t. iv. p. 228. Villani, l. viii. c. 80, p. 416, &c.

‡ This terrible year, 1303, is characterized by the silence of the registers of parliament. We read, under the year 1304—Anno præcedente propter guerram Flandriæ non fuit parliamentum (No parliament was held last year on account of the war with Flanders). Olim, iii. folio cvii. Archives du Royaume, Section Judiciaire.

was to return to prison if peace were not concluded. The old man thanked his brave Flemings, blessed his sons, and returned to die in his eightieth year, in his prison of Compiègne.

In 1304, at the very time the pope died so opportunely for him, Philippe made a desperate effort to end the war. He had raised some money by the sale of privileges, particularly in Languedoc, thus favouring the communes of the South in order to crush those of the North. He took Genoese mercenaries into his pay, and gained a naval victory with their galleys, in the Zuruck-see (August). This did not lower the spirits of the Flemings, who reckoned themselves at sixty thousand, Flanders having for the first time assembled all her forces in common; the militia of all the towns—Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Lille, and Courtrai—being collected into one army. At its head were the old count's three sons, his cousin, Guillaume de Juliers, and several of the Low Country and German barons. Philippe, having forced the passage of the Lys, found them formidably intrenched behind a double line of baggage-cars and provision-waggons, near Mons-en-Puelle. Taught by the battle of Courtrai, he attacked them, not with his *gendarmes*, but with his Gascon foot-soldiers*, who all day long kept them so on the alert under a burning sun, that they had not a moment to eat or drink: their provisions were in the waggons. Exasperated by this long fast, they lost all patience, and, when evening came, sallied out on the French by their three sally-posts. The latter were in their quarters not thinking of them; and the king was without his armour, and preparing to sit down to table. At first, this onset of wild-boars overthrew every thing. But when the Flemings entered the tents and saw so many good things to take, they could not be kept together: each was for coming in for his share. Meanwhile the French rallied; and their cavalry made a fearful slaughter of the plunderers, leaving six thousand dead on the field.

The king proceeded to lay siege to Lille; not doubting of the submission of the Flemings. He was exceedingly astonished by the reappearance of their sixty thousand men, as if they had not lost a single soldier in the late conflict†. "It rains Flemings," was his exclamation. The French nobles who did not care to fight with these head-long men, advised the king to terms with them. He had to restore them their count, the son of the aged Guy, and to promise his grandson the county of Rethel, his wife's inheritance; but he kept French Flanders, and was to receive two hundred thousand livres.

There was nothing definitive in all this. It was not specified whether he was to retain the province‡ as a security, or in perpetuity: and the money was not paid down (it was to be furnished

by instalments). On the other hand, too, the affair of the pope was embroiled rather than settled. After all, the sudden death of Benedict XI. was but an unlucky piece of good fortune*.

A famine, the imprudent imposition of a maximum on the price of corn, and a forcible search for it, roused the discontent of the people. They began to talk. A clerk of the university talked loud, and was hung. A poor Beguine of Metz, who had founded an order of nuns, was vouchsafed a revelation of the chastisements which Heaven reserved for wicked kings. Charles of Valois had her taken up; and, to compel her to say that her inspiration had been from the devil, had her feet burnt†. But all believed in the prophecy when in the year following a comet of unusual splendour made its appearance‡.

Philippe-le-Bel had returned a victor and a ruined man. He repaired in solemn procession to Notre-Dame, amidst a famished people, murmuring curses. He entered the church on horseback, and in thanks to God for his escape when the Flemings surprised him, he made a devout offering of an equestrian statue of himself, armed at all points: it was to be seen in Notre-Dame, shortly before the revolution, by the side of the colossal St. Christopher.

Nogaret did not forget himself; but triumphed after his own fashion. Receipts of his are extant—proving that his salary was raised from five to eight hundred livres§.

* Baillet draws a just and racy comparison between the quarrels of Philippe-le-Bel and those of Louis XIV. with the Holy See: "Each of these quarrels was carried on with three popes, successively. The first, with whom the difference originated, died in the very thick of the quarrel (Boniface VIII.—Innocent XI.). The second (Benedict XI., Boniface's successor, and Alexander VIII., Innocent's successor) meeting with concessions on the part of France, patched up the dispute, with due reserves, however, so as to save the pretensions of the court of Rome. The third (Clement V. and Innocent XII.) concluded the business. On the part of France, one king saw each quarrel out from beginning to end (Philippe-le-Bel—Louis XIV.). Each quarrel seems to have originated on account of a bishop of Pamiers. The prerogative of the crown had something to do with both: and in both, appeals were made to a future council. . . . In both, the attachment of the members of the Gallican Church to the king was almost equal. The clergy, the universities, the monks, and the mendicants identified themselves with the king's interests, and acquiesced in the appeal. In each quarrel ambassadors were excommunicated, and their masters threatened. The banishment of the Jews and the destruction of the Templars by Philippe-le-Bel present, too, a certain analogy with the extirpation of the Hugonots and the destruction of the nuns of the Enfance." Baillet, *Hist. des Dîmées*, &c.

† Contin. Nangil, p. 57.

‡ This is Halley's comet, which re-appears at intervals of from seventy-five to seventy-six years. It is supposed to have appeared for the first time at the birth of Mithridates, 130 years before the Christian era. Justin (l. 57) says that for eighty days it almost eclipsed the sun. It re-appeared A. D. 339; and in 550, when Rome was taken by Totila. It was of extraordinary brilliancy in 1305; and, in 1456, its tail extended two-thirds of the space between the horizon and the zenith; in 1682, its tail was still thirty degrees long; in 1750, it was so reduced as only to attract the notice of astronomers. These facts appear to warrant the supposition that comets grow fainter until they finally disappear. Halley's comet was last seen in 1835. *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes, pour 1835*. See, also, a paper on this comet by M. de Pontécoulant.

§ D. Vaissette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, t. iv. note xl. p. 117.

* Meyer, folio 104.

† (This army had been organized and admirably equipped in less than three weeks. The wealthy manufacturers, abandoning their looms and furnaces, had enrolled themselves in it in defence of the property which they were aware would be forfeited with the loss of their liberty.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ (French Flanders consisted of those districts beyond the Lys in which the French language was vernacularly spoken; to which the treaty added the cities of Douai and Lille, with their dependencies.) TRANSLATOR.

CHAPTER III.

GOLD.—THE TREASURY.—THE TEMPLARS.

"GOLD," says Christopher Columbus, "is an excellent thing. With gold, one forms treasures. With gold, one does whatever one wishes in this world. Even souls can be got to Paradise by it *."

The epoch to which we are come, must be considered the advent of gold. We are coming in presence of the god of the new world.—Philippe-le-Bel hardly ascends the throne before he removes the priests from his councils to install the bankers there †.

Far be it from us to speak ill of gold. Compared with feudal property, with land, gold is a superior form of wealth. Of small compass, exchangeable, divisible, easily handled and concealed, it is wealth subtilized—I was about to say, spiritualized. So long as wealth was immovable, man, bound and, as it were, rooted to the spot by it, had scarcely any more space for movement than the mere soil over which he crawled. Ownership was a dependency on the soil: the land took possession of the man. It is the reverse now-a-days: man carries off the land, concentrated and represented by gold. The docile metal subserves transactions of all kinds: facile and fluid, it adapts itself to every kind of circulation, commercial and administrative. Government, obliged to act rapidly on distant points, in a thousand different ways, finds the precious metals its most efficient agents. The sudden creation of a government at the beginning of the fifteenth century, created a sudden and insatiable want of gold and silver.

With Philippe-le-Bel is born the monster, the giant,—the exchequer; thirsty, hungry, and sharp-set. It cries out as it is born, like Rabelais' Gargantua—meat, drink. This fearful infant, whose ravenous hunger cannot be satisfied, will, at need, eat flesh and drink blood. It is the Cyclops, the ogre, the devouring *gargouille* of the Seine ‡. The grand council is the monster's head; its long claws are the parliaments; its stomach, the chamber of accounts (*Chambre des Comptes*). The only food that can satisfy it, is precisely that which the people cannot provide it with. Treasury and people have but one cry—gold.

See, in Aristophanes, how the blind and inert Plutus is teased by his worshippers. They prove to him, without any trouble, that he is the God of gods. All the gods give way to him. Jupiter confesses that without him he would die of hunger §. Mercury quits his trade of God, enters Plutus' service, turns the spit, and washes the dishes.

This enthronement of gold in the place of God,

* Columbus's Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, after his fourth voyage. Navarette, Histoire, t. iii. p. 132.

† Throughout his reign Philippe-le-Bel retained among his ministers the two Florentine bankers, Bicio and Musciato, sons of Guido Francesi. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, t. viii. p. 420.

‡ See, above, p. 126.

§ 'Αφ' οὗ γὰρ οὗ Πλούτος οὗτος ἔφατο βλάπτει.

'Απόλλων ὁπὸ Λιμῶν.

Aristoph. Plutus, v. 1174.

See, also, verses 129. 433. 1152. and 1168—1169.

is renewed in the fourteenth century. The difficulty is to draw out this lazy gold from the obscure nooks in which it slumbers. The history of the *thesaurus* would be a curious one, from the time that it kept itself buried under the dragon of Colchia, of the Hesperides, or of the Nibelungen; from its sleep in the temple of Delphos, and in the palace of Persepolis. Alexander, Carthage, Rome waken and rouse it *. In the middle age it has fallen into its ancient slumber—but, in the churches, where, to secure its better rest, it takes a sacred form; cross, cope, or reliquary. Who will be bold enough to drag it thence; who clear-sighted enough to desecrate it in the earth in which it loves to bury itself? What magician will evoke, will profane this sacred thing, which is worth all things, this blind omnipotence which gives nature †?

The middle age cannot so soon attain the great modern idea—*man can create wealth*; which he does, by changing a worthless material into a costly object, and gifting it with the wealth which he has in himself, that of form, of art, of an intelligent will. At first he sought wealth less in form than in matter; and he fell desperately on this matter, tormented nature with a furious love, asked her—all that one asks the beloved object, for life, for immortality ‡. But, despite the marvellous fortunes of the Lullys and Flamels, the gold, so often found, only showed itself to take to flight, ever leaving the bellows-blower out of breath: it fled, melted away without pity, and melted with it the blower's substance, his soul, his life, staked at the bottom of the crucible §.

* Each of the great revolutions of the world has been marked by a sudden influx of gold. The Phœceans draw it out of the temple of Delphi; Alexander out of the palace of Persepolis; Rome forces it out of the hands of the last of Alexander's successors; and Cortes wrenches it from America. Each of these periods, too, is marked by a sudden change, not only in the price of provisions, but in ideas and manners as well. But, however violently gold may be dragged into Europe, it is also strangely attracted elsewhere. It has its flux and reflux. Asia, whatever we may do, calls it back to herself. Rome paid her, in tributes to luxury, more than its tax-gatherers forced away. In our time, as eastern Asia will only take gold in exchange for her merchandise, the gold which England pumps out of Europe or America, is gradually buried in Asia. American piastres, melted into Louis, Napoleons, and sovereigns, are fated to end in gilding the pagodas and idols of China and Japan. See M. Ampère's article on M. Abel Remusat, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1833.

† The original is "cette toute-puissance aveugle qui donne la nature"—should it be *que*, "given or yielded by nature?"

‡ The ultimate object of alchemy was not so much to find gold as to obtain pure gold, potable gold, the beverage of immortality. The wonderful tale went round of a Sicilian herdsman, who, having found, buried in the earth, in king William's time, a flask of gold, drank the liquor, and was restored to youth. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, p. 469.

§ Some made it their boast that they had not blown for nothing. Raymond Lully, so run the traditions of the alchemists, crossed over to England, and made six millions of gold in the tower of London: it was coined into rose nobles, which are still called *Raymond's nobles*. It is said in the *Ultimatum Testamentum*, published under his name, that he, at one operation, converted fifty thousand pounds' weight of mercury, lead, and tin into gold.—Pope John XXII, to whom Pagi attributes a treatise on *The Art of Transmutation*, tells in it that at Avignon he had transmuted 200 ingots, each weighing a quintal, that is to say,

The unhappy wretch, abandoning now all hope in human power, denied himself and renounced himself, soul and God. He evoked ill—the devil. King of the subterranean abysses, the devil was beyond doubt the king of gold. See at Nôtre-Dame de Paris, and on so many churches besides, the melancholy representation of the poor man who gives his soul for gold, who enfeoffs himself to the devil, kneels before the Beast, and kisses the velvet paw. . . .

The devil, persecuted along with the Manicheans and the Albigeois, and, like them, expelled from the towns, lived then in the desert. He pranced over the heath with Macbeth's witches. Witchcraft, the disgusting abortion of the old conquered religions, had, however, the merit of being an appeal, not only to nature, like alchemy, but to will; it is true, to bad will, to the devil. It was an ill mode of industry, which, unable to extract from will the treasures that it contains by its alliance with nature, essayed to gain by violence and crime what labour, patience, and intelligence alone can give.

In the middle age, he who knows where gold is, the true alchemist, the true witch, is the Jew; or the demi-Jew, the Lombard*. The Jew, the unclean man, the man who can touch neither food nor woman, but both must be burnt, the man born for insult, and on whom the whole world spits †, is the man to be applied to.

Foul and prolific nation, endowed beyond all others with the multiplying force, with the force which engenders, which fecundates at will Jacob's sheep or Shylock's sequins! During the whole of the middle age, persecuted, expelled, recalled, they were the indispensable intermediaries between the exchequer and its victim, between the doer and the sufferer, pumping out gold from below, and pouring it out above into the king's hands with frightful grimaces ‡. . . . But some of it always stuck by them. . . . Patient, indestructible, they have conquered by lastingness §. They have re-

20,000 pounds' weight of gold. Was this his way of accounting for the enormous wealth heaped up in his cellars?—However, they were compelled to grant to each other that this gold, which they obtained in quintals, had nothing of gold but the colour.

* As regards usury, the Jews are said only to have imitated the Lombards, their predecessors. Muratori, Antiquit. vi. 371.

† At Toulouse, they had their ears boxed three times a year, to punish them for having formerly delivered up that city to the Saracens: they claimed relief from this degradation from Charles the Bald, but unsuccessfully.—At Beziers, they were pelted with stones all Easter week. They purchased exemption from this, in 1160. (See Castel, *Mémoires du Languedoc*, l. iii. p. 523.)—In the reign of Philip-Augustus, they began to wear the badge of yellow (*la rouelle jaune*), which was rendered obligatory on all Jews throughout Christendom by the council of Lateran (Canon 68).

‡ They were often the subject of treaties between lords. It is enacted in an ordinance of 1230, "that none in our kingdom shall retain another baron's Jew; wherever any one shall find his Jew he may seize him as his slave (*tanquam proprium seruum*), however long he may have lived on the lands of another lord." It is clear, indeed, from the Establishments that the moveables of the Jews belonged to the barons. Gradually, the Jew became the king's own, like coin and other fiscal rights.

§ Patiens, quia æternus (Patient, because eternal). . . . It is customary for the Jews to place themselves in the

solved the problem of volatilizing riches; and made freedmen by the invention of bills of exchange, they are now free, they are masters; from buffets to buffets they are now on the throne of the world*.

To force the poor man to apply to the Jew, to induce him to approach his small, sombre, infamous dwelling, to compel him to speak to that man who, it is said, crucifies little children †, no less a power is needed than the horrible pressure of the exchequer. Between the exchequer, which seeks his marrow and his blood, and the devil, who seeks his soul, he will repair to the Jew as a medium.

When, then, he had exhausted his last resource, when his bed was sold, when his wife and children, lying on the bare ground, shook with fever or cried out in agony, then, with drooping head, and bowed more than if he had his load of wood on his back, he slowly turned his steps towards the hateful house, and stood long at the door ere he knocked. The Jew, having carefully opened the small wicket, a dialogue ensued, a strange and a perplexing one. What says the Christian? In the name of God? Thy God—the Jew has killed him! For pity's sake! What Christian ever pitied a Jew? Words are of no avail here: a pledge is the only language understood. What has he to give, who has nothing? The Jew will speak him mildly—"My friend, in obedience to the ordinances of our lord the king, I lend neither upon bloody dress nor ploughshare ‡. . . . No, the only pledge I require is yourself. I am not your brother, my law is not the Christian law. It is a more ancient law—in *partes secanto*. Your flesh shall be answerable. Blood for gold, as life for life. A pound of your flesh which I am about to feed with my money, only a pound of your fair flesh §!" The

way of each new pope, and present to him a copy of their law. Is this homage, or a reproach from the old law to the new, of the mother to the daughter?—"On the day of his coronation, pope John XXIII. rode, wearing his papal mitre, from street to street, in the city of Bologna the Fat, making the sign of the cross, even over the street in which the Jews dwelt, who offered him a copy of their law, which he took with his own hand—then, after looking at it, he soon threw it behind him, saying, 'Your law is good, but ours is better than it.' And, on setting out again, the Jews followed him, presumptuously trying to confute him, and all the trappings of his horse were torn; and the pope scattered money in all the streets which he passed through, to wit, pennies called Florence quatrins and mailles; and, before and behind him, rode two hundred men at arms, each with a leathern mace in his hand, with which they battered the Jews in a manner delightful to behold." *Moëtretet*, li. 315, ann. 1409.

* In October, 1834, I saw the following notice in an English paper—"Little business was done on the Stock Exchange to-day, it being a holiday with the Jews."—But they have not only the superiority in wealth. One would be tempted to grant them a far higher one, when we see that the greater number of the men who now do most honour to Germany are converted Jews.

† See the Ballada published by M. Francisque Michel.

‡ Ordonn. i. 36.

§ Shakspeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, act I. scene 3. "Let the forfeit be nominated for an equal pound of your fair flesh, to be cut and taken, in what part of your body pleaseth me."—About thirty years since, Sir Thomas Munro bought at Calcutta a manuscript containing the original story of the pound of flesh, &c. Only, instead of a Christian, it is a Mussulman whose life is sought by the Jew. See *Asiatic Journal*.

gold lent by the murderer of the Son of man can only be a murderous, anti-human, anti-divine gold, or, to use the language of the time, *Anti-Christ*. Here we have gold *Anti-Christ*; just as Aristophanes has showed us in Plutus the *Anti-Jupiter*.

PROSECUTION OF THE TEMPLARS.

This Anti-Christ, this Anti-God, will rob God, that is to say, the Church—the secular church, or the priests and the pope; and the regular church, or the monks and Templars.

By the scandalously sudden death of Benedict XI., the Church falls into the hands of Philippe-le-Bel; enabling him to make a pope of his own, to draw the papacy out of Rome, and to bring it into France, in order to make it work in this gaol for his advantage, to dictate to it lucrative bulls, open up and work infallibility, and turn the Holy Ghost into a scribe and publican to the house of France.

After Benedict's death, the cardinals had shut themselves up in conclave at Perugia. But the two parties, the Gallican and Anti-Gallican, were so equally balanced that neither could carry the day. The townsmen in their haste, in their Italian impatience and *furie* to have a pope elected at Perugia, could hit upon no other scheme than that of starving out the cardinals. It was at last agreed that one of the two parties should fix upon three candidates, out of whom the other party was to make its choice. It fell to the French party to choose; and they elected a Gascon *, Bertrand de Gott, archbishop of Bordeaux. Bertrand had previously shown himself hostile to the king; but he was known to love his own interest above all other things, and there was little doubt of his being soon brought over.

Philippe, informed of every thing by his cardinals, and fortified with their letters, gives a meeting to the future pope in a forest, near St. Jean D'Angely. Villani describes the particulars of this interview as if he had been present at it; his narrative is of cutting simplicity:—

"They heard mass together, and mutually swore secrecy. The king then began to parley with him in fair terms, in order to reconcile him with Charles of Valois. He went on to say, 'See, Archbishop, I have it in my power to make thee pope, if I will, and it is for this that I have come to meet thee; for if thou givest me thy word to do me six favours which I shall ask of thee, I will secure thee this dignity, and here are the proofs that I have the power.' On this, he showed him the letters and missives from both colleges. The Gascon, full of covetousness, seeing thus all of a sudden that it depended altogether on the king to make him pope, threw himself, out of his wish with joy, at Philippe's feet, and said—'My lord, I now see that thou lovest me more than all others, and wishest to return me good for evil. It is thine to command, mine to obey; and thou shalt find me ever willing.' The king raised him, kissed his mouth, and said—'The following are the six special favours I have to ask of thee: firstly, that thou wilt thoroughly reconcile me with the Church, and issue my pardon for my error in arresting pope

Boniface; secondly, that thou wilt restore me and mine to the privilege of the communion table; thirdly, that thou wilt grant me the tenths of the clergy of my kingdom for five years, to contribute towards the expenses I have been at in my war with Flanders; fourthly, that thou wilt anathematize the memory of pope Boniface; fifthly, that thou wilt restore to the dignity of cardinal master (messrs) Jacobo and master Piero della Colonna, and fully reinstate them, and in the creation of new cardinals remember certain friends of mine. As to the sixth favour and promise, I reserve it for another time and place, for it is a great and secret thing *.' The archbishop bound himself to do all these things by an oath on the eucharist, and gave, moreover, his brother and two nephews as hostages. The king, on his side, promised and swore that he would get him elected pope †."

Philippe-le-Bel's pope, publicly admitting his state of dependence, declared his intention of being crowned at Lyons (Nov. 14, 1305). This coronation, with which the captivity of the Church began, was fitly solemnized. A wall, covered with lookers on, falls down as the procession is passing, hurts the king and kills the duke of Brittany. The pope was thrown down, and the tiara fell from his head. Eight days afterwards, at a banquet given by the pope, a quarrel arises between his people and those of the cardinals, and a brother of his is slain.

The disgraceful bargain became public. Clement paid ready money. He paid in what was not his, by exacting tithes from the clergy: tithes for the king of France; tithes for the count of Flanders, that he may redeem his engagements to the king; tithes for Charles of Valois, to supply him with the means of a crusade against the Greek empire. A strange motive was advanced for this crusade: the poor empire, according to the pope, was weak and unable to secure Christendom against the infidels.

Having paid, Clement thought he was quits, and had only to enjoy as purchaser and proprietor, to use and abuse. Just as a baron made progresses (*faisait chevauchée*) round his domains, in order to keep in exercise his rights of lodging and purveyship, Clement took a tour through the Church of France. From Lyons he bent his course towards Bordeaux; but taking Mâcon, Bourges, and Limoges by his way, in order to plunder a larger extent of country. On he went, consuming and devouring, from bishopric to bishopric, with a whole army of familiars and servants. Wherever this swarm of locusts alighted, the place was left clear. With his rancorous feelings, as formerly archbishop of

* (Dupuy positively refers this sixth condition to the condemnation of Boniface. Simondi refers it to the election of Charles of Valois to the imperial crown. Others incline to make it relate to the suppression of the Templars.)

TRANSLATOR.

† G. Villani, l. viii. c. 80, p. 417.—The feeling of the time is well represented in the burlesque verses quoted by Walsingham—

Ecclesiam navis titubat, regni quia clavus
Errat. Rex, Papa, facti sunt unica cappa.
Hoc faciunt, do, des, Pilatus hic, alter Herodes.
Walsingham, p. 456, ann. 1306.

(The bark of the Church staggers, because the key of the kingdom wanders. King and pope are become one cap (or hood). They play at 'ca' me, 'ca' thee—the one, Pilate; the other, Herod.)

* (As a Gascon, he was a subject of the king of England. He had been an *élève* of Boniface's.) TRANSLATOR.

Bordeaux, he deprived Bourges of its primacy over the capital of Guyenne, and lodged himself with his enemy, the archbishop of Bourges, like a tax-gatherer's bailiff or kitchen grub (comme un garnissaire; on *mangeur d'office*)*. And here he lodged after such a sort, that he left him utterly ruined; and the primate of the Aquitaines would have perished of hunger, had he not come to the cathedral among his canons to receive his share of the Church's allowance †.

Of all Clement's robberies, the largest share went to a woman who sacked the pope, as he did the Church. The lovely Brunissende Talleyrande Perigord was the true Jerusalem who absorbed the money intended for the crusade; and cost him, it is said, more than the Holy Land.

Clement was soon to be cruelly disturbed from this pleasing enjoyment of the goods of the Church. The tithes in perspective did not satisfy the actual wants of the royal treasury. The pope gained time by handing over the Jews to him, and authorizing him to seize them. Not one, it is said, escaped. Not content with selling their goods, the king took it upon himself to pursue their debtors, averring that their books were sufficient proofs of debt, and that a Jew's hand writing was enough for him.

The Jew not yielding enough, Philippe fell back on the Christian. He again altered the coin, increasing the nominal value, and diminishing the weight—so with two lives, he paid eight. But when he had to receive, he would only take a third of the sum in his own coin: thus committing two bankruptcies in an inverse sense. All debtors profited by the occasion; and innumerable quarrels arose out of this money of different values, though the same denomination. It was a Babel, where none understood the other. The only thing in which the people agreed (take notice, there is a people now), was to revolt. The king took shelter in the Temple. Here they would have followed him, had they not amused themselves by the way with plundering the house of Etienne Barbet, a financier who bore the odium of having recommended the alteration of the coin. Here the revolt stopped; and the king had some hundreds of men hung on the trees bordering the roads round Paris. His alarm led him to propitiate the nobles; to whom he restored the privilege of judicial combat, or, in other words, the right of impunity. This was a blow to kingly authority. The king of the legists renounced the law, in order to recognize the decisions of force: a sad and doubtful position in legislation as well as in finance. Driven from the church to the Jews, from the latter to the communes, from the Flemish communes he fell back on the clergy.

The least used of all Philippe's treasures, his patrimony to draw upon, the funds on which he could count, was his pope. If he had bought this pope, and had fattened him on theft and robbery, it was not, not to make use of him, but to

turn him to account, to levy upon him, like the Jew, a pound of flesh from whatever part he chose.

He possessed an infallible instrument for pressing and squeezing the pope, an all-powerful bugbear, to wit, the condemnation of Boniface VIII., which was to ask the papacy to cut its own throat. If Boniface were a heretic and a mock pope, then all cardinals of his creation were mock cardinals, Benedict XI. and Clement, elected by them, were, in their turn, mock and illegal popes, and not only they, but all those whom they had appointed or confirmed to ecclesiastical dignities, and not only these appointments of theirs, but their public acts of every kind. The Church would have been enmeshed in interminable illegality. On the other hand, if Boniface were true pope, as such he was infallible; his sentences would hold good, and Philippe-le-Bel would remain a condemned man.

Hardly was he enthroned before Clement had to hear the sharp and imperious requisition of Nogaret, enjoining him to pursue the memory of his predecessor. Hardly was the bargain concluded, before the devil demanded his payment. The servitude of the sold man begun; his soul, once fagoted by the bonds of injustice, and having received the curb and bit, was to be wantonly ridden, even up to damnation.

Rather than thus kill the papacy in point of law, Clement preferred delivering it up in point of fact. He created twelve cardinals devoted to the king, in one batch: the two Colonnas, and ten Frenchmen or Gascons. These twelve, joined to those who remained of the twelve of the same party, whom Celestine had been surprized into creating, secured the king the election of popes to all futurity. Clement thus placed the papacy in Philippe's hands; an enormous concession, which, however, did not suffice him.

He thought to soften his master by going a step further. He revoked Boniface's bull *Clericus laicos*, which closed the purse of the clergy to the king. The bull *Unam Sanctam* contained the glorious and sublime expression of the Pontifical supremacy. Clement sacrificed it; and this was not enough.

He was at Poitiers, uneasy, and sick in body and in mind. Philippe-le-Bel visited him there; and with fresh demands in his mouth. The king required a sweeping confiscation; that of the richest of the religious orders, the order of the Temple. The pope, hemmed in between two dangers, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, by heaping on him all the favours in the power of the holy see. He helped his son, Louis Hutin (the Quarrelsome), to establish himself in Navarre; and appointed his brother, Charles of Valois, leader of the crusade. And, lastly, he endeavoured to secure himself the protection of the house of Anjou, by releasing the king of Naples from an enormous sum he was indebted in to the Church, canonizing one of his sons, and awarding the other the throne of Hungary.

Philippe was ever ready to receive: but did not relax his hold. He besieged the pope with charges against the Temple; and even found in Clement's own house a Templar to accuse his order. In 1306, the unhappy pope excuses himself from receiving commissioners whom the king was about to despatch to him to bring him to a decision, on the following childish pretext: "By

* These terms were synonymous in the language of the day.

† (In the original—"recevoir aux distributions ecclésiastiques la portion congrue." The "portion congrue" was the allowance that the owner of the great tithes was obliged to give the parish priest for his subsistence.) TRANSLATOR.

—Contin. G. de Nangis, ad ann. 1305.

the advice of our physicians, we intend, in the beginning of September to take some preparatory drugs, and then a purge, which, according to the said physicians, will, with God's aid, be very useful to us *."

He would have gone on for ever with these frivolous evasions, had he not suddenly learnt that the king was arresting Templars in every direction, and that his confessor, a Dominican monk and grand inquisitor of France, was proceeding against them without waiting for his authorization.

What, then, was the Temple—let us essay briefly to describe it.

The Temple, at Paris, comprised the whole of that large, gloomy, and thinly-peopled quarter, which still goes under its name †; a third of the Paris of that day. In the shadow of the Temple, and under its powerful protection, lived a swarm of servitors, familiars, affiliated members, and also criminals—the houses of the order having the right of asylum: a right of which Philippe-le-Bel had himself taken advantage in 1306, when he was pursued by the revolted populace. There still remained at the epoch of the Revolution a memorial of this royal ingratitude, in the large tower with four turrets, built in 1222; and which was the prison of Louis XVI.

The Paris Temple was the centre of the order, its treasury; and the chapters-general were held there. All the provinces of the order were its dependencies—Portugal, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Majorca, Germany, Italy, Apulia and Sicily, England and Ireland. In the North, the Teutonic order was an offshoot of the Temple: just as in Spain other military orders were formed out of its ruins. The large majority of the Templars were French, particularly the grand masters; and the knights went by their French designation of *Frères du Temple* (Brothers of the Temple), in several tongues, as *Frieri del Tempio*, in Italy, in Greece, *φρῆροι τοῦ Τημελίου*.

Like all the military orders, that of the Temple derived its origin from Cîteaux; and St. Bernard, the reformer of Cîteaux, gave to the knights their enthusiastic and severe rule with the same pen with which he wrote his commentary on the Song of Songs. This rule was—*erile and the Holy War* unto death. "The Templars were never to decline battle, even with one to three; never to ask quarter or to give ransom, not so much as a piece of wall or inch of land. They had no rest to hope for; and were not allowed to pass into less rigid orders §.

"Go happy, go in peace," said St. Bernard to them; "drive out with stout heart the enemies of the cross of Christ, well assured that neither in life nor in death ye will be beyond the love of God, in Christ Jesus. In the hour of danger, repeat to

yourselves the words, '*Living or dead, we are the Lord's*.' . . . Glorious as conquerors, happy as martyrs *."

Here is his rough sketch of the Templar:—"Locks close shorn, shaggy hair, begrimed with dust; black with iron, weather-beaten, and sunburnt. . . . They love fiery and swift chargers, but not adorned, tricked out, caparisoned. . . . The pleasing feature in this crowd, in this torrent ever flowing towards the Holy Land, is that you see there only villains and reprobates. Christ erects his enemy into a champion; of the persecuting Saul, he makes a holy Paul. . . ." Then, in an eloquent itinerary, he leads the penitent warriors from Bethlehem to Calvary, from Nazareth to the Holy Sepulchre †.

The soldier has glory, the monk rest: the Templar abjured both. His life combined the hardest portions of their lot—danger and abstinence. The grand business of the middle age was the Holy War, the crusade: the ideal of the sentiment seemed realized in the order of the Temple. It was the crusade become fixed and permanent; the noble image of that spiritual crusade, of that mystic war which the Christian wages to the hour of his death with his internal foe.

Associated with the Hospitaliers in the defence of the holy places, they differed from them in war's being more particularly the object of their institution ‡. Both performed the greatest public services. What a blessing to the pilgrim who travelled on the dusty road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and who fancied every moment that the Arab brigands were upon him, to meet one of these knights and recognize the sign of succour in the red cross on the white cloak of the Templar. In battle, the two orders took by turns the van and the rear—those who had newly taken the cross and were unaccustomed to Asiatic warfare, being stationed between them. The knights surrounded and protected them, as one of them proudly remarked, *as a mother did her child* §. Zeal was in general but badly requited by these temporary auxiliaries; who were rather in the way of the knights than of use to them. Arriving full of pride and fervour, and certain of a miracle's being wrought expressly in their favour, they were constantly breaking truces, dragging the knights into useless dangers, provoking battle, and would then take their departure, leaving them to bear the whole brunt of the war, and with complaints of having been badly supported by them. The Templars composed the vanguard at Mansourah, when that young madman, the count of Artois, would continue the pursuit, against their advice, and enter the town: they followed him out of a sense of honour, and were all slain.

It had been thought, and reasonably, that enough could never be done for so devoted and useful an order; and the amplest privileges had been heaped upon them. First and foremost of these was their right to be judged by the pope alone. So distant a judge, and placed on so high an eminence, was seldom appealed to. Thus, the Templars became

* Baluze, Acta Vet. ad Pap. Av. p. 75, 76. . . . Quædam preparatoria sumere, et postmodum purgationem accipere, quæ secundum prædictorum physicorum judicium, auctore Domino, valde utilis nobis erit.

† The *Coutière* (inclosure ?) of the Temple, contiguous to that of St. Gervais, comprised almost the whole domain of the Templars, which extended along the street of the Temple, from the street St. Croix, or from near the street de la Verrière, to beyond the walls, the fosses, and the gate of the Temple. Sauval, t. i. p. 72.

‡ Sismondi, Rep. Ital. t. iv. p. 265. Pachymer, Hist. Andronic. l. v. c. 12. t. xiii. p. 235.

§ Dupuy, Preuves, p. 115.

* S. Bernard, Exhort. ad Milites Templi. i. 544—560.

† "Vita est militia super terram" (Life is a warfare upon earth).

‡ See, further on, the letter of Jacques Molay.

§ Sicut mater infantem. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 179.

judges in their own causes. They were allowed, too, to be witnesses in the same: so perfect was the trust reposed in their honour. They were prohibited from granting their commanderies at the solicitation of king or noble; and were exempt from all customs, toll, and tribute.

All were naturally desirous of participating in such privileges. Innocent III. himself sought to be affiliated to the order: and Philippe-le-Bel asked it in vain.

But, though the order had not possessed such great and magnificent privileges, men would have crowded to enter it. The Temple had an attraction of mystery and of vague terror for the mind. The ceremony of reception took place in the churches of the order, at night, and with closed doors—the inferior brethren being carefully excluded. It was said that if the king of France had found his way in, he would never have found it out.

The form of reception was borrowed from the fantastical dramatic rites, from the *mysteries* with which the *ancient church did not fear to envelope holy things*. The candidate was introduced as a sinner, a bad Christian, a renegade. He denied, after the example of St. Peter; and the denial, in this pantomime, was expressed by an act*—that of spitting on the cross. The order charged itself with rehabilitating this renegade, and raising him the higher in proportion to the depth of his fall. Thus, in the festival of fools (*fatuum*), man offered the homage of his own imbecility and infamy to the Church which was to regenerate him. These sacred comedies, daily less understood, became, therefore, daily the more dangerous, and the more likely to scandalize a prosaic age, which saw only the letter, and had forgotten the meaning of the symbol.

Here was another danger. The pride of the Temple might suffer an impious equivocal to remain in these forms. The candidate might suppose that the order was about to reveal to him a higher religion than the Christianity of the multitude, and to open to him a sanctuary behind the sanctuary. The Temple was not a sacred name to Christians only. If it expressed to them the holy sepulchre, it suggested to Jews and Mussulmans the temple of

* Further on, I explain my reasons for considering this point as beyond doubt.—Probably, the fourteenth century saw only a suspicious singularity in the adherence of the Templars to the ancient symbolical traditions of the Church—for instance, in their predilection for the number three. The candidate had three questions put to him before he was introduced into the chapter. He asked three times for bread, water, and the fellowship of the order. He made three vows. The knights observed three grand fasts. They took the sacrament three times a year. Alms were distributed by all the houses of the order three times a week. They eat meat on three days of the week only. On fast days, they were allowed to have three different dishes. They worshipped the cross solemnly, three stated times a year. Each swore not to turn his back on three enemies. They flogged three times in full chapter, those who had deserved the chastisement, &c. &c. The same holds good of the charges brought against them. They were accused of denying three times, of spitting three times on the cross (*Ter abnegant, et horribili crudelitate ter in faciem spuebant ejus*). Circul. de Philippe-le-Bel, du 14 Septembre, 1307. "And they made him thrice deny the prophet, and thrice spit upon the cross." Instruct. de l'Inquisiteur Guillaume de Paris. Rayn. p. 4.

Solomon*. The idea of the Temple, higher and more general still than that of the Church, soared in some sort above all religions. The Church had a date; the Temple, none. Contemporary with all ages, it was as a symbol of the perpetuity of religion. Even after the ruin of the Templars, the Temple subsists, as a tradition at least, in the teaching of numerous secret societies down to the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons†.

The Church is the house of Christ; the Temple, that of the Holy Ghost. The Gnostics chose for their grand festival, not Christmas or Easter, but Pentecost—the day of the descent of the Holy Ghost. What remains may there have been of these ancient sects in the middle age? Were the Templars affiliated to any of them? Questions such as these, notwithstanding the ingenious conjectures of the moderns, will ever remain obscure through want of data‡.

These esoteric doctrines of the Temple seem at once to covet the light, and concealment. We fancy that we detect them either in the strange emblems sculptured on the fronts of some churches, or in the last epic cycle of the middle age, in those poems in which, chivalry, purified, is no more than an Odyssey—an heroic and pious voyage in search of the Graal—the name given to the holy cup which received our Saviour's blood, the mere sight of which prolongs life for five hundred years, which can be approached by children only without death's being the consequence, and round the Temple containing which, the Templars, or knights of the Graal, watch all in arms.

This more than ecclesiastical chivalry, this cold and too pure ideal which was the close of the middle age and its last reverie, was, by its very loftiness, a stranger to the real, and inaccessible to the practical. The Templar remained in the poems a figure shrouded in clouds, and approaching the divine. The Templar buried himself in brutality.

I would not be thought to ally myself with the persecutors of this great order. The enemy of the Templars, without wishing it, has washed them white; the tortures by which he wrung disgraceful confessions from them seem presumptive proofs of innocence. We are tempted to attach no credit to the self-accusations of wretches on the rack; and, if there are stains, we are tempted to believe them effaced by the flames of the fiery pile.

Grave confessions—however, are on record, obtained without the question or any torture. And even the very points which were not proved, are not the less probable to one who knows human

* In some English monuments the order of the Temple is styled *Militia Templi Salomonis*. MS. Biblioth. Cottonianæ et Bodleianæ. They are called *Fratres Militia Salomonis* in a charter of 1197. Ducange, Rayn. p. 2.

† Possibly, the Templars who escaped may have founded secret societies. All these have disappeared in Scotland, with the exception of two. Now, it has been observed that the most secret mysteries of freemasonry are believed to have emanated from Scotland, and that the highest grades bear Scotch names. See Grouvelle, and the writers whom he has followed, Munter, Moldenhawer, Nicolai, &c.

‡ See Hammer, *Mémoire on Two Gnostic Coffers*, p. 7. See, also, his *Mémoire on the Mines of the East*, with M. Raynouard's reply. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, ed. 1828, t. v. p. 572.

§ See, above, p. 270.

nature, and who seriously revolves the situation of the order in its latter days.

It was natural that relaxation from the severity of the rule should creep in among a body, half monks, half warriors, younger sons of the nobility, who sought adventures far from Christendom, often far from the eyes of their chiefs, in the midst of the dangers of a war to the death, and of the temptations of a burning climate, of a country of slaves, of the luxurious Syria. Pride and honour supported them, as long as there was a hope of the Holy Land. Let us be grateful to them for having so protracted their resistance when their hopes so sadly vanished with each crusade, when every prediction was falsified, and the promised miracles were ever adjourned. Not a week passed without the bell of Jerusalem giving warning, that the Arabs were described in the desolate plain; and it was always the Templars and Hospitaliers who had to mount on horseback and sally forth from the walls At last, they lost Jerusalem: then, St. Jean d'Acre. Worn-out soldiers, lost sentinels, can we wonder that in the evening of this battle, fought through two centuries, their arms dropped by their sides?

A fall, after great efforts, is ever a serious one. The soul, which has soared so high in heroism and sanctity, falls heavily indeed on the earth Sick and fevered, it plunges into evil with a savage hunger, as if to punish itself for having believed.

Such would appear to have been the fall of the Temple. All that was holy in the order, became sin and stain. After having soared from man to God, it turned from God to the beast*. Their pious love-feasts, and heroic fraternizations, covered filthy, monkish amours†. They concealed their infamy, by plunging further into it. Pride found its account in this, too. A race, constantly reproduced, without family or carnal generation, by election and the spirit, could make a show of its contempt for woman‡—all sufficient to itself, and loving nothing beyond itself.

As they did without women, so did they without priests; sinning, and confessing among themselves§. And they did, too, without God. They

* Besides our popular saying of "To drink like a Templar," the English had another—"In his boyhood, the boys used to call out commonly and publicly to each other, 'Take care of the Templar's kiss.'" Conc. Britann. p. 360. Evidence of the 24th witness.

† The austere rule which the order received on its foundation, sounds on its fall like a fearful charge—"Let not the host's house be without light, lest the enemy in the dark. . . . Let them sleep in their shirts and drawers. The brethren must never sleep without a light until the morning." Acts of the Council of Troyes, 1128. Ap. Dup. Templ. 92—102.

‡ See the Processus contra Templarios, MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale. What we find there in the Articles of the Examination with regard to their relations with women, (*Licentibus the masters made brothers and sisters of the Temple* Proc. MS. folio 10, 11,) must be understood of its affiliated members, who were of both sexes (see Dupuy, p. 99, 102); but I do not remember reading any confession on this point, even in the depositions most hostile to the order. The confessions turn rather on a revolting crime.

§ "The manner of holding a chapter and of the ceremony of absolution. After the chapter, the master or whoever holds the chapter will say—'My good lords and brothers, the pardon given by our chapter is on this wise: he who shall have taken the ains of the house wrongfully, or has

tried eastern superstitions: Saracen magic. At first, symbolical, the denial became real. They abjured a god who did not give victory, treated him as a faithless ally who betrayed them, insulted him, spat upon the cross.

The order itself, it would seem, became their god. They worshipped the Temple and the Templars, their chiefs, as living Temples; and they symbolized by the filthiest and most disgusting ceremonies their blind devotion and complete abandonment of will. The order, closing itself in on this wise, sank into a fierce worship of itself, into a *Satanic agotism*. The most eminently diabolical feature of the devil, is his worshipping himself.

These, it will be said, are but conjectures. But, they proceed too naturally from numerous confessions obtained without recourse to torture; particularly, in England*.

That this was the general character of the order, or that its statutes had become, in express terms, disgraceful and impious, I am far from affirming. Things of the kind are not committed to writing. Corruption invades an order by mutual and tacit connivance. The forms remain, but with a changed meaning, and perverted by a criminal interpretation which no one openly acknowledges.

But though all these infamous and impious things had been true of the whole order, this would not have been sufficient to have drawn down ruin upon it. The clergy would have screened and hushed up its abuses, as they did so many other ecclesiastical corruptions. The cause of the ruin of the Temple was that it was too rich and too powerful. There was another and a nearer cause; which I will presently speak of.

In proportion as the furor of holy wars cooled down in Europe, and crusading became less popular, greater gifts were showered on the Temple by way of discharging the debt of conscience. The numbers affiliated to the order were numberless: a payment of two or three deniers yearly was all that was required. Many made offering of all their property, and even of their persons. Two counts of Provence made this wholesale offering of themselves. A king of Aragon (Alphonso-le-Batailleur†, 1131-32), left them his kingdom; but the kingdom did not choose to be so willed away.

The vast number of the Templars' possessions may be inferred from that of the estates, farms, and ruined strongholds, which still bear the name of Temple in our cities and provinces. They are

kept back any thing in his own name, shall have neither time nor pardon from our chapter. But all things that you *shun to say for shame of the flesh*, or fear of the justice of the house, we pray God for his sweet mother's sake to pardon you." Concilia d'Angleterre, edit. 1737, t. ii. p. 383.

* The filthiest evidence, and which would appear with most probability to have been dictated by torture, is that given by the English witnesses, who, however, were not subjected to it—"After returning thanks, the chaplain of the order of the Temple would say to the brethren, 'Devil burn you' (*Diabolus comburet vos*), or something of the kind. . . . And he saw the breeches down of one of the brothers of the Temple, and him standing with his face to the west and his back to the altar 359. And a crucifix was shown him, and he was told that as he had before honoured, he should now revile and spit upon it; which he did. He was also told to let down his breeches and turn his back on the crucifix; which he did, with tears." Ibidem, 369, col. 1

† The Fighter.

said to have possessed more than nine thousand manors in Christendom*. In a single Spanish province, in the kingdom of Valencia, they had seventeen fortified places. They purchased the kingdom of Cyprus for ready money: it is true, they could not keep it.

With such privileges, wealth, and possessions, it was very difficult to remain humble†. Richard Cœur-de-Lion said on his death-bed, "I leave my avarice to the Cistercians, my luxury to the Grey friars, and my pride to the Templars."

In default of Mussulmans, this restless and untameable militia warred on Christians. They warred on the king of Cyprus and the prince of Antioch. They dethroned the king of Jerusalem, Henry II., and the duke of Croatia. They laid waste Thrace and Greece. All the talk of the crusaders who returned from Syria was of the treachery of the Templars and their league with the infidels‡. They were notoriously in communication with the Assassins of Syria§; and the similarity of their costume with that of the Old Man of the Mountain was noticed with fear. They had received the Soldan in their houses, allowed the Mahomedans the exercise of their worship, and given the infidels warning of the arrival of Frederick II.¶. In their furious rivalries with the Hospitaliers, they had even shot a flight of arrows into the Holy Sepulchre¶. It was said that they had slain a Mussulman chief who desired to turn Christian in order to escape from paying them tribute.

The house of France, in particular, thought it had subject of complaint against the Templars. They had slain Robert de Brienne at Athens; had refused to contribute towards the ransom of St. Louis**; and, lastly, they had declared for the house of Aragon against that of Anjou.

* Habent Templarii in Christianitate novem millia manerorum. . . . Math. Paris, p. 417. At a later period the Chronicle of Flanders gives them 10,500 manors. In the seneschalship of Beauchamp, the order had bought, within forty years, to the value of 10,000 livres of yearly rental.—The priory of St. Giles alone had fifty-four commanderies. Grouvelle, p. 196.

† In their ancient statutes we read, *Regula pauperum commilitonum Templi Salomonis* (The rule of the poor fellow-soldiers of the Temple of Solomon). Rayn. p. 2.

‡ "And Acre, a city, they betrayed of their treachery." Chron. St. Denis, ap. Dupuy, p. 26.

§ See Hammer, Hist. des Assassins.

¶ Dupuy, p. 5, 6.

¶ This animosity was pushed to such excess in the year 1259, that a battle took place between them in which the Templars were hewn in pieces. The writers of the time state that only one of them escaped.

** Joinville, p. 81, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 163, 164.—"Towards evening of the Sunday, the king's servants, occupied in payment of the ransom, sent him word they still wanted thirty thousand livres. . . . I said to the king it would be much better to ask the commander and marshal of the Knights Templars to lend him the thirty thousand livres to make up the sum, than to risk his brother longer with such people. Father Stephen d'Oultricourt, master of the Temple, hearing the advice I gave the king, said to me, 'Lord de Joinville, the counsel you give the king is wrong and unreasonable; for you know we receive every farthing on our oath; and that we cannot make any payments but to those who give us their oaths in return.' The marshal of the Temple, thinking to satisfy the king, said, 'Sire, don't attend to the dispute and contention of the lord de Joinville and our commander. For it is, as he has said, we

However, the Holy Land had been definitively lost, in 1191, and the crusades were over. The knights returned useless, formidable, and hateful. They brought back into the heart of this drained kingdom, and under the eyes of a starving king, a monstrous treasure of a hundred and fifty thousand golden florins, and ten mules' load of silver*. What were they about to do in the midst of peace with such troops and such wealth? Would they not be tempted to create a kingdom for themselves in the West, as the Teutonic knights have done in Prussia, the Hospitaliers in the islands of the Mediterranean, and the Jesuits in Paraguay†? Had they joined the Hospitaliers, no monarch in the world could have resisted them‡. There was no state in which they did not possess fortresses. They were allied with all noble families. In all, they were not, it is true, more than fifteen thousand knights; but they were experienced warriors in the midst of a population that, since the cessation of the wars of the barons with each other, had become disused to arms. They were admirable horsemen, who rivalled the Mamelukes, and were as intelligent, agile, and rapid, as the heavy feudal cavalry was cumbersome and inert. They were seen proudly prancing about in every direction on their beautiful Arab horses, each followed by a squire, a page, and an armed servitor, without counting black slaves. They could not vary their dress; but they displayed costly weapons of eastern manufacture, swords of the finest temper, and gorgeously inlaid.

They were conscious of their strength. The English Templars had dared to say to Henry III., "You shall be king, as long as you shall be just;" a saying which, in their mouths, was a threat. All this set Philippe-le-Bel on thinking.

He bore a grudge to several of them for having signed the appeal against Boniface only with reservation, *sub protestationibus*. They had refused to receive the king into their order; and had subjected him both to refusal and to service on their part—a twofold humiliation. He owed them money§;

cannot dispose of any of the money entrusted to us, but for the means intended, without acting contrary to our oaths, and being perjured. Know, that the seneschal has ill-advised you to take by force, should we refuse you a loan; but in this you will act according to your will. Should you, however, do so, we will make ourselves amends from the wealth you have in Acre.' When I heard this menace from them to the king, I said to him, that if he pleased I would go and seek the sum, which he commanded me to do. I instantly went on board one of the galleys of the Templars, and, seeing a coffer of which they refused to give me the key, I was about to break it open with a wedge in the king's name; but the marshal, observing I was in earnest, ordered the keys to be given me." Joinville, p. 182, 183, of Johnes's translation.

* Audvit dñi a Delphino predicto quod cum magister venit de ultra mare, portavit secum centum et quinquaginta millia florenorum aureorum et decem summarios oneratos turronum grossorum. Arch. du Vatican, Rayn. p. 45.

† These equally powerful orders were equally attacked. The Livonian bishops brought fully as serious charges against the Teutonic knights. From the time of John XXII. to that of Innocent VI., the Hospitaliers had to sustain similar attacks. The Jesuits were crushed by the like charges. See Grouvelle, p. 220.

‡ See further on.—In Spain, the Templars, Hospitaliers, and knights of St. John had entered into a treaty of mutual protection against the king himself. Munter, p. 25.

§ "He hated the master of the order on account of his

the Temple was a kind of bank, just as the temples of antiquity often were. . . . When, in 1306, he found an asylum with them against the fury of his insurgent people †, it no doubt gave him an opportunity of admiring the treasures of the order. The knights were too confiding and too haughty to conceal anything from him.

It was a strong temptation for the king ‡. His victory at Mons-en-Puelle had ruined him. Already compelled to surrender Guyenne, he had been also forced to let go his hold on Flemish Flanders. His pecuniary distress was extreme; and yet he had to repeal a tax against which Normandy had risen up. So strong was the excitement of the people, that no meeting of more than five persons was allowed. The king had no other means of extricating himself from this desperate state of affairs, than some sweeping confiscation. Now, having expelled the Jews, the blow could only be struck at the priests or the barons, or else at an order appertaining to one or the other, but which for this very reason, as belonging exclusively neither to the one nor the other, would be defended by neither. So far from it, indeed, the Templars were rather attacked by their natural defenders. The monks persecuted them. The barons, the greatest nobles of France, gave in their written concurrence to the prosecution of the Templars.

Philippe-le-Bel had been educated by a Dominican. His confessor was a Dominican. The Dominicans had long been on terms of friendship with the Templars; to such an extent, indeed, that they had bound themselves to solicit from every dying person they should be called to confess, a legacy for the Temple §. But the two orders had gradually become rivals. The Dominicans had a military order of their own, that of the *Cavalieri Gaudenti* ||, which made no great progress. To this

important solicitation of the money he had lent him for the marriage of his daughter, Isabella." Thomas de la Moor, in Vita Eduardi II. ap. Baluzæ, Pap. Aven., note, p. 189.—The Temple had been used at various periods as a place of security for the royal treasures. Philip-Augustus (A. n. 1190) ordered that all his revenues, whilst he was beyond sea, should be taken to the Temple and locked in coffers, to which his agents were to have one key and the Templars another. Philip the Bold had all the public savings deposited there.—The treasurer of the Templars was styled Treasurer of the Temple and of the king, and even Treasurer of the king at the Temple. Sauval, ii 57.

* See Mitford's History of Greece.

† See, above, p. 313.

‡ See, in Dupuy, a pamphlet probably addressed to Philip by his own orders, headed—*Opinio cujusdam prudentis regi Philippo ut regnum Hieros. et Cypri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum, ac de invasione regni Egypti et de dispositione bonorum ordinis Templariorum* (The counsel of a certain wise man to king Philip to secure the kingdom of Jerusalem and of Cyprus for one of his sons, and respecting the invasion of the kingdom of Egypt and the disposal of the goods of the order of the Templars.)—See, also, Walsingham.—The idea of applying their wealth to the service of the Holy Land was Raymond Lully's. Baluz. Pap. Aven.

§ Statutes of the chapter-general of the Dominicans, in 1248. Grouvelle, p. 23.

|| See the history of this order by the Dominican Federici, 1787. They profited, however, by the wealth of the Temple: many Templars went over to their order. Grouvelle, p. 116.

(" This order was founded about the year 1233, under the

accidental cause of rivalry, must be added a fundamental cause of hate. The Templars were noble; the Dominicans, the Mendicants, were mostly plebeians, although in their third order they reckoned illustrious laymen and even kings.

Among the Mendicants, as among the legists, Philippe-le-Bel's counsellors, there existed a common feeling of malevolence, a leaven of levelling hate against the nobles, the men-at-arms, the knights. The legists hated the Templars in their capacity of monks; the Dominicans detested them as men-at-arms, as worldly monks, in whom were combined the profits of sanctity and the pride of military life. The order of St. Dominic, inquisitorial from its birth, might believe itself conscientiously called upon to destroy in its rivals—unbelievers, who were doubly dangerous from their importing Saracen superstitions, and from their connexion with the Western mystics who paid adoration to the Holy Ghost alone.

It has been erroneously affirmed that the blow came unexpectedly *. The Templars had ample warning of it. But their pride destroyed them: they always thought that it would not be dared.

And, in fact, the king did hesitate. He had at first tried indirect means. For instance, he had sought admission into the order. Had he been received, he would probably have made himself grand master, as Ferdinand the Catholic did of the military orders of Spain. He would have applied the revenues of the Temple to his own uses, and the order would have been preserved.

Since the loss of the Holy Land, and even before, the Templars had been given to understand that it would be expedient for them to effect a union with the Hospitaliers †. United with a more docile

title of the order of the Glorious Virgin Mary. It was confined to young men of family, who associated themselves by the style of *Cavalieri Gaudenti*—*Les Frères Joyeux*—or the Joyous Brothers—for the defence of the injured, and the preservation of public tranquillity. They took vows of obedience and conjugal chastity, and solemnly pledged themselves to the protection of widows and orphans." Waddington, History of the Church, note to p. 387.) TRANSLATOR.

* They entertained gloomy presentiments. An English Templar, meeting a newly-admitted knight, accosted him as follows:—"Is our brother admitted into the order?" The latter replied in the affirmative. On which he went on to say, 'Should you sit on the top of the tower of St. Paul's at London, you could not behold greater misery than will be your lot before you die.'" Concil. Brit. p. 387, col. 2.

† This union had been proposed by the council of Saltzbourg, held in 1273, and by several other ecclesiastical assemblies. Rayn. p. 10.

(The order of the Knights Templars was established in 1118 by the patriarch of Jerusalem; and originally consisted of nine poor knights, who lived in community near the site of the ancient Temple, and took on themselves the voluntary obligation of watching the roads in the neighbourhood of the city, and of protecting the pilgrims from the insults of robbers and infidels.

The order of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of the Hospital, took its rise in the establishment of an *Hospitium* or house of entertainment for pilgrims at Jerusalem, about the year 1048. This became a hospital annexed to a church, and Godfrey de Bouillon, when he took the city in 1099, endowed it, erected it into a religious order, and obtained its confirmation, with a rule for its observance from Rome. The brethren subsequently added military to their religious duties. The Hospitaliers became afterwards celebrated as

order, the Temple would have offered little resistance to kingly power.

They would not listen to the proposition. Jacques Molay, the grand master, a poor knight of Burgundy, but an old and brave soldier, with his laurels fresh from the last battles fought by the Christians in the East, replied, that it was true that St. Louis had formerly proposed a junction of the two orders, but that the king of Spain had withheld his consent; that for the Hospitallers to be received by the Templars they must largely reform themselves; that the Templars were more exclusively founded for purposes of war*. He concluded with these haughty words:—"We find many desirous of depriving the religious orders of their possessions, compared with those who seek to increase them. . . . But if the proposed union of the two orders were to be effected, this religion would become so strong and powerful that it would be able to defend its rights against the whole world†."

Whilst the Templars were thus proudly resisting all concession, sinister rumours about them gained strength—partly, indeed, owing to their own imprudence. One of the knights told Raoul de Presles, one of the most seriously-disposed men of the time—"That in their chapter-general of the order there was one thing so secret, that if for his misfortune any one saw it, were it the king of France, no fear of torments would prevent those forming the chapter from putting him to death, as they best might‡."

A newly-admitted Templar lodged a protest against the form of admission with the judge of the bishop's court of Paris§. Another sought absolution for it from a Franciscan friar, who enjoined him, as a penance, to fast every Friday for a year, without his shirt||. A third, who belonged to the household of the pope, "ingenuously confessed to him all the evil he had witnessed in his order, in presence of one of his cousins, a cardinal, who took down his deposition in writing on the spot¶."

At the same time, ominous reports were spread of the terrible prisons into which the masters of the order flung refractory members. One of the knights deposed, "that an uncle of his had entered the order healthy and light-hearted, with dogs and falcons, and that in three days he was a corpse**." the knights of Rhodes, and then as the knights of Malta.)
TRANSLATOR.

* Si uno feret, multum oporteret quod Templarii laxarentur, vel Hospitalarii restringerentur in pluribus. Et ex hoc possent animarum pericula provenire. . . . Religio hospitaliariorum super hospitalitate fundata est. Templarii vero super militia proprie sunt fundati. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 180.

† Ibidem, p. 181.

‡ Ibidem, p. 139.—Another said, "Suppose that you were my father and could be made grand master of the order, I would not have you enter it, seeing that we have three articles among ourselves, in our order (quia habemus tres articulos inter nos, in nostro ordine), which none will ever know, save God, the devil, and we, brethren of the order." Evidence of the fifty-first witness, p. 361.—See the reports that were circulated of people who had been put to death for having witnessed the secret ceremonies of the Temple. Concil. Brit. ii. 361.

§ Dupuy, Preuves, p. 207.—This is the first of the 140 witnesses. Dupuy has mutilated the passage. See the MS. in the Archives of the kingdom, K. 413.

|| Ibid. p. 241. ¶ Dupuy, p. 13.

** Sanus et hilaris cum avibus et canibus, et tertia die sequenti mortuus fuit. Conc. Brit. p. 36.

These reports were greedily swallowed by the populace, who considered the Templars both too rich* and niggardly. Although the grand master in his evidence boasts of the munificence of the order, one of the charges against this wealthy corporation was, "that it did not distribute fitting alms†."

Things were ripe. The king invited the grand master and heads of the order to Paris; caressed them, loaded them with favours, and lulled them to sleep. They walked into the net; like the Protestants at the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The king had just added to their privileges‡. He had asked the grand master to stand godfather to one of his children. On the 12th of October, Jacques Molay, together with twelve other persons of high rank, had been named by him to hold the pall at the burial of his sister-in-law§. On the 13th he was arrested, together with the hundred and forty Templars who were at Paris. Sixty were arrested, the same day, at Beaune; and then, a host of others throughout the kingdom. The assent of the people and of the university had been secured ||. On the day of arrest, the citizens were summoned to the royal garden in the city, by their parishes and trades—and here monks held forth to them. The violence of their discourses may be inferred from that of the royal letter, which ran through all France:—"A bitter thing, a deplorable thing, a thing horrible to think of, terrible to hear! a thing execrable for wickedness, detestable for infamy! . . . A mind endowed with reason, compassionate and suffers in its compassion, when beholding a nature which exiles itself beyond the bounds of nature, which forgets its principle, which does not recognize its dignity, which, prodigal of itself, makes itself like unto the senseless brutes—what do I say? which exceeds the brutality of the brutes themselves¶!" . . . One may judge of the terror and astonishment with

* "Tousjors achetoient sans vendre . . .
Tant va pot à eau qu'il brise."

Chron. en vers, quoted by Rayn. p. 7.

(They were ever buying, never selling. . . . The pitcher that goes often to the well is at last broken.)

† They were reproached in Scotland with want of hospitality as well as avarice: "Likewise deponent saith that they did not willingly show hospitality to the poor, but, and that for fear, to the rich and powerful only; and that they were insatiable in grasping by any means the property of others, for their own order." Concil. Brit. Evidence of the fortieth Scotch witness, p. 382.

‡ It is curious to observe with what prodigality of praises and of favours he invited them into France, in 1304:—"Phillip, by the grace of God, king of the French—The works of mercy, the magnificent plenitude exercised by the holy order of the knights of the Temple, of Divine institution, far and wide throughout the world . . . deserve that we should extend the right hand of royal liberality to the aforesaid order of the Temple, and its brethren, whom we sincerely love, and towards whom we are pleased to show special favour." &c. Rayn. p. 44.

§ Baluze, Pap. Aven. p. 590, 591.

|| The king studiously made it a sharer in both the inquiry into this affair and the responsibility. Nogaret read the indictment (acte d'accusation) to the assembly of the university, which met the day after the arrest; and the grand master, and some others, were interrogated before another assembly of all the masters and scholars of each faculty, held in the Temple. They were examined a second time, in a third assembly.

¶ Dupuy, p. 196, 197.

which such a letter was received by all Christendom. It sounded like the trumpet of the last day.

The letter went on to give the heads of the charges—the denial and betrayal of Christianity to the profit of the infidels, the disgusting initiation, mutual prostitution, and, finally, height of horror, the spitting on the cross*!

Templars themselves had denounced all these crimes. Two knights, a Gascon and an Italian, imprisoned for their misdeeds, were said to have revealed all the secrets of the order †.

What made the deepest impression on men's minds, were the strange reports abroad of an idol † that the Templars worshipped. The rumours were various. According to some, it was a head with a beard; according to others, a head with three faces. Its eyes were said to sparkle. Some said it was a human skull: others made it out to be a cat ‡.

* See the numerous articles of the indictment. Dup. It is curious to compare it with another document of the same kind—Gregory the Ninth's bull to the electors of Hildesheim, Lubeck, &c., against the Stadthingers (Raynald, ann. 1284, xii. p. 446, 447). With more coherence, it is precisely the indictment against the Templars. Will this conformity prove, as M. de Hammer seeks to establish, the affiliation of the Templars with these sectaries?

† Baluze, Pap. Aven. p. 99, 100.

‡ According to the majority of the witnesses, it was a frightful head with a long white beard and sparkling eyes (Rayn. p. 261), which they were charged with worshipping. In the instructions furnished by Guillaume de Paris to the provinces, he ordered inquiry to be made "sur une ydole qui est en forme d'une teste d'homme à une grante barbe" (touching an idol in the form of a man's head with a great beard). The indictment (acte d'accusation) published by the court of Rome set forth, art. 16, "that in all the provinces they had idols, that is to say, heads, some of which had three faces, others but one; sometimes, it was a human skull," art. 47, &c. "That in their assemblies, and, especially, in their grand chapters, they worshipped the idol as a god, as their saviour, saying that this head could save them, that it bestowed on the order all its wealth, made the trees flower, and the plants of the earth to sprout forth." Rayn. p. 287. Numerous depositions of the Templars in France and Italy, and much indirect evidence in England, bore on this count, with additional circumstances. The head was worshipped as that of a saviour—"quoddam caput cum barbâ, quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum." (Rayn. p. 288.) Deodat Jaffet, admitted into the order at Pedenat, deposes that he who admitted him showed him a head, or idol, which seemed to him to have three faces, telling him, "This you must worship as your saviour, and the saviour of the Order of the Temple," and that he, the witness, adored the idol, saying, "Blessed be he who will save my soul." (p. 247 and 293.) Cettus Ragonis, admitted at Rome, in a room of the palace of the Lateran, deposes that he was told, when shown the idol, "Commend thyself to it, and pray it to bless thee with health." (p. 295.) According to the first of the Florentine witnesses, the brethren addressed it in the Christian formula, "Deus, adjuva me" (O God, grant me thy aid); and he added that this adoration was a rite observed by the whole order. (p. 294.) And, indeed, in England, a Minim friar deposed to having heard from an English Templar that there were four principal idols—one in the sacristy of the Temple of London, one at Bristol, one at Birmingham, and the fourth beyond the Humber. (p. 297.) The second Florentine witness adds a new circumstance; he declares that in a chapter one brother said to the rest, "Worship this head; it is your god and your Mahomet." (p. 295.) Gausarand de Montpesan states it to have been made in the likeness of *Bafomet*; and Raymond Rubei deposes that he was shown a wooden head, on which were painted the words *Figura Baphometi*, adding,

Whether these reports were true or false, Philippe-le-Bel lost no time. On the very day of the arrest, he established himself personally in the Temple with his treasure and the archives of the kingdom (Tresor des Chartes), and with an army of lawyers to draw up warrants and inventories. This lucky seizure had made him a rich man all at once.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER. DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER OF THE TEMPLE, A.D. 1307-14.

THE pope's astonishment was extreme when he learnt that the king had done without him in his proceedings against an order, of which the holy see was sole judge. In his wrath he forgot his ordinary servility, and his precarious and dependent position in the heart of the king's dominions; and

"Et illam adoravit obosculando sibi pedes, dicens *yalla*, verbum Saracenorum" (he worshipped it by kissing his feet and shouting *yalla*, a Saracen word).

M. Raynouard (p. 301) considers the word *Baphomet* in these two depositions, as an alteration of that of Mahomet, mentioned by the first witness; and sees in it a desire on the part of the examiners to confirm the charges of a good understanding with the Saracens, so generally reported of the Templars. In this case, we must admit that all these depositions are utterly false, and forced by torture only, since nothing can be more absurd than to make the Templars more Mahometan than the Mahometans themselves, who do not worship Mahomet. But the depositions on the point are too numerous, and, at once, too unanimous and too different (Rayn. p. 232, 237, and 286—302), to suppose this. Besides, they are far from being diametrical of the order. The Templars admit nothing more serious than that they have felt alarm, that they have fancied they saw a devil's head, a *mauffe's* head (p. 290), that in these ceremonies they have seen the devil himself under the shape of a cat, or of a woman. (p. 293, 294.) Without wishing to see in the Templars, in all points, a sect of Gnostics, I would rather, with M. de Hammer, trace in this the influence of these Eastern doctrines. *Baphomet*, in Greek (after it is true, a very doubtful etymology), is the God who baptizes; the Spirit, he of whom it is written, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." (St. Matthew, iii. 11.) He was to the Gnostics, the Paraclete, who descended on the Apostles in the shape of "cloven tongues like as of fire." In fact, the Gnostic baptism was with fire. Perhaps, we must see an allusion to some ceremony of the kind in the reports spread among the people against the Templars, "qu'un enfant nouveau engendré d'un Templier et d'une pucelle estoit cuit et rosty au feu, et toute la graisse ostée et de celle estoit sacrée et ointe leur idole" (that a new-born infant, begotten of a Templar and a maid, was cooked and roasted by the fire, and all the grease roasted out, and their idol consecrated and anointed with it). Chron. de St. Denys, p. 28. Might not this pretended idol have been a representation of the Paraclete, whose festival, that of Pentecost, was the highest solemnity of the Temple. It is true, these heads, one of which ought to have been found in each chapter, were not found, with the exception of one; but it bore the number LIII. engraved upon it. The publicity and importance given to this count no doubt decided the Templars to get rid quickly of every proof of it. As to the head seized in the chapter of Paris, they declared it to be a relic, the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins. (Rayn. p. 299.)—It had a large beard of silver.

he issued a bull, suspending the powers of the ordinary judges, of the archbishops and bishops, and even those of the inquisitors.

The king's reply is rough. He writes to the pope, that God detests the lukewarm, that to make delays of the kind is to connive at the crimes of the accused, that the pope ought rather to excite the zeal of the bishops. "It would be a serious wrong to the prelates to deprive them of the ministry which they hold from God. They have not deserved this insult; they will not support it; the king could not allow it without violating his oath. . . . Holy father, what sacrilegious wretch will dare to counsel you to despise those whom Jesus Christ sends—or, rather, Jesus himself*? . . . If the inquisitors are suspended from their functions, the business will never be brought to an end. . . . The king has not taken it in hand as an accuser, but as a champion of the faith and defender of the Church, for which he is accountable to God†."

Philippe let the pope believe that he was about to place the prisoners in his hands; and took upon himself only the guardianship of the property of the Temple in order to apply it to the service of the Holy Land (December 25, A. D. 1307). His object was to induce the pope to remove his suspension from the bishops and the inquisitors. He sent off to him, to Poitiers, seventy-two Templars, and despatched the heads of the order from Paris; but no further on the road than to Chinon. With this the pope was fain to be contented, and heard the confessions of those sent to Poitiers. At the same time, he took off the suspension from the ordinary judges, and only reserved to himself the trial of the heads of the order.

This gentle way of proceeding could not satisfy the king. Should the matter be thus quietly inquired into, and end with absolution, as in the confessional, it would be impossible to retain hold of the property. Thus, whilst the pope was imagining that the whole was placed in his hands, the king carried on the trial at Paris, through the instrumentality of his confessor, the inquisitor-general of France. A hundred and forty confessions were quickly obtained by torture—in which both fire and steel were employed‡. These confessions once made public, the pope had no means of hushing up the business. He sent two cardinals to Chinon to enquire of the heads and grand master of the order, whether all he heard were true. The cardinals persuaded them to acknowledge it, and

they submitted*. The pope, in fact, absolved them, and recommended them to the king. He thought that he had saved them.

Philippe let him talk, and went on his own way. In the beginning of the year 1308, he got his cousin, the king of Naples, to arrest all the Templars of Provence†. At Easter, the states of the kingdom met at Tours; when the king caused a discourse to be addressed to him, in which the clergy were assailed with singular violence—"The people of France earnestly supplicate their king. . . . To recal to mind that the prince of the sons of Israel, Moses, the friend of God, to whom the Lord spoke face to face, when he saw the apostacy of the worshippers of the golden calf, said, 'Put every man his sword by his side . . . and slay every man his brother.' . . . Nor did he ask for this the consent of his brother, Aaron, who was made high priest by God's own order. . . . Wherefore, then, should not the most Christian king proceed in like manner, even against all the clergy, should they err similarly, or support those who err‡?"

In support of this address, twenty-six princes and lords constituted themselves accusers, and covenanted by letter of attorney to appear against the Templars before the pope and the king. The letter bears the signatures of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, of the counts of Flanders, Nevers, and Auvergne, of the viscount of Narbonne, and of the count Talleyrand de Perigord. Nogaret boldly affixes his signature between those of Lusignan and Coucy§.

Armed with these adhesions, "The king," says Dupuy, "repaired to Poitiers, accompanied by a crowd of people (clerks)† belonging to the attorneys whom he retained by his side to consult with on whatever difficulties might arise||."

On his arrival, he humbly kissed the pope's feet; who soon saw that he would obtain nothing. Philippe could afford to listen to no punctilios or compromise. He was bound to treat their persons rigorously in order to keep their goods. The pope, beside himself, was eager to quit the town and escape from his tyrant—who knows whether he might not have fled out of France!—but he was not the man to leave without his money. When he presented himself at the gates with his mules, baggage and money-bags, he was not allowed to pass, but found himself the king's prisoner no less than the Templars. He renewed his attempts at escape, but always unsuccessfully. It would seem as if his all-powerful master took a pleasure in the torture of this poor wretch, vainly beating against the bars of his prison.

So Clement remained, and appeared resigned.

* "He acknowledged the aforesaid denial, and brought us to hear the confession of a certain serving brother and his friend, who was with him" (Confessus est abnegationem predictam, nobis supplicans quatenus quemdam fratrem servientem et familiarem suum, quem secum habebat, volentem confiteri, audiremus). Lettre des Cardinaux, Dupuy, p. 241.

† Charles the Lame sent sealed letters to his officers—"On the day fixed, before dawn, rather whilst still night, you will unseal them, Jan. 13th, 1308." Dupuy; Preuves, p. 233.

‡ Quare non sic procedet rex et principes Christianissimus etiam contra totum clerum, si sic erraret vel errantes sustineret vel faveret? Ap. Raynourd, p. 42.

§ Dupuy, p. 235.

|| Ib. p. 31.

* Quis ergo sacrilegus vobis, Pater Sancte, presumet consilere quod vos eos spernitis, imo potius Jesum Christum eos mittentem? Dupuy, p. 11.

† Dupuy does not give this letter entire; probably it was not sent, but was made public for the sake of its effect on the people. On the other hand, we have one of the pope's (dated Dec. 1, 1307), according to which the king had written to Clement that persons connected with the pontifical court had given some of the king's people to understand that the pope enjoined him to undertake the process; that the king was eager to relieve his conscience from such a weight, and to entrust the whole business to the pope, who heartily thanks him for so doing. Clement V. seems to me to have intended this letter rather for the public than the king, and it is probable that it is in reply to some letter which was never written.

‡ Archives du Royaume, K. 413. These depositions are extant in a large roll of parchment: they have been very carelessly extracted by Dupuy, p. 207—212.

On the 1st of August, 1308, he published a bull, addressed to the archbishops and bishops. Contrary to the custom of the court of Rome, it is singularly brief and precise. The pope clearly writes on compulsion: some one guides his hand. According to this bull, certain bishops had written that they knew not how to treat such of the accused as should persist in denying the charges, or those who should retract their confessions. "These things," observes the pope, "have not been left unsettled by the written law, with which we know many of you to be well acquainted. We do not purpose at present, as regards this affair, to enact any new law, and we will you to proceed as the law requires."

There lurked in this a dangerous ambiguity. Was *Jura Scripta* (the written law) to be understood of the Roman law, or of the canon law, or of the rules of the Inquisition?

The danger was the more real from the king's failing to hand over the prisoners to the pope, as he had given him to expect. In interviews with him, he still beguiled him, and promised him the goods by way of consolation for not having the persons: the estates of the Templars were to be assigned as the pope should direct*. This was taking him by his weak side; Clement was exceedingly uneasy about what was to become of these said goods†.

The pope had restored (the 5th of July, 1308), their temporarily-suspended powers to the ordinary judges, the archbishops, and the bishops. On the 1st of August, he wrote that they might proceed by the common law. On the 12th, he referred the affair to a commission, who were to prosecute the trial in the province of Sens; that is, at Paris, the bishopric of which depended on Sens. Other commissioners were named for the same purpose in other parts of Europe—for England, the archbishop of Canterbury; for Germany, those of Mentz, Cologne, and Trèves. Judgment was to be pronounced at the end of two years in a general council, to be held out of France, at Vienne, in Dauphiny, within the imperial territory.

The president of the commission, which consisted mostly of bishops‡, was Gilles d'Aiscelin,

* He had even written to the king of England, assuring him that Philip had made them over to the pontifical agents, and inviting him to imitate so good an example. Dupuy, p. 204. Letter of the 4th of October, 1307. But the decree of replevy by which Philip put the pope's delegates in possession of the Templars' estates, is not dated till the 15th of January, 1309. And, moreover, with these delegates of the pope's, he associated some agents of his own who watched over his interests in France, and who, under the shadow of the pontifical commission, encroached on the neighbouring domain. We learn this from a protest of the seneschal of Gascony, who complains, in the name of Edward II., of these aggressions on the part of the king of France. Dupuy, p. 312.

† Elsewhere he praises in glowing terms the disinterestedness of his dear son, "who is not instigated by avarice, and has no wish to retain any of this property"—"*Deinde vero tu, cui eadem fuerant facinorosa nuntiata, non typo avaritie, cum de bonis Templariorum nihil tibi appropriare*"—adding, "but rather hast liberally and devoutly entrusted it to us to administer, govern, preserve, and guard. . . ." 12th of August, 1308. Id. p. 240.

‡ Id. p. 240–242. The commission consisted of the archbishop of Narbonne, of the bishops of Bayeux, Mende, and Limoges, of the three archdeacons of Rouen, Trente, and Maguelonne, and of the provost of the church of Aix. The

archbishop of Narbonne, a mild man, of feeble character, deeply learned, but of little courage, and whom both the king and the pope set down for his own. The pope, thinking completely to do away with Philippe's discontent, associated with the commission the king's confessor, a Dominican and grand inquisitor of France, who had begun the process with such violence and audacity.

Philippe made no opposition: he had need of the pope. The death of the emperor, Albert of Austria, offered a brilliant perspective to the house of France. Charles of Valois, Philippe's brother, whose fate it was to seek every thing and to miss every thing, stood candidate for the Empire. Had he succeeded, the pope would have become the perpetual servitor and serf of the house of France. Clement interested himself ostensibly in favour of Charles of Valois, but secretly opposed him.

Henceforward, the pope was no longer secure within the French territory. He managed to effect his escape from Poitiers to Avignon (March, 1309). As he had bound himself not to quit France, he rather eluded than violated his promise by this step. Avignon was, and was not France. It was a border, a debatable land, a sort of asylum, such as Geneva was for Calvin, or Ferney for Voltaire. Avignon held of many sovereigns, and of none. It was an imperial possession; an ancient municipal city; a republic under two kings. The king of Naples, as count of Provence—the king of France, as count of Toulouse—each had the lordship of one half of Avignon. But as the pope's taking up his residence in this little city would bring it a considerable influx of wealth, he was about to become its king much more than they.

Clement thought himself a freeman, but he dragged his chain after him. The process against the memory of Boniface was a fetter which he could not break. Hardly was he seated in Avignon, before he learns that Philippe is bringing upon him a whole army of witnesses from beyond the Alps; and at their head that captain of Ferentino, that Raynaldo di Supino who had been engaged in the affair of Anagni—Nogaret's right arm. But when within some three leagues of Avignon, the witnesses fell into an ambuscade which had been laid for them. Raynaldo, with much difficulty, escaped to Nîmes; where the king's lawyers drew up his statement of this trick on the pope's part*.

The pope wrote at once to Charles of Valois, soliciting his good offices with his brother. To the king himself he wrote (the 23rd of August, 1309), that if the witnesses had been delayed by the way it was not his fault, but that of the king's people, who should have looked to their safety†. Philippe upbraided him with indefinitely postponing the examination of the witnesses, who were old and infirm, and of waiting for their death; stating reports that some of them had been killed, or tortured by partizans of Boniface, and that one had been found dead in his bed. The pope replies that he knows nothing of all this; that all he knows is, that during this long process the affairs of kings, prelates, and of the whole world go to sleep and

Southerners, who were most in the pope's interests, were, we see, the majority.

* Dupuy, *Hist. du Diff.* p. 288.

† Ibid. p. 293–295.

wait; that one, too, of the witnesses said to have disappeared, happens to be in France, and with Nogaret.

The king complained to the pope of certain injurious letters. The pope replies that both their Latinity and orthography prove that they could not have emanated from the court of Rome, and that he has ordered them to be burnt: as to pursuing their authors, *recent experience has proved that these sudden processes against important personages, have a sad and dangerous issue*.*

This letter of the pope's was an humble and timid profession of independence of the king—a revolt, kneeling. Its concluding allusion to the Templars, indicated the hopes conceived by the pope from the troubles in which this process would involve Philippe.

The pontifical commission, assembled on the 7th August, 1309, at the bishop's palace, Paris, had long been at a stand still. The king was no more desirous of seeing the Templars justified, than the pope of condemning Boniface. The witnesses for the prosecution in Boniface's affair were maltreated at Avignon; those for the defence in that of the Templars, were tortured at Paris. The bishops paid no attention to the orders of the pontifical commission, and would not send the prisoners to it†. Every day the commission was opened by hearing mass, and then sat. A crier proclaimed at the door of the hall, "Whoever has witness to bear on behalf of the knights of the Temple, may enter"—none presented themselves. The commission adjourned to the next day, when the same farce would be repeated.

At last, the pope having issued a bull (13th September, 1309), authorizing the process against Boniface to be proceeded with, the king, the following November, allowed the grand master of the Temple to be produced before the commissioners‡. The old knight showed at first great

* Then, passing on to another matter, the pope declares that he had suppressed as useless a clause of the convention with the Flemings, which either through hurry of business or carelessness he had signed at Poitiers, to the effect that if the Flemings brought upon themselves the papal censure by violating the convention, they were only to be absolved on the king's request—the which clause might lead to inferences against the sound sense of the pope. Every excommunicated person who makes satisfaction, may be absolved, even without the consent of the adverse party. The pope cannot disseize himself of the power of granting absolution.

† Processus contra Templarios, MS. The commissioners wrote another letter in which they said that, apparently, the prelates had thought that the commission was to proceed against the order in general, and not against its members; that it was not so: that the pope had deputed it to try the Templars.

‡ "The same day, he being present (22nd November), there came before the bishops one, in layman's attire, who gave his name Jean de Melot (not Molay, as Raynoud and Dupuy have it), and stated himself to have been a Templar for ten years, and to have left the order, although he had, he said, seen no harm in it. He averred that he came to do and say whatever they desired (il déclarait venir pour faire et dire tout ce qu'on voudrait). The commissioners asked him if he wished to defend the order, that they were ready to give him patient hearing. He answered, that he had come for that only, but that he first wished to know what they wanted to do with the order, adding, 'Do with me what you please, but let my needs be supplied, for I am very poor' (Ordonnez de moi ce que vous voudrez;

firmness. He said, that the order had received its privileges from the holy see, and that it was very surprising to him that the Roman Church should seek its sudden destruction, when it had suspended the deposition of the emperor Frederick II. for two-and-thirty years.

He also said, that he was ready to defend the order to the best of his ability; that he should consider himself a wretch did he not defend an order which had so highly honoured him; but that he feared that he had not wisdom or understanding for the task, that he had not four deniers to expend on the defence, and had no other counsel than a serving-brother*; that, to conclude, the truth would be made apparent, not only by the testimony of the Templars, but by that of kings, princes, prelates, dukes, counts, and barons, in all parts of the world.

Should the grand master proceed to defend the order in this strain, he would greatly strengthen the defence, and undoubtedly compromise the king. The commissioners advised him to deliberate reflection, and had his deposition before the cardinals read over to him. This deposition had not emanated directly from himself. From modesty, or some other reason, he had referred the cardinals to a serving-brother, whom he ordered to speak for him†. But when he was before the commission, and the churchmen read to him with loud voice the miserable avowals which had been set down, the old knight could not coolly hear such things repeated to his face. He crossed himself, and said, that if the lords commissioners of the pope‡ had not been who they were, he would have had something to say to them. The commissioners answered, that they were not persons to take up a gauntlet thrown down by way of challenge. "That is not what I mean," said the grand master; "but would to God that in such things we followed the custom of the Saracens and Tartars, who cut off the heads of the wicked or saw them in two.§"

This provoked the commissioners from their usual mild demeanour, and they answered with cold sternness, "Those whom the Church finds to be heretics, she condemns as heretics, and abandons the obstinate to the secular tribunal."

Philippe-le-Bel's man, Plasian, was present, though uninvited, at this hearing. Jacques Molay, alarmed at the impression which his words had made on the priests, thought that he would do better to trust himself to a knight||. He asked

mais faites-moi donner mes nécessités, car je suis bien pauvre).—The commissioners perceiving by his appearance, words, and gestures that he was a simple man, of weak intellect, went no further, but dismissed him to the bishop of Paris, who, they said, would receive him kindly, and supply his wants." Processus, MS. folio 8.

* . . . Nisi unum fratrem servierent, cum quo consilium habere posset. Prædicti domini commissarii dixerunt prædicto Magistro, quod bene et plene deliberaret super dicta defensione ad quam se offerebat. Ibid. p. 318.

† Ibid. p. 242.

‡ M. Raynoud says "the cardinals;" but incorrectly.

§ Abscundunt caput perversi inventis, vel abscondunt eos per medium. Dupuy, p. 319.

|| "Quum idem Magister rogasset nobilem virum, dominum Guillelmum de Plasiano . . . qui ibidem venerat, sed non de mandato dictorum dominorum commissariorum, secundum quod dixerant . . . et dictus dominus Guillelmus fuisset ad partem locutus cum eodem Magistro, quem, sicut asserbat, diligebat et dilexerat, quia uterque miles

permission to confer with Plasian, who advised him as a friend not to ruin himself, and persuaded him to solicit an adjournment of the hearing till the following Friday; a delay at once granted, and which the bishops would have been heartily glad to have extended to a much longer period*.

On Friday, Jacques Molay was again produced; but an altered man. No doubt, Plasian had worked upon him in his prison. When again asked whether he undertook to defend the order, he submissively replied, that he was but a poor illiterate knight; that he had heard an apostolic bull read, by which the pope reserved to himself the trial of the heads of the order, and that at present he asked nothing more.

The question was expressly put to him—Did he wish to defend the order? He said, No; he only begged that the commissioners would write to the pope to summon him as soon as possible to his presence, adding, with the simplicity of impatience and of fear, "I am mortal, as others are; the present moment only is ours†."

The abandonment of the defence by the grand master deprived it of the unity and strength it might have received from him. He only asked to say three things in favour of the order. Firstly, that in no churches was divine service more honourably performed than in those of the Templars. Secondly, that he knew no religion in which greater alms were bestowed than in that of the Temple—alms being given thrice a week to all who presented themselves. Lastly, that so far as he knew, no manner of people had shed so much blood for the Christian faith, or were more feared by the infidels; that at Mansourah, the count of Artois had stationed them in the vanguard, and that if he had hearkened to them . . .

Here a voice interrupted him: "Without faith, all this leads not to salvation."

Nogaret, who was present, also took up the word: "I have heard say, that in the chronicles, preserved in the abbey of St. Denys, it is written, that in the time of the sultan of Babylon, the master of that day, and the other heads of the order, did homage to Saladin; and that the said Saladin, when he heard of a great reverse sustained by the Templars, had publicly said that it had befallen them as a punishment for an infamous vice, and for their prevaricating with their law."

The grand master replied, that he had never heard tell of any such thing; that he only knew that the grand master of that day had observed the truces, since, otherwise, he could not have retained possession of certain castles. Jacques Molay concluded by humbly praying the commissioners, and the chancellor Nogaret, to allow him to hear

mass, and to have his chapel and his chaplains. This they promised him, commending his piety.

Thus the two processes of the Temple and of Boniface VIII. were begun at the same time; presenting the strange spectacle of an indirect war between the king and the pope. The latter, constrained by the king to pursue the memory of Boniface, was avenged by the depositions of the Templars for the barbarity with which the king's servants had at first proceeded against them. The king cast dishonour on the papacy; the pope on the monarchy. But the king had power on his side. He prevented the bishops from sending the imprisoned Templars to the pope's commissioner, and, at the same time, he directed on Avignon swarms of witnesses who were picked up for him in Italy. The pope, in some sort besieged by them, was condemned to listen to the most fearful depositions against the honour of the pontificate.

Many of the witnesses confessed their own infamy, and detailed at length the abominations in which they had shared with Boniface*. One of the least revolting of their confessions, one which admits of being translated, is, that Boniface had murdered his predecessor. One of these wretches deposed that he had said to him, "Come not again into my presence 'till thou hast slain Celestine†." Another stated, that Boniface had held a *sabat*, and done sacrifice to the devil‡. What is most probable of the things related of this old Italian legist, this countryman of Arétine's and Machiavel's, is, that he was sceptical, and often used impious and cynical expressions. . . . On one occasion, when some were expressing their fears in a storm, and saying the end of the world had come, he is reported to have observed, "The world ever has been, and ever will be." When questioned as to the resurrection, he replied by asking, "Did you ever see any one rise again?"

One who brought him figs from Sicily said to him, "Had I perished on my passage, Christ would have had mercy on me." To this Boniface is said to have rejoined, "Pooh, I am much more potent than your Christ, for I can give kingdoms§."

He spoke with fearful impiety of all the mysteries of religion. He said of the Virgin, "Non credo in Mariolâ, Mariolâ, Mariolâ" (I have no faith in her Maryship, Maryship, Maryship); and at another time, "We believe not in either the she-ass or her foal||."

There is no clear proof of these horrible buffooneries. What is better proved, and was, perhaps, more fatal to him, is his toleration. A Calabrian inquisitor had once observed, "I fancy the pope favours heretics, for he will not let us perform the duties of our office¶." At another time an abbot having been charged by his monks with

erat." Ibid. p. 319. (The same master requested the noble man, lord William de Plasian . . . who had come thither, but not at the command of the said lords commissioners, as they gave out . . . and the said lord William spoke apart with the same master, whom, as he asserted, he loved and had loved, because they were both soldiers.)

* Quam dilationem concesserunt eidem, majorem etiam se daturus assentes, si sibi placeret et volebat. Ibid. p. 320.

† Requrens eosdem, quod cum ipse, sicut et alii homines, esse mortalis, nec haberet de tempore nisi nunc, placeret eidem dominis commissariis significare Domino Papæ quod ipsum Magistrum quem citius posset ad ejus præsentiam evocaret. . . . Ibid.

* Ibid. p. 525.

† Ibid. p. 530.

‡ Ibid. p. 537.

§ This speech as reported at length is "Vade, vade, ego plus possum quam Christus unquam potuerit, quia ego possum humiliare et depauperare reges et imperatores et principes, et possum de uno parvo milite facere unum magnum Regem, et possum donare civitates et regna." (Go, go, I can do more than Christ ever could, for I can humble and reduce to poverty kings, emperors, and princes, and of a poor soldier make a great king, and can bestow states and kingdoms.) Ibid. p. 56.

|| "Tace, miser, non credimus in asinam nec in pullum ejus." Ibid. p. 6.

¶ Ibid. p. 546.

heresy, and found guilty by the Inquisition, the pope contemptuously said, "You are idiots; your abbot is a learned man, and of ripper judgment than you: away, and believe as he believes *."

After being nauseated with all this testimony, Clement V. had still to endure, face to face, the insolence of Nogaret (March 16th, 1310), who repaired to Avignon, but accompanied by Plasian, and a trusty escort of men-at-arms. For this petty Luther of the fourteenth century, this was his triumph, his diet of Worms—with this difference, that Nogaret, having the king and the sword with him, was the oppressor of his judge.

We find the substance of what he probably said to the pope in the numerous *factums* (memorials) which he had issued on the subject, and in which we find a mixture of humility and insolence, of monarchical servility, classic republicanism, pedantic erudition, and revolutionary audacity. I was in the wrong to compare him to Luther. The bitterness of Nogaret does not recall the fine and simple bursts of wrath of the good man of Wittenburg, in which were blended the child and the lion, but rather, the bitter and concocted bile of Calvin—that hatred raised to the fourth power. . . .

In his first *factum*, Nogaret had declared that he would not let go his hold. The action for heresy, he said, is not voided by death, *morte non extinguitur*. He required Boniface's remains to be exhumed and burnt.

He seeks to justify himself in 1310. A good mind ever fears having done wrong, even when there really is no fault, as did Job, the Apostle, and St. Augustine. . . . Then he knows persons who, through ignorance, have been scandalized through him. He fears, should he not justify himself, that such persons will be damned for their evil thoughts of him. Wherefore he beseeches, demands, postulates, and *requires* as a right, with tears and groans, clasped hands, bended knee. . . . In this humble posture he pronounces, under plea of self-justification, a fearful invective against Boniface. It contains no less than sixty distinct charges.

Boniface, he goes on to say, having declined to submit to the judgment of a council, and refused to call one, was therefore to be considered contumacious and guilty. Nogaret had not a minute to lose in fulfilling his commission. In default of the ecclesiastical or civil law, it behoved that some Catholic should defend the body of the Church—every Catholic is bound to expose his life for the Church. I, then, William Nogaret, a private man, and not simply a private man, but a knight, bound by the duty of chivalry to defend the republic, it was permitted me, it was imposed on me, to resist the said tyrant for the Lord's truth.—Likewise, just as each is bound to defend his country, *even to the deserting of a recompense, if, in such defence, he should slay his father †*, it was lawful for me,—what do I say!—it was obligatory upon me to defend my country, the kingdom of France, which had to fear ravage, the sword, &c.

Since, then, Boniface raged against the Church and himself *more furiosi* (like a madman), it was necessary to bind fast his hands and feet. This was not the act of an enemy, quite the contrary. . . .

* Ibid. p. 533.

† Pro quâ defensione si patrem occidat, meritum habet, nec pœnas meretur. Dupuy, Diff. p. 309.

But the height of effrontery is to come: it is Nogaret who saved Boniface's life; he saved, too, that of a nephew of his. He only suffered people in whom he could confide to prepare the pope's victuals. Boniface, on account of his deliverance, gave him absolution. And at Anagni itself, Boniface had preached to a large multitude, that all which had befallen him through Nogaret or his people, had been the Lord's doing.

Meanwhile, the process of the Temple had commenced with great parade, despite the desertion of the grand master. On the 23rd of March, 1310, the commissioners had brought before them in the garden of the bishop's palace those knights who had expressed their willingness to defend the order—the hall would not have held them, for they were no fewer than five hundred and forty-six. The counts of the indictment were read to them in Latin; but when they were about to read them in French, the knights cried out that it was quite enough to have heard them in Latin, and that they did not want to be disgusted with such vile slanders in the vulgar tongue*. Being so numerous, they were told, in order to avoid confusion, to appoint attorneys, and choose some of themselves to speak for the rest. All wanted to speak, so much had their courage revived:—"You should, then," was their cry, "have tortured us by attorney †." However, they delegated two to act for the rest, brother Raynaud de Pruin, a knight, and brother Pierre de Boulogne, a priest, the order's notary in the pontifical court, with some others to act as assistants.

The commissioners then caused to be taken down in every house at Paris used as a prison for the Templars ‡, the depositions of those who undertook the defence of the order. Fearful was the light which penetrated the prisons of Philippe-le-Bel. There issued from them strange voices, some fierce and rude, others pious and exalted, many breathing a naïve dolour. All that one of the knights would say, was, "I, single as I am, cannot undertake to argue with the pope and the king of France §." Some offer up, as all their deposition, a prayer to the Holy Virgin—"Mary, star of the seas, guide us into the harbour of safety ||. . . ." But the most curious document is a protest in the vulgar tongue, in which, after maintaining the innocence of the order, the knights bring us acquainted with their humiliating misery, and the sad account of their expenses ¶—strange details,

* Quod contenti erant de lectura facti in Latino, et quod non curabant quod tantæ turpitudines, quas asserabant omnino esse falsas et non nominandas vulgariter, exponerentur. Proc. contra Templ. MS.

† Dicentes quod non petebatur ab eis quando ponebantur in tormentis procuratores constituere volebant. Ibidem.

‡ Some were kept in the Temple, others in the church of St. Martin-des-Champs, others in the mansion of the count of Savoy, and in other private houses. Proc. MS.

§ Respondit quod volebat litigare cum dominis papa et rege Francie. Proc. MS. 11 verso.

|| Brother Elie, who drew up this affecting document, ends by praying the notaries to correct whatever errors they may find in his Latin. MS. folio, 31, 32.—Others write a defence in the Romance language, largely corrupted and intermixed with northern French. folio, 36, 38.

¶ I give this document, as it was copied by the notaries, with all its rude orthography:—"A homes honorables et sages, ordenés de per nostre pere l'Apostole pour le fet des Templiers li freres, liques sunt en prison a Paris en la

forming a painful contrast with the far celebrated haughtiness and wealth of the order! . . . These unhappy men, out of their poor pay of twelve deniers a day, were obliged to pay for the boat which bore them to undergo their examinations in the City, and to pay besides the man who unloosed or rivetted their chains.

At last the defenders entered a solemn protest in the name of the order. In this singularly strong and bold document, they declare that they cannot undertake the defence without the grand master, or before any other tribunal than a general council. They maintain, "that the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and immaculate before God and his Father". Regular institution, salutary observance of the rule, have ever been, and still are kept up in it in pristine vigour. All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout the world has been, and is ever observed of all, from its foundation to the present day. And whoso says or believes otherwise, errs totally, sins mortally." It was a bold affirmation, indeed, to maintain that all had remained faithful to the rules of the primitive foundation; that there had been no deviation, no corruption. Though "the just

maison de Tiron—Honour et reverence. Comes votre comandemens feut a nos ce jeudi prochainement passé et nos feut demandé se nos volens defendre la Religion deu Temple deusdite, tuit disent oil, et disons que ele est bone et leal, et en tout sans mauvesté et traison tout ceque nos l'en met sus, et sommes prest de nous defendre chacun pour soy ou tous ensemble, en telle manière que droit et sante d'Eglies et vos en regardarons, come cil qui sunt en prison an nois frés a copie il. Et sommes en neire fosse obscure toutes les nuits.—Item nos vos fessons a savor que les gages de xii. deniers que nos avons ne nos soufficient mie. Car nos convient paier nos lls, iiii. denier par jour chacun lls. Loage du cuisine, napes, touales pour tenelles et autres choses, ii. sols vi. denier la semaine. Item pour nos fergier et desferger, puisque nos sommes devant les auditors, ii. sol. Item pour laver dras et robes, linges, chacun xv. jours xviii. denier. Item pour buche et candole chacun xii. denier. Item passer et repasser les dis freres, xvi. deniers de asiles de Nôtre-Dame de l'autre part de l'iau. Proc. MS. folio, 39." (To the honourable and wise men, appointed by our father the pope for the affair of the brothers Templars who are in prison, in Paris, in the house de Tiron—honour and reverence. When your notary was with us this Thursday last past, and asked us whether we would defend the religion of the aforesaid Temple, all said yes, and we say that it is good and loyal, and altogether without malice and treason in all that is imputed to us, and are ready to defend ourselves, each himself singly, or all together, in such manner as law, the Holy Church, and you shall consider good, and as those may do who are exposed to every kind of misery.—We are kept in a black, gloomy fosse, all night.—Also, we give you to know that our allowance of twelve deniers does not suffice us. For we have to pay for our bed, three deniers a day, each bed. The hiring of kitchen (cooking?), linen, towels, for paws and other things, two sous, six deniers the week. Also, for rivetting and unrivetting our irons, when we go before the auditors, two sous. Also, for washing clothes, gowns, linen, we have each to pay eighteen deniers the fortnight. Also, for wood and candle, four deniers the day. Also, for the ferrying and ferrying back of the said brothers, from the asylums of Nôtre-Dame, on the other side of the water, sixteen deniers.)

* . . . Apud Deum et Patrem. . . . Et hoc est omnium fratrum Templi communiter una professio, quæ per universum orbem servatur et servata fuit per omnes fratres ejusdem ordinis, a fundamento religionis usque ad diem præsentem. Et quicumque aliud dicit vel aliter credit, errat totaliter, peccat mortaliter. . . . Dup. p. 333.

man sins seven times a day," this haughty order found itself pure and without sin. Such excess of pride shocked all.

They did not stop here. They required that the apostate brothers should be placed under sure guard, until it was made apparent whether they had borne true witness or not.

They further required that no layman should be present at the examinations. No doubt the presence of a Plasian or of a Nogaret intimidated both accused and judges.

They conclude by saying that the pontifical commission can proceed no further:—"For, truly, we are not in place of safety; being, and having been, in the power of those who suggest false things to the lord king. Every day, either of themselves or through others, either personally or by letters or messages, they warn us not to retract the false depositions which have been torn from us by fear; that, otherwise, we shall be burnt *."

Some days afterwards they entered a new protest, but stronger still, and less apologetical than threatening and accusatory. "This process," they say, "has been sudden, violent, iniquitous, and unjust; it is, altogether, atrocious violence, intolerable error. . . . Many, many of us have died of imprisonment and torture; others will remain maimed for life; several have been constrained to belie themselves and their order. These violence and torments have altogether deprived them of free-will; that is, of all the good that man can own. He who loses freedom of will, loses all that is valuable—knowledge, memory, and intellect †. . . . To compel them to falsehood and false witness, letters have been shown them with the king's seal, guaranteeing them their limbs, life, and liberty; promising carefully to allocate them a satisfactory revenue, and assuring them that the order would be condemned without help." . . .

Accustomed as the men of that day were to the violence of inquisitorial proceedings, and the immorality of the means commonly employed to extract evidence out of witnesses, words like these, nevertheless, could not but move the heart to indignation! But what spoke more forcibly than all words, was the pitiable appearance of the prisoners, their meagre and emaciated countenances, and the hideous marks of the tortures they had undergone. . . . One of them, Humbert Dupuy, the fourteenth witness, had been tortured three times, and kept thirty-six weeks in the pit of an infectious tower on bread and water. Another had been suspended by his privy parts. The knight Bernard Dagué (de Vado), whose feet had been held before a blazing fire, showed two pieces of bone which had exfoliated from his heels ‡.

* . . . Quia si recesserunt, prout dicunt, comburentur omnino. Ibid. p. 334.

† . . . Liberum arbitrium, quod est quidquid boni potest homo habere; unde qui caret libero arbitrio, caret omni bono, scientiâ, memoriâ, et intellectu. Ibidem, p. 340.—Admirable revival of justice and morality. The Templars, who required from their adepts so complete a sacrifice of free-will, here acknowledge that, without it, man is nothing. In like manner we see further on Nogaret asking the pardon—either really, or at least feigning so to do—of his victim; asking absolution from a pope to whom he denied the name of pope.

‡ Ostendens duo ossa, quod dicebat illa esse quæ ceciderunt de talis. Proc. ap. Rayn. p. 73.

These were cruel sights. Even the judges, legists as they were, and cased in the dry robe of the priest, were moved, and felt the spectacle. How much more the people, who daily saw these unhappy men crossing the river in their boats to the City, to the bishop's palace, in which the commission sat! The popular indignation increased against the accusers, the apostate Templars. One day, four of these appear before the commission, still wearing their beards, but carrying their cloaks in their hands. Throwing themselves at the feet of the assembled bishops, they declare that they renounce the dress of the Temple; but the judges regarded them with disgust, and told them that out of that presence they might do as they liked*.

The process was taking a troublesome turn for those who had begun it so precipitately and violently. Gradually the accusers sank into the place of the accused; whose depositions daily revealed the barbarities and turpitude of the early stage of the proceedings. The intent of the process became apparent. One of the accused had been put to the torture to compel him to state the amount of the treasure brought from the Holy Land. Was a treasure a crime; a ground for indictment?

When we remember the number of affiliated members the Temple had among the people, and the relations of the knights with the nobility, out of whose bosom they all issued, we cannot doubt that the king was alarmed at having gone so far. The shameful end, the atrocious means—all had been unmasked. Would not the people, troubled and disturbed in their faith since the tragedy of Boniface VIII., rise up? In the revolt that took place on account of the alteration of the coin, the Temple had been strong enough to protect Philippe-le-Bel; now, all the friends of the Temple were against him. . . .

The danger, too, was aggravated by the decisions of the councils in the other countries of Europe† having been favourable to the Templars. They were declared innocent on June 17th, 1310, at Ravenna; on July 1st, at Mentz; on October 21st, at Salamanca. By the beginning of the year, these judgments, and the dangerous reaction which would follow at Paris could be foreseen. To anticipate it was of the last consequence, and safety was to be snatched from daring: the process was, at all risks, to be grappled with, hurried on, and ended.

By February of the same year (1310), the king had completed his arrangements with the pope. He agreed to defer the judgment of Boniface to him‡; but in April required in return, that Clement should nominate to the archbishopric of Sens the young Marigni, brother of the famous Enguerrand Marigni, the true king of France under Philippe-le-Bel. On the 10th of May, the new archbishop summons a provincial council at Paris, and cites the Templars before it. Here we have

two tribunals judging the same parties at the same time, in virtue of two bulls of the pope's. The commission appealed to the bull, empowering it to try the case*; the council to the preceding bull, which had restored their powers to the ordinary judges†. No act of this council is extant: nothing remains save the list of those who composed it, and the number of those they condemned to the stake.

Sunday, May 10th, being a day on which the commission sat, the defenders of the order appeared before the archbishop of Narbonne and the other pontifical commissioners, and presented an appeal. The archbishop replied, that the appeal concerned neither himself nor his colleagues, and that they could take no notice of it, since it was not an appeal from their tribunal; but that if the knights chose to speak in defence of the order, they would willingly hear them.

The poor knights prayed they would at least manage them an audience with the council, to present their appeal to it, and provide them with two notaries to draw up an authentic notice of it—addressing not only the commission, but even the notaries who were present. They then read their appeal, in which they placed themselves under the protection of the pope, in the most pathetic terms:—"We beseech the holy Apostles, we beseech them over and over again, with earnestness of entreaty we beseech them‡." The unhappy victims already felt the flames, and clung to the altar which could not protect them.

All the aid secured them by this pope on whom they relied, and to whom they commended themselves as if to God, was a timid and cowardly opinion, in which he had endeavoured beforehand to interpret the word *relapsed*, should it be applied to those who had retracted their confessions:—"It seems in a manner contrary to reason to account such men relapsed. . . . In doubtful things of the kind, punishments should be restricted and modified§."

This opinion the pontifical commissioners lacked the courage to enforce. They replied, on the evening of the same Sunday, that they felt great compassion for the defenders of the order, and the other brothers, but that the proceedings of the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans were altogether unconnected with theirs; that they knew not what was transacting in the council; that if the commission were authorized by the holy s-e, the archbishop of Sens was so likewise; that the one had no authority over the other; that at the first glance they saw nothing to object to as concerned the archbishop of Sens; that, however, they would consider the matter||.

* According to Dupuy (p. 45), the pope's commissioners replied to the appeal of the defendants, "That councils passed judgment on individuals, and they on the affair as a whole."—The commission said just the reverse.

† Dupuy, note at p. 44.

‡ Petimus Apostolos, et iterum petimus, et cum instantia maxima petimus. Ibid. p. 346.

§ Videtur quasi contrarium rationi tales judicare relapsos. . . . In talibus dubiis restringendæ sunt pœnæ. Rayn. p. 106.

|| Quod ipsi nesciebant quid in dicto concilio agebatur . . . et quod sicut ipsi . . . erant Apostolicæ auctoritate deputati . . . propter quod non videbatur dictis commissariis primâ facie, ut dixerunt, quod haberent aliquis inhibere dicto domino archiepiscopo Senonensi . . . adhuc tamen deliberarent. Dup. p. 346.

* Sed dicti domini commissarii dixerunt eis, quod eos non dimitterent ibi, nec de eorum mandato seu consilio, sed extra facerent quicquid vellent. Dupuy, p. 338.

† The king of England at first expressed himself loudly in favour of the order; and, whether from a feeling of justice, or in opposition to Philip, he wrote, on the 4th of December, 1307, to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, on behalf of the Templars, praying them not to credit the accusations raised against them in France. Dupuy, p. 226—228.

‡ Hist. du Diff. Preuves, p. 296—299.

Whilst they were considering, they learnt that fifty-four Templars were going to be burnt. One day's examination had been ample for the enlightenment of the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans. Let us follow, step by step, the narrative of the notaries to the pontifical commission in its terrible simplicity.

"On Tuesday the 12th, during the examination of the brother Jean Bertaud*, the commissioners were apprized that fifty-four Templars were about to be burnt†. They instructed the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orléans, the king's chaplain, to tell the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans to deliberate ripely and to adjourn, seeing that the brothers who had died in prison protested, it was said, on the peril of their souls, that they were falsely accused. If such execution took place, it would hinder the commissioners from proceeding with their duty, the accused being so terrified that they seemed out of their senses‡. In addition, one of the commissioners charged them to intimate to the archbishop that brothers Raynaud de Pruin and Pierre de Boulogne, priests, Guillaume de Chambonnet and Bertrand de Sartiges, knights, had intromitted an appeal to the commissioners."

Here was involved a grave question as to right of jurisdiction. If the council and the archbishop of Sens recognized the validity of an appeal brought before the papal commission, they acknowledged the superiority of that tribunal, and the liberties of the Gallican Church were compromised. Besides, undoubtedly the king's orders were imperative; and the young Marigni, created archbishop for the purpose, had no time for wrangling. He absented himself in order to avoid receiving the envoys of the commission; and then some one (it is not known who) raised a doubt as to their having spoken in the name of the commission. Marigni joined in the doubt, and they proceeded as before §.

The Templars, who had been brought before the council on the Sunday, were sentenced on the Monday. Those who had made confession, were set at liberty; those who had been constant in their denial of the charges, were imprisoned for life; those who had retracted their confessions, were pronounced relapsed. These last, fifty-four in number, were degraded on the same day by the bishop of Paris, and handed over to the secular arm. On the Tuesday they were burnt at the *Porte St Antoine*. These unhappy men had prevaricated in prison, but they were constant and consistent in the flames, and protested their inno-

cence to the last. The crowd was mute, and as if stupefied with astonishment*.

Who can believe that the pontifical commission had the heart to assemble the next day, to continue their useless proceedings, and to go on examining whilst the council was burning †!

"Tuesday, May 12th, brother Aimeri, of Villars-le-Duc, was brought before the commissioners, his beard shaven off, and without the cloak or dress of the Temple, aged, as he said, fifty, and having been about eight years in the order as serving-brother, and twenty as knight. The lords commissioners explained to him the counts on which they were about to question him. But the said witness, pale and all scared ‡, appealing to his oath and his hopes of salvation, praying, if he lied, to be struck suddenly dead, and to be engulfed soul and body in hell before the very eyes of the commission, beating his bosom with clenched hands, bending his knees and raising his hands to the altar, protested that all the crimes charged on the order were utterly false, although, in the agonies of the torture to which he had been put by Guillaume de Mareillac and Hugues de Celles, knights belonging to the king, he had admitted some of the accusations. He added, however, that having seen fifty-four brothers of the order borne off on carts to the stake, who would not admit the truth of the said charges, and HAVING HEARD SAY THAT THEY HAD BEEN BURNED, as he feared that he had not strength and fortitude to bear such a punishment, he was ready, in his fear, to acknowledge on oath, before the commissioners or others, all the crimes imputed to the order, and even to say, if they so desired, that he had killed our Lord. . . . He supplicated and conjured the said commissioners and us, the notaries present, not to reveal to the king's people what he had said, lest, he said, if they should know of it, he should be delivered up to the same punishment as the fifty-four Templars. . . . The commissioners, seeing the danger to which the witnesses were exposed, should the examinations be continued whilst this reign of terror ‡ prevailed, and moved as well by other causes, resolved to adjourn for the present."

The commission would seem to have been affected by this terrible scene; and although weakened by the desertion of its president, the archbishop of Narbonne, and by that of the bishop of Bayeux, both of whom had ceased to attend its sittings, it essayed to save, if there were still time, the three principal defendants.

"On Monday, 18th May, the pontifical commissioners deputed the provost of the church of

* The name is almost illegible in the manuscript. The hand clearly trembles. Higher up, the notary writes plainly — Bertauid.

† Quod LIIII. ex Templarile erant dicti de comburendi. Proc. MS. folio 72. (Half the page torn off.)

‡ Adeo exterriti non videbantur in pleno sensu suo. Ibidem.

§ A quodam fuisse dictum coram domino archiepiscopo Senonensi, ejus suffraganeis et concilio quod dicti prepositus et archidiaconus (qui in dicta die Martis premissa intinasse dicebantur, et ipsi lidem hoc attestabantur, suffraganeis domini archiepiscopi Senonensis tunc absente dicto domino archiepiscopo Senonensi) predicta non significaverant de mandato eorumdem dominorum commissariorum. Ibidem, 71 verso.

* Constantier et perseveranter in abnegatione communi perstiterunt non absque multa admiratione stuporeque vehementi. Contin. Guil. Nang in Spicil. D'Achery, iii. ann. 1310.

† Pallidus et multum exterritus impetrando sibi ipsi, si mentiebatur in hoc, mortem subitanam, et quod statim in animâ et corpore in presentia dominorum commissariorum absorberetur in infernum, tendendo sibi pectus cum pugnis, et elevando manus suas versus altare ad majorem assertionem, flectendo genua cum ipse testis vidisset ducti in quadrigis LIIII fratres dicti ordinis ad comburendum et AUDIVISSE EOS FUISSE COMBUSTOS; quod ipse qui dubitabat quod non posset habere bonam patientiam si combureretur, timore mortis confiteretur omnes errores et quidem etiam interfecisse Dominum, si peteretur ab eo. Processa. MS. 70 verso.

‡ Durante terrore predicto. Ibidem, folio 71.

Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orléans to wait, from them, on the venerable father in God, the lord archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, to claim for the defendants, Pierre de Boulogne, Guillaume de Chambonnet, and Bertrand de Sartiges, that they might be brought up under good guard as often as they should require to conduct the defence of the order.* The commissioners took care to add, "that they did not seek to throw any hindrance in the way of the archbishop of Sens and his council, but only to relieve their conscience*." . . .

"In the evening, the commissioners met at St. Genevieve's, in St. Eloi's chapel, to receive a deputation of canons from the archbishop of Sens; whose answer was, that the process had been going on for two years† against the afore-mentioned knights, as private members of the order; that he desired to bring it to an end according to the form of the Apostolic rescript; and that it was far from his thoughts to interfere with the commissioners in the discharge of their duty‡." Dreadful mockery!

"The deputies having withdrawn, Raynaud de Pruin, Chambonnet, and Sartiges were brought before the commissioners, whom they informed that Pierre de Boulogne had been taken from them without their knowing wherefore, adding, that they were simple, inexperienced men, and, moreover, so stupid and disturbed in mind, that they could neither direct nor dictate any thing for the defence of the order, without the advice of the said Pierre. For which reason they besought the commissioners to have him produced, to afford him a hearing, and to inquire how and why he had been separated from them, and whether he chose to continue his defence of the order, or to throw it up. The commissioners directed the provost of Poitiers and Jehan de Teinvillle to produce the said brother before them on the following morning §."

We do not find that Pierre de Boulogne did appear the following morning; but numbers of Templars came, and made known their intention of discontinuing the defence. On the Saturday following, the commissioners, deserted by another of its members, adjourned to the 3rd November.

When they reassembled, the commissioners were still fewer in number, being reduced to three. The archbishop of Narbonne had left Paris on the king's service. The bishop of Bayeux was on a mission from the king to the pope. The archdeacon of Maguelone was ill. The bishop of Limoges had set out to join the commission, but was met by a notice from the king, that its adjournment had better

* Non intendentes . . . aliquam inhibitionem facere.

† Ibidem.

‡ Biennium erat elapsum. Ibidem.

§ Non erat intentionis . . . in aliquo impedire officium.

Ibidem.

"It being asserted that the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orléans had not spoken on the authority of the commissioners, the latter charged the envoys of the archbishop of Sens to acquaint him that the provost and archdeacon had really spoken in their name. Moreover, they told them to inform the archbishop that Pierre de Boulogne, Chambonnet, and Sartiges, had appealed from the archbishop and from his council, on Sunday, 10th of May, and that this appeal ought to have been announced to the council on Tuesday by the provost and archdeacon." Process. MS. Ibidem.

† Ibidem, 71 verso.

be prolonged till the next parliament*. The three commissioners present, however, bade the orator ask as usual at the door of the hall, whether there were any one desirous of speaking on behalf of the Temple. None presented themselves.

On the 27th December the commissioners resumed their examinations, and demanded the production of the two principal defenders of the order. But the first, Pierre de Boulogne, had disappeared: his colleague, Raynaud de Pruin, it was said, could no longer go on with the defence, having been degraded by the archbishop of Sens. Twenty-six knights, who had been already sworn previously to giving in their depositions, were detained by the royal officers and could not appear.

It is worthy of all admiration that, surrounded as they were by violence and peril, there should have been found knights to maintain the innocence of the order; but such courage was rare. The greater number were under the impression of a profound terror†.

The destruction of the Templars was being mercilessly prosecuted by all the provincial councils ‡. Nine knights had just been burnt at Sens. Examinations took place in the midst of the terror inspired by executions. The process was stifled with the faggot. . . . The commission continued its sittings until June 11th, 1311; and the result of its labours is recorded in a register, which ends with these words:—"As an additional precaution we have deposited the said *procédure* (copy of the proceedings), formally drawn up and attested by the notaries, in the treasury of Notre-Dame de Paris, to be shown to no one save on the authority of letters special from your holiness §."

* Intellecto per litteras regias quod non expediebat. Ibidem, 72 verso.

† This is clearly inferrible from the deposition of Jean de Pollencourt, the thirty-seventh witness. At first, he declares that he will abide by his first confessions. The commissioners, seeing him all pale and frightened, tell him to think of saying the truth only and of saving his soul; that he runs no risk in telling the truth to them; that neither they, nor the notaries present, will repeat his words. On this, he revokes his deposition, and declares that he had sought absolution for it from a younger brother of the order, who enjoined him never again to bear false witness.

‡ By the councils of Sens, Sensis, Reims, Rouen, &c., and after examination by the bishops of Amiens, (Cavaillon, Clermont, Chartres, Limoges, Puy, Mana, Macon, Maguelonne, Nevers, Orléans, Périgord, Poitiers, Rhodéz, Saintes, Soissons, Toul, Tours, &c. Raynaud, p. 138.

§ This register, to which I have so often referred, is in the Bibliothèque Royale (fonds Harlay, no. 329). It records the proceedings before the pope's commissioners at Paris—*Processus contra Templarios*. It was deposited in the treasury of Notre-Dame, but got, how is unknown, into the library of the president Briçonnet, then came into the possession of the advocate-general, M. Servin, and lastly, passed into the library of the Harlays, whose armorial bearings it still displays. In the middle of the eighteenth century, M. de Harlay, scrupling, probably, to keep possession of a manuscript of such importance, bequeathed it to the library of the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. This library was burnt in 1793, but the manuscript was saved and transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale (the royal library). A duplicate of it is preserved in the archives of the Vatican. See the Appendix to M. Raynaud's work, p. 369.—Most of the documents relative to the process of the Templars are in the National Archives. The most curious of these are, 1st, the first Examination of a Hundred and Forty Templars, arrested at Paris (filling a large roll of parch-

The order was suppressed as useless or dangerous, in all the states of Christendom; their monarchs either seizing its property, or bestowing it on other orders. But the persons of the Templars were respected there. The severest treatment they experienced was imprisonment in monasteries; and often in those which had belonged to themselves. This was the only punishment to which those heads of the order in England, who persisted in denying the allegations against it, were subjected.

In Lombardy and in Tuscany the Templars were condemned; acquitted at Ravenna and Bologna *. In Castile they were adjudged to be innocent. The Aragonese Templars offered resistance, and threw themselves into their strongholds, mostly into their famous fort of Monçon†. These forts were attacked and carried by the king of Aragon. But they were not the worse treated for their attempt, and entered in crowds into the order of Monteza which was then created. It was not in Spain, in presence of the Moors, and on the classic ground of crusade, that the thought could be entertained of proscribing the old defenders of Christendom‡.

The conduct of other princes with regard to the Templars was a satire on that of Philippe-le-Bel.

ment), from which Dupuy has given some extracts in a very negligent manner; 2nd, several *examinations*, in other cities; 3rd, the minute of the *articles* on which they were interrogated, to which is prefixed a minute of a letter, without a date, from the king to the pope, a sort of factum evidently designed to be spread abroad among the people. These minutes are written on paper made of cotton. This frail and precious rag, covered with a very difficult handwriting, has been decyphered and transcribed by one of my predecessors, the learned M. Pavillet. It is full of corrections, which have been carefully noted by M. Raynourad (p. 50), and which must have been due to the hand of one of Philip's ministers, to Margni, Plaisan, or Nogaret. The pope has docilely copied the articles in the parchment in the Vatican. The letter, alluded to above, is written with remarkable animation and vigour.—In Dei nomine, Amen. Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat. Post illam universalem victoriam quam ipse Dominus fecit in ligno crucis contra hostem antiquum . . . Ita miram et magnam et strenuam, ita utilem et necessariam . . . fecit novissimis his diebus per inquisitores . . . in periculum Templariorum negotio. . . . Horrenda fuit domino regi . . . propter conditionem personarum denunciantium, quia parvi status erant homines ad tam grande promovendum negotium, &c. ("In the name of God, Amen. Christ is victorious. Christ reigns. Christ governs. Since that universal triumph of our Lord's on the cross of wood over the old enemy . . . so wonderful, and great, and strenuous, so useful and necessary . . . has not been wrought save in these last days by the inquisitors . . . in the affair of the peridious Templars. . . . Our sovereign king felt alarm . . . on account of the rank of the accusers, because they were of mean condition to bring forward so great a matter," &c.) Archives, Section Historique, J. 413.

* At Mentz, July 1st; Ravenna, June 17th; Salamanca, 21st October, 1310. The German Templars justified themselves after the manner of the Westphalian free-judges. They appeared in arms before the archbishops of Mentz and Trêves, affirmed their innocence, turned their backs on the tribunal, and went their way in peace. See my Symbolique du Droit.

† *Montegaudii*—the Mountain of Joy.

‡ *Collectio Conciliorum Hispanie, Epistolarum, Decretalium, &c.*, curâ Jos. Saen. de Aguirre, Bened. Hisp. Mag. Generalis et Cardinalis. Romæ, 1694, c. iii. p. 546. "All and each were declared acquitted of all crimes and errors by the council of Tarracoenensis, 1312."—See, also, *Monarchia Lusitana*, pars 6. L. 19.

Their mildness was blamed by the pope, who reproached the kings of England, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, for their not having had recourse to torture. Philippe had hardened him, either by giving him a share of the spoil, or resigning to him the judgment in the case of Boniface. The French king had made up his mind to give way a little on the latter point. He perceived all around him symptoms of general movement. The states over which he had extended his influence seemed on the point of escaping from it. The English barons were striving to unseat Edward the Second's favourites, whose governing their country humbled them in the sight of France. The Ghibelines of Italy were inviting the new emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, to dethrone Charles of Anjou's grandson, king Robert, a great clerk but sorry king, whose only skill was in astrology. The house of France was on the verge of losing its ascendancy in Christendom; and the empire, which had been thought defunct, threatened to rear its head again. This state of things touching Philippe's fears, he allowed Clement to clear Boniface's memory from the charge of heresy*, with the qualification that the king had acted without malice prepense, that rather, like another Shem, he would have sought to conceal the paternal shame and nudity. . . . Nogaret himself is acquitted on condition that he will proceed to the crusade (should there be a crusade), and serve therein all his life in the Holy Land; meanwhile, he is to make such or such pilgrimage. The continuator of Nangis maliciously adds another condition, namely, that Nogaret shall make the pope his heir†.

A compromise was thus effected. The king gave way with regard to Boniface, and the pope abandoned the Templars to him. He yielded up the living to save a corpse. But that corpse was the papacy itself.

It remained to procure the sanction of the Church for these family arrangements. The council of Vienne was opened on the 16th October, 1312; an œcumenic council, at which more than three hundred bishops assisted, but rendered still more solemn by the importance of the subjects brought before it than by the number of those present.

The first subject submitted to its notice was, the deliverance of the holy places, of which every council talked, while all princes took the cross, and all remained at home. The theme had degenerated into a mere expedient for raising money‡.

* This timid and incomplete reparation does not satisfy Villani, who adds, no doubt to render the matter more dramatic and more disgraceful to the French, that two Catalan knights threw down their gauntlets, and offered to prove Boniface's innocence in the lists. Villani, l. ix. c. 22, p. 454.

† Contin. Guil. de Nang. ad ann. 1311.

‡ The following document, discovered in the abbey of the ladies of Longchamp, is a specimen of the marvellous tales with which it was attempted to reanimate the popular zeal for the crusade.—"To the very holy lady, of the royal line of the French, Jane (Jehenne) queen of Jerusalem and of Sicily, our very honourable cousin—Hugh (Hue) king of Cyprus, wishes happy fulfilment of all her best desires. Rejoice and exult with us, and with the other Christians bearing the sign of the cross, who, through reverence of God and to avenge the sweetest Jesus Christ—who, for our salvation, chooses to be sacrificed at the altar of the cross (qui pour nous sauver vult estre en l'autel de la crois sacrefiez)—fight against the unbelieving Turks. Raise to

Two affairs of high importance had to be settled by this council—the process relative to Boniface

heaven your loudest acclaim, lift your voices together, and call on all to join you in returning thanks and praises unceasingly to the blessed Trinity, and to the very glorious Virgin Mary for so solemn, great, and singular a blessing as to this hour was never heard of, and which I now give you to know. For, on the 23rd day of June, we, with the other Christians signed with the sign of the cross, were assembled in a plain between Smyrna and the high ground, where was the host and the very strong and very powerful assembly of the Turks, amounting to nearly twelve hundred thousand, and we, Christians, about two hundred thousand in number, moved and animated by Divine grace began to fight so vigorously, and to put such great numbers of Turks to death, that towards vesper we were so worn out and so exhausted that we could no more. But we were all expecting death and the wages of martyrdom, since there were numbers of the Turks who had not yet fought or gone through any toil, and these were coming against us as desirous of drinking our blood, as dogs are desirous of drinking the blood of hares. And drunk it they would, had it not been otherwise provided for by the very great mercy of Heaven. But when Jesus Christ's knights saw that they were come to this strait, they began in chorus crying out together, with voices made hoarse by their very great labour and very great weakness.—'O very sweet son of the very sweet Virgin Mary, who chose to be crucified in order to redeem us, grant us firm hope, and vouchsafe so to strengthen our hearts in you, that we may be sustained by the love of thy glorious name to receive the wages of martyrdom, since we can no longer defend ourselves from these unbelieving dogs.' And as we were thus in prayer with weeping and tears, and crying out with wearied hoarse voices, and expecting very bitter death, of a sudden there appeared before our tents upon a very white horse, so very tall that there is no beast of such great height, a man, bearing a banner in his hand, on which was blazoned, on a field whiter than any thing ever was, a vermeil cross redder than blood, and clad in camel's hair, and with a very great and very long beard, and of thin, clear countenance, shining like the sun, who exclaimed with clear and loud voice.—'O, followers of Jesus Christ, doubt not. See, the Divine majesty has opened the heavens for you, and sends you invisible aid. Rise up, and hearten yourselves, and take meat, and come fight vigorously with me, doubting nothing. For you shall gain the day over the Turks, and few of you shall die, and those of you who die shall have life everlasting.' And then we all rose up, so heartened, and as if we had never fought, and suddenly we assailed the Turks right cheerfully, and we fought all night, and yet we cannot truly say night, for the moon shone not like a moon but like the sun. And when day came, the surviving Turks fled so that we saw no more of them, and thus, by God's aid, we gained the day, and in the morning we felt ourselves stronger than we were at the beginning of the first battle. So we caused a mass to be sung in honour of the blessed Trinity and the blessed Virgin Mary, and devoutly prayed God that He would deign to grant us grace to distinguish the bodies of the holy martyrs from those of the unbelievers. And then he who had before appeared to us said, 'You shall have what you have asked, and God will work a greater work for you if you persevere firmly in the true faith.' Then with our own mouth we asked him, 'Sir, tell us who thou art who hast done such great things for us, in order that we may make known thy name to the Christian people.' And he answered, 'I am he who said, Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sins of the world—he whose festival you this day celebrate.' And this said, we saw him no more, but he left behind so powerful and sweet a smell, that all the day and the night following we were perfectly sustained, refreshed and fed by it without any other support of corporal food. And thus supported as we were, we gave orders to seek and to number the bodies of the holy martyrs, and when we came to the spot we found at the head of each Christian corpse a long wand, without

and that of the Templars. By November, nine knights presented themselves before the assembled bishops, bravely offering to undertake the defence of the order, and declaring, that from fifteen hundred to two thousand of their brethren were in Lyons and the adjoining mountains ready to come to their support. Alarmed at this declaration, or rather at the interest awakened by the devotion of the nine, the pope threw them into prison*.

From this time he feared to reassemble the council; and he kept the bishops idle the whole of the winter in this foreign city, far from their own dioceses and duties, no doubt hoping to tire them out, and trying to win them over separately.

Another object which the council had in view was, the repression of the mystics, of the spiritual heretics and Franciscans. It was a sad sight to see on his knees before Bertrand de Gott, Philippe-le-Bel's pope, the pious and enthusiastic Ubertino, the first known author of an "Imitation of Jesus Christ." All the favour which he asked for him-

branches, with a very white flower, round as a consecrated host (consecrated wafer), flowering at the top, and written therein in letters of gold, 'I am a Christian.' And then we separated them from the bodies of the unbelievers, returning thanks to our Sovereign Lord. And thus as we were about to repeat the burial service over their bodies, as Christians are wont to do, numberless voices from heaven sounded forth and raised a chant of such very sweet melody, that each of us thought that he had entered into the enjoyment of life everlasting, and thrice they sang the verse, 'Venite, benedicti patris mei,' etc. (Come, ye blessed of my father, and take possession of the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world) And then we buried the bodies, to wit, three thousand and fifty and two, near the city of Thebais, which was heretofore a renowned (singuliere) city, which, with the country thereabout, we hold for ourselves and for loyal Christians. And this country is so pleasant and delectable, and abundant, that no good Christian there can doubt of his being able to live well and support himself. And the carion bodies of unbelievers, as far as we could number them, were above seventy-three thousand. So have we hope that the time is now come, that the saying of the Gospel will be verified which says, that there shall be one fold and one shepherd, that is to say, that all manner of people shall be of one faith, assembled together in the house and in obedience to holy Church, whose shepherd shall be Jesus Christ, 'Qui est benedictus in secula seculorum, Amen' (Who is blessed for ever and ever, Amen)." And this said miracle came to pass in the year of grace 1347. Archives, Section Historique. M. 105.

* See the letter of Clement V. to the king of France, dated Nov. 11, 1311, in Raynourad. p. 177.

† Nilhil in hoc libro intendit nisi Jesus-Christi notitia et affectio viscerosa et imitatoria vita ("The author's design in this work is solely the knowledge, and heartfelt love, and imitable life of Jesus Christ"). Arbo Vitæ Crucifixi Jesu, Prolog. l. i.—Many passages breathe an exalted love:—"O my soul, melt and resolve thyself all into tears, reflecting on the hardships undergone by the dear little Jesus and the tender Virgin his mother. See how they are crucified, both by their mutual pity, and that which they feel for us. Ah! couldst thou make of thyself a bed for worn-out Jesus who lies on the bare ground. . . . Couldst thou with plentiful tears make them a refreshing beverage; thirty pilgrims, they find nothing to drink. . . . Love has two savours; one, so sweet in presence of the beloved object, such as Jesus gave his mother to enjoy whilst she was with him, and clasped and kissed him. The other savour is bitter, felt in absence and regret. The soul loses itself, and passes into it (the beloved object); it wanders around, seeking the object of its love, and asking help of all (so did the Virgin seek the little Jesus, whilst He was teaching in the

self and his brethren, the reformed Franciscans, was, that they should not be compelled to enter monasteries in which the rule had become too relaxed, or which were too rich, and in which they could not find poor enough to their liking.

Imitation of Christ, in the mind of these mystics, was charity and poverty. In the most popular book of this day—the Golden Legend—a saint gives away all he has, even his shirt; he only keeps his evangel; but, again applied to for relief, he gives his evangel. . . . In this bold legend, religion seems immolated to works, faith to charity*.

Poverty, sister of charity, was the passion and the ideal of the Franciscans, their sublime desire†. Their aspiration was, to have nothing. But this is not as easy as is supposed. They begged, they received: is not the gift of one's daily bread a possession? And when food had become assimilated to, blended with their flesh, could it be said that the food was not theirs? . . . Many persisted in denying it‡. A fantastic effort to escape living on the conditions of life, to emancipate oneself from servitude to matter, to conquer and to anticipate here below, the independence of pure spirit.

The aim might appear sublime or ridiculous; but at the first glance, the danger was unseen. Yet, was not the erection of absolute poverty into the law of man, the condemnation of property? precisely as at the same period the doctrines of ideal fraternity and illimitable love were making marriage, that other basis of society, null and void.

In proportion as authority was being lost, and the priest was sinking in the estimation of the people, religion, no longer bounded by forms, diffused itself in mysticism§. Christianity was born of love, and in its hour of weakness, it seemed sick of love.

The *Little Brothers* (fraticelli) had goods and wives in common. They maintained that in the

Temple). Ubert. de Casali, Arbor Vitæ Crucifixi Jesu, l. v. c. 6–8, in 4to.—The *Imitation of Jesus Christ* is the subject of heaps of books in the fourteenth century. The beautiful work, so entitled, with which we are best acquainted (that of Thomas à Kempis), is the latest of all, and is the wisest and most rational, but not perhaps the most eloquent or the most profound. The writer has judiciously extracted the true Christian manna from the bold philosophy and luxuriant poetry in which the mystics had buried it.

* According to some, "the Passion was better represented by alms than in the sacrifice of the altar"—Quod opus misericordie plus placet Deo, quam sacrificium altaris. Quod in elemosyna magis representatur Passio Christi quam in sacrificio Christi. Errores Condamnées à Tarracone, ap. D'Argentré, i. 271.

† Dante has sung the marriage of poverty and of St. Francis. Ubertino, in his simplicity, gave utterance to this profound saying—"The lamp of faith is poverty." Probationes contra Ubert. de Casali. Baluze, Miscell. ii. 276.

‡ See Ubertino de Casali in his chapter, *Jesu pro nobis indigena* (Jesus, in want, on our account):—Habentes dicit (apostolus) non quantum ad proprietatem domini, sed quantum ad facultatem utendi, per quem modum dicimur esse quod utimur, etiam non sit nobis proprium, sed gratis aliunde collatum. Ubert. de Casali, Arbor Vitæ, l. ii. c. 11.

§ Those named the "praying" (beghards), went so far as to denounce prayer as useless:—"Where the spirit is," said they, "there is liberty. Hence that they were independent of human rule, and unfettered by the precepts of the church." Clementia. l. v. tit. 3, c. 3. D'Argentré, l. 276.

aurora of the age of charity, one should keep nothing for oneself; and they undertook to establish on a mountain*—in Italy, where the imagination is impatient, in Piedmont, an energetic land—the first truly fraternal city. Here they sustained a siege under their chief, the brave and eloquent Dulcino. Undoubtedly there was something in this man. When he was taken, and torn in pieces with burning pincers, his beautiful Margareta refused all the knights who wished to save her by marrying her, and preferred sharing his fearful punishment†.

Women take a distinguished place in the history of religion at this period. The great saints are women—St. Bridget and St. Catherine of Sienna. The great heretics are women too. In 1310 and in 1315, we find women from Germany or the Low Countries teaching that the soul, annihilated in the love of the Creator, may leave the body to do as it pleases, without a thought‡. Already (A. D. 1300) had an Englishwoman visited France, who was persuaded that she was the Holy Ghost incarnate, for the redemption of woman; and as she was beautiful and sweet-spoken, she found but too ready believers§.

Whatever were the good intentions of these preaching women, there was sensuality in all this. But, is love only dangerous under a voluptuous form? Is it not quite as much so in the midst of mortifications? The pure mysticism of the Franciscans, too, was scarcely less alarming||. The pope, the defender of the Church, of society, and of common sense, had perforce to condemn their sublime, but too vigorous and absurd logic, their charity, their absolute poverty. The ideal had to be condemned, the ideal of Christian virtues!

Hard and odious thing to say! How much more shocking still, when the condemnation proceeded from the lips of a Clement V. or of a John XXII.

* Since called Mount Gazari. Many assumed the cross against it from Vercelli, Novara, from the whole of Lombardy, from Vienne, Savoy, Provence, and France. The women subscribed, and sent five hundred ballistari (cross-bow men) against these heretics. Benv. d'Imola, ap. Muratori, Ant. It. t. i. p. 1120.

† Ibidem.

‡ Cont. G. de Nangis, ap. Spicilleg. iii. 63.

§ Venit de Anglia virgo decora valde pariterque fecunda, dicens Spiritum Sanctum incarnatum in redemptionem mulierum. "She baptized women," continues the annalist, "in the name of the Father and of his Son." Annal. Dominican. Colmar, ap. Urstittum, F. 2, fol. 83.

|| They too, preached that the age of love had begun. From the coming of Christ to his return, seven ages were to pass. "The sixth was the age of evangelical renovation and of the extirpation of the antichristian sect, by the voluntary poor who possessed nothing in this life. This age began with St. Francis, the seraphic man, the angel of the sixth seal of the Apocalypse (Quod eras angelus sexti signaculi, et quod ad litteram de ipso et ejus statu et ordine evangelista Joannes intellexit. Ubertin. v. c. 3), whom perfect Jesus, after the image of his own life, in the likeness of his conversation, in the perfect observance of the Gospel . . . perfectly figured (quem perfectus Jesus ad imaginem vite sue, in similitudine conversationis sue, in perfectis observantis evangelii . . . perfectissime figura- vit. Ibid.)." It appeared that he was, as it were, a new incarnation of Jesus (Jesus Franciscum generans, "Jesus begetting Francis"), and his rule, a new Gospel . . . (Defendunt quod regula fratrum minorum est vere et proprie idem quod evangelium). Probat. contra Ubert. de Casali, ap. Baluze, Miscell. ii. 276.

However dead might be the conscience of these popes, must they not have been inwardly troubled when they found themselves required to judge and proscribe these unfortunate secretaries, this mad sanctity, all whose criminality consisted in a wish to be poor, to fast, to weep through love, to go barefoot through the world, to play, innocent comedians, the touching drama of Jesus * !

In the spring, the process of the Templars was resumed. The king laid his hand on Lyons, their asylum. The citizens had called him in to oppose their archbishop. This imperial city was wearied of the empire, and was too convenient to the king, not only as the knot of the Saône and the Rhône, the extreme eastern point of France, and commanding the road to the Alps or to Provence, but above all, as the asylum for malcontents and nest of heretics. Philippe held an assembly of notables there. Next, he came to the council with his sons, his princes, and a powerful escort of men-at-arms. He sat by the pope's side—somewhat below him.

Up to this time the bishops had shown themselves any thing but docile, and had persisted in demanding to hear what defence the Templars had to offer. The Italian prelates, one alone excepted; those of Spain, Germany, and Denmark; those of England, Scotland, and Ireland; even the French bishops, Philippe's own subjects (excepting the archbishops of Reims, of Sens, and of Rouen) †, declared that they could not condemn without hearing.

The pope behaved then, after having assembled the council, to do without it. He assembled those bishops on whom he could most surely rely, with a few cardinals, and in this consistory he abolished the order, of his own pontifical authority ‡. The abolition was afterwards solemnly pronounced in presence of the king and the council. None raised their voices in protest.

It must be acknowledged that this process is not one of those on which we can pass judgment. It embraced all Europe. The depositions were by thousands, the documents innumerable, the forms of trial had differed in the different kingdoms. The only thing certain is, that the order had become useless and dangerous too. However little his secret motives may have been to his honour, the pope acted sensibly. He declares in his ex-

* Ubertino, in his desire to represent the Gospel, asserts that he had entered into, and spiritually put on all its personages, figuring himself to be, sometimes, the servant or the brother of the Saviour; sometimes, the ox, the ass, or the hay; sometimes, the little Jesus. He assisted at the crucifixion, believing himself the sinful Magdalen; then he became Jesus on the cross, crying out to his Father; lastly, the spirit caught him up into the glory of the Ascension. *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixi Jesu. Prolog.*

† In hoc convenerunt, ut dens Templaribus audientiam sine defensionem. In hac sententia concordant. . . . Præter Walsing. vit. Clem. V. auctore Ptolem. Rayn. p. 187.

‡ Multis vocatis prelati cum cardinalibus in privato consistorio, ordinem Templariorum cassavit. Tertio autem die Aprilis, 1312, fuit secunda sessio concilii, et predicta cassatio coram omnibus publicata est (Quint. Vit. Clem. V.) præsentem rege Francie Philippo cum tribus filiis suis, cui negotium erat cordi. (Tert. Vit. Clem. V.) Most historians have believed that it was the council which pronounced sentence on the order. The bull, abolishing it, was first printed three centuries after the act, in 1606.

planatory bull, that the judicial examinations are not to be implicitly depended on, that he has not the right to judge, but that the order is suspected—*ordinem valde suspectum* *. Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) pursued exactly the like course with regard to the Jesuits.

Clement V. endeavoured to save the honour of the Church on this fashion. He secretly falsified Boniface's registers †; but he only revoked one of his bulls in the council, the bull *de clerico laicos*, one which did not touch upon doctrine, but which hindered the king from taking their money from the clergy.

And so these great quarrels of ideas and principles, dwindled down to questions of money. The possessions of the Temple were to be devoted to the deliverance of the Holy Land, and given to the Hospitaliers ‡; which order was even accused of having bought the abolition of the Temple. If it did, it cheated itself. One historian asserts, that it was rather impoverished than benefitted. John XXII. complained, in 1316, that the king paid himself for the keep of the Templars by seizing the revenues of the Hospitaliers §. The year following, they were too happy to give the royal administrators a final discharge for the property of the Temple. In 1309, the pope bewailed that he had only yet received a few of the moveables, *not even enough to cover his expenses*. But, finally, he had no reason for complaint ||.

There remained a sad portion of this inheritance of the Temple, and the most embarrassing—the prisoners whom the king detained at Paris, particularly the grand master. Let us listen to the description given of this tragic event by the anonymous historian, the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis :—

"The grand master of the ci-devant order of the Temple and three other Templars, the visitor of France, the masters of Normandy and Aquitaine, the right of pronouncing definitive judgment on

* Quod ipse confessiones ordinem valde suspectum reddebant . . . non per modum definitivæ sententie, cum tam super hoc, secundum inquisitiones et processus predictos, non possemus ferre de jure, sed per viam provisionis et ordinationis apostolicæ. . . . Reg. ann. vii. Dom. Clem. V., Rayn. 195. However, it cannot be denied that the pope displayed great complaisance and servility towards the French king. This was the feeling at the time. . . . "And as I have heard from one who sat on the trial and examined the witnesses, the order was destroyed against all justice. And he told me that Clement himself declared, 'If it cannot be destroyed on just grounds, let it be destroyed for expediency's sake (si non per viam justitiæ potest destrui, destruat tamen per viam expeditiæ), that our dear son, the king of France, be not scandalized.'" Albericus a Roste.

† These registers still show the blanks where the writing has been very cleverly erased. Raynouard, p. 90.

‡ However, in Aragon; John XXII. at the king's request, confers the revenues of the Temple, not on the Hospitaliers, but on the new order of Montesa (a fortified monastery of the kingdom of Valencia, a dependency on Calatrava).

§ Per captionem bonorum ipsius ordinis templi jam miserunt per omnes domos ipsius Hospitalis certos executores qui vendunt et distrahant pro libito bona Hospitalis.

|| Letter of John XXII., xv. Kal. Jun. 1316, Rayn. 25.

¶ Modica bona mobilia . . . que ad sumptus et expensas . . . sufficere minime poterunt. Avignon, 2 Non. Maii, 1309. Yet Charles II., the king of Naples, had given him up half of the moveables possessed by the Templars in Provence. Grouvelle, p. 214.

whom the pope had reserved to himself*, appeared before the archbishop of Sens, and an assembly of other prelates and doctors of divine and canon law, convened for this special purpose at Paris, on the pope's orders, by the bishop of Albano, and two other cardinals, legates. The four above-named, having publicly and solemnly acknowledged the crimes of which they were accused, and having persevered in the confession, and appeared to desire to persevere in it to the end, after ripe deliberation of the council, on the Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame, the Monday after St. Gregory's day, were condemned to perpetual close imprisonment. But when the cardinals thought that they had concluded this business, lo and behold, all of a sudden, so that no one could have anticipated it, two of the condemned, the master from beyond the sea (d'Outremer) and the master of Normandy, obstinately defending themselves against the cardinal, who had just spoken, and against the archbishop of Sens, turn round to deny their confession and all their preceding avowals, totally and unreservedly, to the great astonishment of all. The cardinals committed them to the custody of the provost of Paris who happened to be present, to guard them until they had more fully deliberated the matter the following day. But as soon as the report of these things came to the ears of the king, who was at the time in his royal palace, after communicating with his councillors, *without summoning the clerks* (prelates), by a prudent decision, towards the evening of the same day, he had both of them burnt on the same pile, on a small island of the Seine, between the royal garden and the church of the hermit brothers of St. Augustin. They seemed to endure the flames with so much firmness and resolution, that the constancy of their death and their final denials struck the multitude with admiration and stupor. The two others were imprisoned, according to the sentence pronounced upon them†.

Their execution, without the privacy of the judges, was clearly an assassination. The king, who in 1310 had at least called a council in order to make away with the fifty-four, here disdained all appearance of right, and employed force alone. Here he had not even the excuse of danger, the reason of state, the excuse of the *Salus populi* which he had inscribed on his coin‡. No, he considered the denial of the grand master as a personal affront, an insult to the monarchy so deeply compromised

in this business. He struck him the fatal blow, no doubt as *reum læsæ majestatis* (guilty of high treason)*.

And now, how explain the prevarications of the grand master and his final denial? Does it not seem as if through chivalrous fidelity and military pride, he saved at all risks the honour of the order; that the *haughtiness* of the Temple awakened at the last moment; that the old knight, left in the breach as its last defender, chose, at the peril of his soul, to render it impossible for futurity ever to come to a judgment on this obscure question.

It may also be urged that the crimes charged on the order were peculiar to such or such a province of the Temple, or such and such a preceptory, but that the order was innocent of them; that Jacques Molay, after confessing as an individual, and through humility, might deny as grand master.

But something more remains to be said. The principal charge, the denial of the Saviour†, rested on an equivocation. The Templars might confess to the denial, without having been in reality apostates. Many averred that it was a symbolical denial, in imitation of St. Peter's—one of those pious comedies in which the antique Church enveloped the most serious acts of religion‡; but whose traditional meaning was begin-

* How shall we qualify the strange words with which Dupuy commences his *Histoire de la Condamnation des Templiers*:—"The finest and noblest acts of great princes have this unaccountable fatality attending them, that they are for the most part misinterpreted by such as are ignorant of the cause of the acts, and who have had an interest in the parties: powerful enemies of truth, who impute to them vicious motives and ends; whereas zeal on behalf of virtue ordinarily sees the favourable side of the question."

† This denial reminds one of a much more serious saying than is apparent on the surface—"Offer up your unbelief to God."—See, above, notes at p. 126. 135. and 143, on the grotesque ceremonies of the Church and the feast of fools, *fatuorum*—"The people lifted their voice: not the fictitious people who speak in the choir, but the true people, rushing from without tumultuously and innumeraibly through all the vomitories of the cathedral, with their loud confused voice—a giant child, like the St. Christopher of the legend, brute, ignorant, passionate, but docile, imploring initiation, and praying to bear Christ on their colossal shoulders. They entered, dragging into the Church the hideous dragon of sin, gorged with victuals, to the Saviour's feet, to wait the stroke of the prayer which was to immolate it. At times, also, recognizing that the animalism was within themselves, they exposed in symbolical extravagances their miseries and infirmity. This was called the festival of idiots, *fatuorum*; and this imitation of the pagan orgies, tolerated by Christianity as man's farewell to the sensualism which he abjured, was repeated at the festivals of the Nativity, the Circumcision, Epiphany, the murder of the Innocents, and likewise on those days on which mankind, saved from the devil, fell into the intoxication of joy—at Christmas and Easter."

In all initiatory ceremonies, the candidate is represented as a worthless person, in order that his initiation may have the credit of his moral regeneration. See the Initiatory Ceremony of the Coopers of Germany (Notes to my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*, p. 102, first edition): "Just now," says the apprentice's godfather, "I brought you a goat skin, a murderer of hoops, a spoil-wood, an idler, a traitor to masters and journeymen (traître aux maîtres et aux compagnons); henceforward, I hope," &c.

‡ One of the witnesses deposes that when he refused to deny God and to spit upon the cross, Raynaud de Brignolles, who was officiating, said to him laughingly, "Compose yourself, it is only a farce," (Non cures, quia non est nisi

* Personæ reservatas ut nosti vivas vocis oraculo. . . . A.D. 1310, 14 Kal. Nov. *Archives*, J. 417^f No. 20.

† Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 67. An authentic deed is still extant which indirectly proves this execution, in a register of the parliament for the year 1313—"Whereas, lately, at Paris, in an island lying in the river Seine, near the angle of our garden, between this our said garden on one side of the said river, and the house of the brotherhood of the order of St. Augustin at Paris on the opposite side of the said river, an execution took place of two men who had been formerly Templars, they having been burnt on the aforesaid island; and whereas the abbot and chapter (conventus) of St. Germain des Prés at Paris, claiming to be in seisin of high and low justice of every kind on the aforesaid island. . . . We enact . . . that the rights of the said abbot and chapter . . . shall sustain no prejudice therefrom." Olim. Parliam. iii. folio cxlvii. 13th March, 1313 (1314).

‡ Coins of Philip's are extant with the impress of the angelic salutation and the legend, "*salus populi*."

ning to be lost in the fourteenth century. Say that this ceremony was sometimes performed with culpable levity, or even with impious mockery, it was the crime of some, and not the rule of the order.

However, it is this charge which wrought the ruin of the Temple. It was not the infamy of their manners—which was not general to the order—otherwise, how suppose that they would have induced their nearest relatives to become Templars? Let us not do injustice to human nature by the supposition. It was not heresy, or the taint of Gnosticism; most likely, the knights cared little for doctrinal points. The true cause of their ruin, which set the whole of the lower orders against them, and which did not leave them a defender

quædam trufa). Rayn. p. 303. In the important deposition of the preceptor of Aquitaine, of which I proceed to give a part, we have the details of a ceremony of the kind, together with an explanation of its origin:—

"The knight who initiated the candidate, having first invested him with the cloak of the order, presented him a crucifix on a mass book, and told him to deny Christ nailed to the cross. When, in great terror, he refused, crying out, 'Alas! my God, why should I do so? I will on no wise do it.'—'Do it, without fear,' replied the other. 'I swear by my soul that you shall sustain no injury either in soul or conscience, for it is a ceremony of the order's, introduced by a wicked grand master, who, being taken prisoner by a soldan, could obtain his liberty only by taking his oath to make all future candidates for admission into the order abjure Christ on this fashion; which has been done ever since, and so you may well do it.' And, then, deponent would not do it, but resisted the more, and asked for his uncle and the other worthy persons who had brought him there. But the other replied, 'They are gone, and you must do what I order you.' And still he would not. Seeing his determination, the knight then said to him, 'If you will take your oath on God's holy Gospel that you will tell all the brothers of the order that you have done all that I have directed, I will dispense with your going through the ceremony.' And the deponent gave his promise and oath. And then he dispensed with his going through the ceremony, saying that, covering the crucifix with his hand, he made him spit upon his hand. . . . Being asked, if he had ordained any brothers, he said that he had entered few himself on account of this irreverent act, which was essential to their reception. . . . However, he said that he had made five knights. And asked whether he had made them abjure Christ, he swore that he had spared them in the same way that he had been spared himself. . . . And one day that he was in the chapel, hearing mass . . . brother Bernard said to him, 'Sir, a certain plot is hatching against you; a paper had already been drawn up, informing the grand master and the rest that in receiving brethren into the order, you do not observe the forms which you are bound to observe.' . . . And deponent thinks that this was for his having spared the feelings of these knights. . . . Adjured to tell the origin of this strange blindness in denying Christ and spitting on the cross, he answered, on his oath—Some of the order attribute it to the commands of the grand master made prisoner by the soldan, as above stated. Others say, that it is one of the evil customs and statutes introduced by brother Porcellin, formerly grand master; others make it out to be one of the detestable statutes and doctrines of brother Thomas Bernard, heretofore grand master; others assert it to be in imitation and in remembrance of St. Peter, who thrice denied Christ." Dupuy, p. 314-316.—If the absence of torture and the endeavours of the deponent to lessen the heinousness of the fact, establish the fact beyond dispute—his scruples, his precautions, and the different traditions cited by him before he comes to its symbolical origin, prove not less surely, that the meaning of the symbol had become altogether forgotten.

among the numerous noble families with which they were connected, was the monstrous charge of having denied and spat upon the cross, and this charge is precisely the one which was admitted by the majority. The simple enunciation of the fact kept all aloof from them. Every one crossed himself, and would hear no more.

Thus, the order which was the most expressive type of the symbolical genius of the middle age, died of a symbol no longer understood. This catastrophe is but an episode of the eternal war waged between the spirit and the letter, poetry and prose. Nothing is so cruel and ungrateful as prose, when she shuts her eyes on the old and venerable poetic forms in which she has been brought up.

The occult and suspicious symbolism of the Temple had nothing to hope from the moment that the pontifical symbolism, hitherto revered by the whole world, was itself powerless. The grand mystic poetry of the "*Unam Sanctam*," which would have made all tremble throughout the twelfth century, was meaningless to the contemporaries of Pierre Plotte and of Nogaret. Nor *dore*, nor *ark*, nor *coat without seam*, none of these innocent symbols could longer defend the papacy. The spiritual sword was blunted. A cold and prosaic age set in, which turned its edge †.

The most tragical part of all this is, that the Church is slain by the Church. Boniface is less wounded by Colonna's gauntlet, than by the adhesion of the French bishops to Philippe-le-Bel's appeal. The Temple, proceeded against by the inquisitors, is abolished by the pope. The gravest evidence against the Templars is that tendered by priests ‡. No doubt, the arrogation of the power of absolution by the heads of the order had made the Churchmen their irreconcilable enemies §.

* Una est columba mea, perfecta mea, una est mater mea. . . . Una nempse fuit diuiv tempore arca Noë . . . Hæc est tunica illa Domini inconcussa . . . Dicentibus Apostolis: Ecce gladii duo hic . . . (One is my dove, my perfect one, its mother's only one . . . one was it at the flood, in Noah's ark . . . This is the tunic of the Lord, without seam . . . When the Apostles said, 'Lo, here are two swords.' . . . Preuves du Différent, p. 55.

† Quelle est forte cette Eglise, et que redoutable est le glaive . . . (How strong is this Church, how formidable her glaive . . . Bossuet, Oraison Funèbre de Le Tellier.

‡ And, likewise, in my belief, that of the serving brothers. The majority of the two hundred witnesses interrogated by the pontifical commission, are denominated *servientes* (serving brothers). Rayn. 155.

§ This is one of the facts which the united testimony of all the English witnesses places in the category of "indisputable points" (articuli qui videbantur probati). Sometimes, the heads of the order referred the brethren for absolution to the brother chaplain, who gave it without confessing them. (Præcept fratri capellano eam absolvere à peccatis suis quamvis frater capellanus eam confessionem non audierat. p. 377, col. 2, 367.) Sometimes, although laymen, the heads of the order, grand masters, visitors, and preceptors, administered absolution themselves. . . . (Quod et credebat et dicebatur eis, quod magnus magister ordinis poterat eos absolvere à peccatis suis. Item quod visitator. Item quod præceptoris, quorum multi erant laici. p. 358, 22nd witness. Quod . . . templarii laici suos homines absoluebant. Concil. Brit. li. 360.)

Five witnesses (p. 255, col. 1.) depose "that the grand master grants a general absolution for the sins which the brethren are unwilling to confess through fleshly shame . . . that it was their belief that it was not needful to confess to the priest those things which were recognized as

The impression made upon the men of that day by this great suicide of the Church, is plainly revealed in the inconsolable sorrowings of Dante. All in which man had believed, or which he revered, —papacy, chivalry, crusade, seemed on the verge of dissolution. Already is the middle age a second world of antiquity, which, with Dante, we must seek among the dead. The last poet of the age of symbolism lives long enough to read the prosaic allegory of the Romance of the Rose. Allegory kills the symbolical; prose, poetry.

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE FAIR.
HIS THREE SONS, A.D. 1314-1328.—PROCESSES.—
INSTITUTIONS.

THE end of the process of the Temple was the beginning of twenty others. The first years of the fourteenth century are only one long process. These hideous tragedies had distempered men's fancies and brutalized their souls. Crimes had become epidemical. Obscene, atrocious punishments, which were in themselves crimes, were at once their penalty and their provocation.

But had crimes been wanting, this government of the long robe, of *judgers*, could not easily stop, once it was in its full speed of judging. The militant disposition of the king's councillors, so terribly awakened by their campaigns against Boniface and the Temple, could no longer do without war; and their war, their passion, was a great prosecution, a grand and terrible prosecution of fruitful and strange crimes, fitly punished by great punishments. The scene was complete, if the accused were a person of distinction. The populace then learnt to revere the robe; the citizen taught his children to doff their cap to *Messires*, and to stand aside to let their mule pass when they returned late of an evening through the small streets of the City from some famous trial*.

They had no reason to complain, accusations poured in—poisonings, adulteries, forgery, and, above all, charges of witchcraft; which, indeed, entered as an ingredient into all cases, forming their attraction and their horror. The judge shuddered on the judgment-seat, when the proofs were brought before him in the shape of philters, amulets, frogs, black cats, waxen images stuck full of needles . . . Violent curiosity was blended in these trials, with the fierce joy of vengeance and a cast of fear. The public mind could not be satiated with them; the more there were burnt, the more were brought to be burnt.

One would be tempted to think this period the reign of the devil, were it not for the fine ordinances which come out at intervals, and play, as it were, God's part . . . The two powers violently

sins by the chapter, and for which it granted absolution . . . that mortal sins were only to be confessed in chapter, and venial to the priest only." p. 353, col. 1.

The evidence of the Scotch Templars on this point is the same—"Inferior clerks, or laymen, can give absolution to the brothers below them" (*Inferiores clerici vel laici possunt absolvere fratres sibi subditos*). p. 381, col. 1, first witness. Likewise, the 41st witness. Concil. Brit. 14, p. 382.

* See the death of the president Minart.

dispute the possession of man. One would suppose oneself present at the drama of Bartolo—man brought before Jesus, the devil being plaintiff, and the Virgin defendant. The devil claims man as his property, *alleging his long possession*. The Virgin proves that he has no *prescriptive right*, and shows his abuse of texts*.

The Virgin holds a strong hand at this period. The devil himself belongs to the age, combining its marked character and evil ways of livelihood, smacking of Jew and alchemist, of the scholastic and the legist.

Henceforward, *diablerie* had little to learn, but was soon erected into a science. *Demonology brought forth witchcraft*. It was not sufficient to be able to distinguish and classify legions of devils, to know their names, professions, and dispositions†; it was necessary to learn how to make them subservient to the uses of man. *Hitherto, the object studied had been the means of driving them away; from this time, the means of making them appear was the end desired*. Witches, sorcerers, demonologists started up beyond all number. Each clan in Scotland, each great family in France and Germany, almost each individual had one of these tempters; who heard all the secret wishes one feared to address to God, and the thoughts which shunned the ear . . . They were every where‡. Their flight of bats almost darkened God's own light and day. They had been seen to carry off in open day a man who had just received the communion, and who was watched by a circle of friends with lighted tapers§.

The first of these disgusting prosecutions for witchcraft, in which, however, the parties were equally worthless, is that of Guichard, bishop of Troyes, charged with having compassed the death of Philippe-le-Bel's wife. This bad woman, who exhorted to the slaughter of the Flemish women, is said, according to a tradition more known than certain, to have had students brought to her by night at the *Tour de Nesle*, and to have had them

* Nothing is more common in *hagiographa* than this struggle for the converted soul, or rather, this imitation of a lawsuit, in which the devil appears, in spite of himself, to bear witness to the efficacy of repentance. The famous legend of Dagobert is well known. A similar story of a converted usurer, is quoted by Cesar d'Hesterbach. Whether the suit was conducted visibly or not, the story ever ran to the same tune:—"Si quis decedat contritus et confessus, licet non satisfecerit de peccatis confessis, tamen boni angeli confortant ipsum contra incursum demonum, dicentes . . . Quibus maligni spiritus . . . Mox adventu Virgo Maria alloquens demones . . . &c." (If any one decease, contrite and confessed, albeit he has not atoned for the sins which he has confessed, yet good angels fortify him against the attack of the demons, saying . . . to whom the evil spirits . . . Presently appears the Virgin Mary addressing the demons.) Herm. Corn. Chr. ap. Eccard. M. Evi, t. ii. p. 11.

† Agnei, lucifugi, &c. M. Psellus, p. 39 and p. 69. This Byzantine writer belongs to the eleventh century. Edid. Gaulminius, 1613, in 12mo.—Bodin, in his book *De Præstigiis*, printed at Bâle in 1578, has drawn up a catalogue of the diabolical kingdom, with the names and surnames of 72 princes, and 7,405,926 devils. Bodin, p. 218.

‡ Many were accused of selling devils in bottles. "Would to God," says Leloyer seriously, "provisions of the kind entered less commonly into traffic." (*Pût à Dieu, que cette denrée fût moins commune dans le commerce!*) Leloyer, p. 108 and p. 217.

§ Mém. de Luther, t. iil.

thrown into the river when they had served her turn. In her own right, queen of Navarre, and countess of Champagne, she bore a grudge to the bishop for having, on a financial account, saved a man whom she hated. She did her best to ruin Guichard. First, she had him expelled the council board, and forced to reside in Champagne*. Then, she swore she would lose her county of Champagne, or he his bishopric. She pursued him thus inveterately to compel him to unexplained restitution. Guichard applied to a sorceress, at first, to win him the queen's good-will; then to bring about her death. He was said to have gone by night to a hermit, to get him to bewitch the queen and enchant her. With the help of a midwife, they made a waxen image of the queen, baptized it *Jane*, giving it godfather and godmother, and then pricked it full of needles. Nevertheless, the real *Jane* died not. More than once did the bishop repair to the hermitage, in hopes of better success. The hermit took fright, fled and confessed all. Shortly afterwards, the queen died †. But, whether they could prove nothing, or that Guichard had too many friends at court, the process languished, and he was kept in prison ‡.

Among other trades, the devil plied that of "Sir Pandarus." A monk was said, by his aid, to have managed to defile Philippe-le-Bel's whole family. His three daughters-in-law, the wives of his three sons, were denounced and seized §; and, at the same time, two Norman knights, in the service of these princesses, were arrested. Put on the rack, these unhappy men confessed that they had sinned with their young mistresses for three years, "even on the holiest days ||." The pious confidence of the middle age, which did not mistrust the immuring of a great lady along with her knights in the precincts of a castle, of a narrow tower—the vassalage which imposed on young men as a feudal duty the sweetest cares, was a dangerous trial for human nature, when the ties of religion were weakened ¶. The poem of *Petit Jehan de Saintre*, that tale or history of Charles the Sixth's time, tells all this but too well.

Whether criminal or not, the punishment was atrocious. The two knights, brought out on the *place du Martroi*, near St. Gervais' elm, were flayed alive, castrated, decapitated, and hung up

* Archives, Section Histor. J. 438.

† "At length I have got rid of the devil who sought to destroy all mankind." Ibidem.

‡ The accusation had been the more favourably entertained from Guichard's being commonly believed to be the son of a demon, of an incubus. Ibidem.

§ Margaret, daughter of the duke of Burgundy; Jane and Blanche, daughters of the count of Burgundy (Franch-Comté). Mulierculis . . . adhuc catina juvenculis (All three . . . very young women). Contin. G. de Nangis, in *Spicil. D'Achery*, iii. 68.

|| Pluribus locis et temporibus sacrosanctis. Ibidem.

¶ Jean de Meung Clopinel, who is said to have lengthened, by command of Philippe-le-Bel, the already too long *Roman de la Rose*, by the addition of eighteen thousand verses, expresses his thoughts of the ladies of the period in the most brutal terms; and the story runs that, to avenge their reputation for honour and modesty, they laid in wait for the poet, rods in hand, anxious to scourge him. He escaped by asking as the only favour that she who felt herself most outraged would strike the first.—"Modest women, by St. Denis, they equal in number the Phoenix," &c. Yet had he adduced their justification in the doctrine which he

by the armpits. In like manner as the priests sought out, to avenge God, infinite punishments, the king, this new god of the world, conceived no tortures great enough to satisfy his wounded majesty. Two victims did not content him; and accomplices were diligently enquired after. They laid hands on an usher of the palace, and then on numerous others, men and women, noble and plebeian; some of these were flung into the Seine, others put to death in secret.

Of the three princesses, only one escaped. Philippe-le-Long, her husband, took care not to find her guilty: he would have had to have restored Franche-Comté, which she had brought him as her dower. The two others, Marguerite and Blanche, the wives of Louis Hutin and of Charles-le-Bel, had their heads shamefully shaven, and were thrown into a strong castle. Louis, on his accession to the throne, ordered his own to be strangled (15th April, 1315), in order that he might marry again. Blanche, left alone in prison, was much more to be pitied*.

Once in this full swing of crime and the impulse given to the imagination, all deaths are ascribed to poison, or to witchcraft. The king's wife is poisoned; so, too, his sister. The emperor, Henry VII., will have poison given him in a consecrated wafer. The count of Flanders narrowly escapes being poisoned by his son. Philippe-le-Bel is poisoned, it is said, by his ministers—by those who were the greatest losers by his death; and not only Philippe, but his father, who died thirty years before him.

preaches in his book, being neither more nor less than a community of women—

"Car nature n'est pas si sottie . . .
Ains vous a fait, beau fils, n'en doutez,
Toutes pour tous, et tous pour toutes,
Chascune pour chascun commune
Et chascun commun pour chascune."

Roman de la Rose, v. 14,653. Ed. 1735-7.

(For nature is not so foolish . . . Rather has she made you, fair son, doubt it nothing, all women for all men, and all men for all women, each woman common to each man, and each man common to each woman.)

This insipid work, whose sole recommendation is the jargon of the gallantry of the time and the obscenity of its end, seems the profession of faith of the gross sensualism that prevailed in the fourteenth century. Jean Molinet has moralized it, and turned it into prose.

* "She was got with child," is the brutal expression of the monkish historian, "by her gaoler, or by some others."—(Blancha verò carcere remanens, a serviente quodam ejus custodiæ deputato dicebatur impregnata fuisse quam à proprio Comité diceretur, vel ab aliis impregnata. Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 70.) He goes on to other matters with cruel carelessness; perhaps, he durst not say any more of the subject. From what we know of the prices of that time, we may infer that this hapless woman, whose first error was by no means substantiated, was placed at the mercy of some wretch deputed to degrade her.

It is probable that this horrible tale of Philippe-le-Bel's daughter-in-law, gave rise, through some misunderstanding, to the tradition relative to his wife, Jeanne of Navarre, and the tower de Neule (see, above, p. 356), a tradition unsupported by any ancient testimony. See Bayle, under the word Buridan. And the tradition would be less probable still, if, with Bayle, we referred it to one of the king's daughters-in-law. Young as these princesses were, they needed not to have recourse to such means for lovers. However this be, Jane of Navarre appears to have been of hard and sanguinary character (see, above, p. 302). She was queen in her own right, and might be the less regardful of her husband.

They would willingly have traced further back to find crimes*.

All these rumours terrified the people; who sought to appease God and do penance. Amongst famines and bankruptcies of the coin (depreciations of the currency), amongst the devil's harassings and the king's punishments, they paraded through the cities, weeping and howling, as filthy processions of naked penitents, of obscene flagellants: evil devotions, which but led to sin†.

Such was the sad state of the world when Philippe and his pope took their departure for the other, to meet with their judgment. Jacques Molay, it is said, had summoned them from the stake to appear in one year before God. Clement departed first. A little before his death he had seen in a dream his palace on fire. "From that time," says his biographer, "he lost his spirits, and his health declined‡."

Seven months afterwards, it was Philippe's turn. He died at Fontainebleau. He is buried by the side of Monaldeschi, in the little church of Avon.

Some ascribe his death to being gored by a wild boar hunting. Dante, in his high vein of hatred, can find no terms base enough to describe his death in—"He will die from the gash of a tusk, the false coiner §."

But the contemporary French historian makes no mention of this accident. He says that Philippe wasted away, without fever or any perceptible ailment, to the great astonishment of his physicians||. There had been no reason to suppose that he would die so soon; he was only forty-six years of age. In the midst of so many striking events this fine and mute figure had appeared impassible. Did he secretly suffer from the belief that the curse of Boniface or of the grand master was upon him? Or, which is the more probable, was he not depressed by the confederation into which the nobility of his kingdom had entered against him the very year he died? His barons and nobles had followed him blindly against the pope; and they had not opened their lips in behalf of their brothers, the cadets of noble houses, I mean the Templars. But the attacks on their

rights of administering justice and of coining money, were too much for their patience. In reality, the king of legists, the enemy of feudalism, had no other military force to oppose to it than feudal force. He was in a vicious circle from which he could not extricate himself; but from which death relieved him.

It is impossible to define the share he had in the great events of his reign: only, we find him incessantly traversing the kingdom, in which there takes place nothing great for good or evil without his having assisted at it personally; as, at Courtrai and Mons-en-Puelle (A. D. 1302, 1304), at St. Jean-d'Angely, at Lyons (A. D. 1305), and at Poitiers and at Vienne (A. D. 1308, 1313).

This prince appears to have been methodical and regular in his habits. We find no trace of private expenses. He accounted with his treasurer every five-and-twenty days.

The son of a Spanish woman, educated by the Dominican Egídio of Rome, of the house of Colonna, he had evidently a tinge of the sombre spirit of St. Dominic, as St. Louis had of the mystic sweetness of the order of St. Francis. Egídio wrote for his pupil's instruction, a work *De Régimine Principum*, and he had no trouble in impressing on his mind the doctrine of the illimitable power of kings*.

Boethius's *De Consolatione*, the books of Vegetius on the Art Military, and the letters of Abelard and Heloise†, were translated by Philippe's orders. The misfortunes of the celebrated professor, so

* V. S. Ægidii Romani, Archiep. Bituricensis quasdam De utraque potestate, edidit Goldastus, Monarchia, ii. 95. A Colonna could not but inspire his pupil with a hatred of popes.

† The author (continuer?) of the Roman de la Rose, Jean de Meung, translated these for him. In the preliminary epistle prefixed to his Boethius, he gives us the list of his literary honours:—"To thy royal majesty, very noble prince by the grace of God, king of the French, Philip the Fourth, I, Jehan de Meung, who erst added to the Romance of the Rose, putting Jealousy in the prison Welcome, teaching the way to take the castle, and gather the Rose, (qui jadis au Roman de la Rose, puisque Jalousie ot mis en prison Bel-accueil, ay enseigné la manière du Chastel prendre, et de la Rose cueillir), and translated from Latin into French Vegetius's work on Chivalry, and the book of the wonders of Hircanie? and the book of the Epistles of Peter Abelard and of Heloise his wife, and Acreid's book on spiritual friendship, now send you Boethius on Consolation, which I have translated into French, although you understand Latin right well."

The king's confidence in him did not hinder him from tracing in the Roman de la Rose the following rude picture of primitive royalty:—

"Ung grant villain entre eulx esleurent,
Le plus coru de quanqu'ilz furent,
Le plus ossu, et le greigneur,
Et le fient prince et seigneur.
Cilz qui aus droit leur tiendroient,
Se chacun en droit soy luy livre
Des biens dont il se puisse vivre . . .
De là vint le commencement
Aux roys et princes terriens
Selon les livres ancens."

Rom. de la Rose, v. 1064.

(They elected a great clown from among themselves, the shapeliest of all of them, the boniest and tallest, and chose him prince and lord. He swore to observe their rights, if all would give him a right to take wherewithal from his goods to support him. Hence, according to ancient books, was the beginning of kings and earthly princes.)

* Contin. G. de Nangis, ann. 1304. 1308. 1313. 1315. 1320. p. 58. 61. 67. 68. 70. 77. 78.

† Totis nudis corporibus processionaliter . . . Idem, ann. 1315, p. 70.

‡ No sooner was the breath out of his body, than his Gascon servants utterly neglected their master's corpse to pillage his effects—Gascones qui cum eo steterant, intenti circa sarcinas, videbantur de sepultura corporis non curare, quia id remansit insepultum. Baluz. Vita Pap. Avon. N. p. 22.

§ "There shall be read the woe, that he doth work
With his adulterate money on the Seign,
Who by the tusk will perish."

Dante, Paradiso, c. xix.

According to several authorities, he met his death in a stag-hunt. "Seeing the stag turning upon him, he drew his sword, and spurred his horse, seeking to strike the stag; but his horse bore him against a tree with such violence that the good king was thrown, and severely hurt in the heart, and borne to Corbeil. There, he grew worse." . . . Chronique, Trad. par Sauvage, p. 110, Lyon, 1572, fol.

¶ Diuturna detentus infirmitate, cujus causa medicis erat incognita, non solum ipsis, sed et aliis multis multi stuporis materia et admirationis induxit; præsertim cum infirmitatis aut mortis periculum nec pulsus ostenderet nec urina. Contin. G. de Nangis, fol. 69.

ill-treated by the priests, both as regarded the university and his love, were a popular theme in the midst of this great war of the king with the clergy. Philippe-le-Bel placed his dependance on the university of Paris*, and caressed this turbulent republic, which, in its turn, supported him. Whilst Boniface sought to attach the Mendicants to him†, the university persecuted them through its famous doctor Jean Pigue-Ane, (Pungens-Asinum‡, "Prick-Ass,") the king's champion against the pope. When the Templars were arrested, Nogaret assembled the whole population of the university at the Temple, masters and scholars, theologians and artists, to read them the indictment. To have such a body, and in the capital, on one's side, was to have an army. Therefore, the king would not allow Clement V. to raise the schools of Orleans into a university, and create a rival to his university of Paris§.

This reign constitutes an epoch in the history of the university, more colleges being founded in it than during the whole of the thirteenth century, and these, the most celebrated||. Philippe-le-Bel's wife, maugre her evil reputation, founds the college of Navarre (A. D. 1304), that seminary of Gallicans from which issued d'Ailly, Gerson, and Bossuet. His counsellors, who, likewise, had much to expiate, almost all endow similar foundations. Archbishop Gilles d'Alsacelin, the weak and servile judge of the Templars, founded that terrible college, the poorest and most democratic of the schools of the university, that Mont-Aigu, where mind and teeth, as the proverb ran, were equally sharp¶. There arose, under the inspiration of famine, the poor scholars, the poor masters**, who made the name of cappaets††

famous. Their commons were sorry, their privileges ample; since, in regard to the article of confession, they were independent, not only of the bishop of Paris, but of the pope*.

Whether or no Philippe-le-Bel were a wicked man or a bad king, there is no mistaking his reign as the grand era of civil order in France, the foundation of the modern monarchy. St. Louis is still a feudal king. The advance from the one to the other, may be measured by a single word. St. Louis called together the deputies of the cities of the South; Philippe-le-Bel those of the states of France. The first drew up establishments for his domains; the second promulgated ordinances for the kingdom. St. Louis laid down as a principle the supremacy of justice administered in the king's name, over the jurisdiction exercised by the lords; in short, the final appeal to the monarch; and endeavoured to restrain their private wars by the truce of forty days and the giving of security (*la quarantaine et l'assurance*). In Philippe-le-Bel's time, the appeal to the king is so firmly established, that the most independent of the great feudatories, the duke of Brittany, asks, as a singular favour, to be exempted from it‡. The parliament of Paris writes in the king's name to the most distant of the barons, to the count of Comminges, that petty monarch of the Upper Pyrenees, in the following strain, which, a century earlier, would have been beyond the comprehension of the receiver:—"Throughout the kingdom, cognizance and condemnation of illegal wearing of arms belong to us solely.§"

The tendency to a new order of things is strongly marked from the beginning of this reign. The king seeks to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and from municipal offices§. He protects Jews|| and heretics; increases the royal tax on amortizements, and the acquisition of immoveable property by the churches¶; and prohibits private wars and tournaments. This prohibition, grounded on the king's want of his subjects for the Flanders' war, is often repeated**; and, once, the king goes so far as to direct his provosts to arrest all who repair to tournaments††. Each

* Buleus, Hist. Univ. iii. anno 1285.—"In this year there arose a great dissension between the rector, masters, and scholars of the university of Paris, and the provost of the said place; for that the said provost had ordered a clerk of the said university to be hung. Whereupon all the faculties gave up their lectures until the said provost made amends and great reparation for the offence; and, among other things, the said provost was condemned to *unhang* the body and kiss it. And it was agreed that the said provost should go to the pope to Avignon, to seek absolution." Nicolas Gilles, ap. Buleum, iv. 73.

† Buleus, iii. 511, 516, 595.

‡ Id. iv. 70. See, in Goldast (ii. 108.) John of Paris's Tractatus de Potestate regia et papali.

§ Ord. i. 502. The king declares that it shall have no professors of theology. See, also, Buleus, iv. 101—107.

|| To the college of Navarre and of Mont-Aign, we must add the college of Harcourt (A. D. 1286); the cardinal's house (*la maison du cardinal*), 1303; the college of Bayeux, 1308.—In 1314, the college of Laon; 1317, that of Narbonne; 1319, that of Tréguier; 1317—1321, the college of Cornouailles (Cornwall); 1326, that of Plessis, and the Scotch college (collège des Ecoissais); 1329, the college of Marmoutiers; 1332, a new college of Narbonne, founded, by will, by Jane of Burgundy; 1334, the college of Lombards; 1334, the college of Tours; 1336, the college of Lisieux; 1337, the college of Autun, &c.

¶ Mons acutus, dentes acuti, ingenium acutum.

** The master shall be elected from among the poor scholars and by them. . . . He shall be called the minister of the poor. In the rules of the foundation, it is stated that there are 84 poor scholarships in honour of the 12 apostles and 72 disciples.

†† Their dress was a cape, close in front, such as was worn by the masters of arts of the street de Fouarre; and a hood also closed before and behind, whence their name of cappaets. Parents could not threaten their children with

greater punishment than to make them cappaets. Felibien, i. 326 sqq.

* Ibidem.

† Ord. i. p. 329.

‡ Olim. Parliamenti, iii., folio cxxiv. Archives, Section Judiciaire.

§ "Let all who enjoy limited jurisdiction (*temperatam jurisdictionem*) in France, appoint laymen, and by no means clerks, to be their bailiff, overseer, and servants (*servientes*), so that in case of delinquency, they may be punished by their superiors; and all clerks, holding offices of the kind, be removed." Ord. i. p. 316. Ann. 1287-1288.

|| "They are not to be seized and imprisoned on the warrant of any of the fathers or brothers of any order, or of any others, whatever be their station." Ord. i. p. 317.

¶ Ord. i. p. 322. A distinction is drawn between royal fiefs, *meuse fiefs*, and *freeholds* (*aleux*.) In all cases, the royal tax on acquisitions by contract (*acquisitions à titre onéreux*), is double that on acquisitions by free gift (*à titre gratuit*). Purchases were more feared than gifts.

** "After the example of St. Louis, the illustrious confessor . . . we expressly prohibit . . . feuds (*guerras*) . . . wars (*bella*) . . . challenges . . . whilst our own wars are a-foot." Ord. i. p. 390. Conf. p. 328. Ann. 1296, p. 344. Ann. 1302, p. 549. Ann. 1314, July.

†† Quatenus omnes et singulos nobiles . . . capias et arrestes, capique et arrestari facias, et tamen in arresto teneri, donec a nobis mandatum. Ord. p. 424 (Ann. 1304).

campaign he was obliged to have recourse to *impressment*, and to bring together in its own despite that indolent chivalry which recked little of the need of either king or kingdom*.

But this government, hostile alike to feudalism and to priests, had no other military force than the barons, and but little money except through the Church; whence arose many contradictions, and more than one retrograde movement.

In 1287, the king allows the nobles to seize their fugitive serfs in the cities. Perhaps it was requisite to check the great influx of the people into the towns, and prevent the desertion of the country†; since the towns would soon have absorbed all, and the land have been left a desert, as it happened in the Roman empire.

In 1290, the clergy forced from the king an exorbitant charter, which could not have been carried into execution without causing the death of the monarchy. The leading articles enacted, that the bishops *should be the judges in cases relative to wills, legacies, and dowries*; that the king's bailiffs and officers should not live on church lands; that churchmen were to be arrested at the instance of the bishops only; that clerks should not be brought into the lay courts in personal actions, even though required so to do by letters royal (thus securing impunity to priests); that prelates should make no payment for property acquired by their churches; and that the local judges should not have cognizance in cases of tithes—that is to say, that the clergy should be sole judge of the fiscal abuses of the clergy‡.

In 1291, Philippe-le-Bel violently combated the tyranny of the Inquisition in the South§. In 1298, at the commencement of his struggle with the pope, he seconds the intolerance of the bishops, and orders his barons and the royal judges to hand over all heretics to them, to condemn and punish them without appeal||. The year following, he

promises that his bailiffs shall no more harass the churches with forcible seizures, that they shall seize but one manor at once, &c.*

The nobles, too, had to be propitiated. He granted them an ordinance against their creditors, against the Jew usurers†. He guaranteed their rights of chase. The king's collectors are no more to fasten upon the inheritance of bastards and of aliens in the domains of barons having the right of high justice—"Unless," prudently adds the king, "it be proved by a competent witness, whom we shall specially depute for the purpose, that we are fully entitled to take possession‡."

In 1302, after his defeat at Courtrai, the king struck a daring stroke. He seized, for his mint, half of all silver plate§ (his own bailiffs and officers were to give up the whole of theirs); he seized the temporalities of the bishops who had repaired to Rome||; finally he taxed the barons, defeated and humbled at Courtrai; the hour was favourable for making them pay¶.

In 1303, during the crisis, when Nogaret had accused Boniface (March the 12th), and when excommunication might at any moment fall on the king's head, he promised all that was wished. In his reforming ordinance (the close of the same month) he pledged himself to his nobles and prelates to *make no acquisition in their lands***; yet,

* Mandate addressed to the bailiffs of Touraine and Maine, enjoining them to respect the clergy. Letters granted to the bishops of Normandy against the oppressions of bailiffs, viscounts, &c. Ord. i. p. 331. 334. A similar ordinance was promulgated in favour of the churches of Languedoc, May the 8th, 1302. Ibid. p. 340.

† "Against the whirlpool of usury . . . we will that the sum originally borrowed be discharged, but remit all beyond." (Contra usurarum voraginem . . . volumus ut debita quantum ad sortem primariam plenarie persolvantur, quod vero ultra sortem fuerit legaliter penitus remittendo.) Ord. i. p. 334.

‡ Nisi prius per aliquem idoneum virum quem ad hoc specialiter deputaverimus . . . constituerit, quod nos sumus in bona saisina percipiendi . . . Ord. i. p. 338, 339.

§ "Make known to all, by general proclamation, without specifying prelates or barons, to wit, that all manner of people shall bring half of their silver plate," (signifiez à tous, par cri général, sans faire mention de prelates ni de barons, c'est à savoir que toutes manières de gens apportent la moitié de leur vaissellement d'argent blanc.) Ord. i. p. 338, 339.

|| "Certain prelates, abbots, and priors . . . having left the kingdom . . . in contempt of our prohibition . . . we, being unwilling that through their personal absence their substance should be wasted, but rather desiring to preserve it . . . do decree," &c. Ord. i. p. 349. The indignation against these priests seems to have been great, for the king is obliged to prohibit the Normans from crying "Harò on the clerks." Ord. i. p. 348.

(Harò—harau—harol, derived from *ha* and *Raoul* or Rollo, first duke of Normandy, and equivalent to "Away with them," or "On them," or "Down with them.") TRANSLATOR.

¶ Ord. i. p. 330—end of the year 1302.

** The king declares, that in reforming his kingdom he takes the churches under his protection, and intends securing them the enjoyment of their franchises or privileges, just as in the time of his grandfather, St. Louis. Consequently, if he have to order any seizure to be made on a priest, his bailiff is not to proceed therein until after ripe inquiry, and the seizure is never to exceed the amount of the fine. Inquiry is to be made throughout the kingdom for the good customs existing in the time of St. Louis, with a view to their re-establishment. If prelates or barons have any

* In 1302, the bailiff of Amiens is ordered to send to the Flemish war all worth above 100 livres in moveables, and 200 in immovables: those worth less were to be spared. Ord. i. p. 345. But in the following year (May 29th), an ordinance came out, that every *roturier* worth fifty livres in moveables or twenty in immovables, should contribute either his person or his money. Ord. i. p. 373.

† Formalities were enacted similar to those imposed to this day on foreigners seeking to be admitted French citizens—as authority from the provost or mayor, settlement established by the purchase, "Pour raison de la bourgeoisie d'une maison dedens un et jour, de la value de soixante sols parisis au moins; signification au seigneur desoubs cui il iert partis" (for right of citizenship, of a house, dwelt in for a year and a day, of the value of sixty sous of Paris at the least, and notice given to the lord of whom he holds)—obligatory residence from All Saints' day to St. John's day, &c. Ord. i. p. 314.

‡ Ord. i. p. 319. . . . Quod bona mobilia clericorum capi vel iudicialiter non possint . . . per iusticiam secularum . . . Causas ordinarias prelatorum in parlamentis tantummodo agitentur . . . nec ad senescales aut bailivos . . . liceat appellare . . . Non impediuntur a talliis . . . &c.

§ Hist. du Lang. l. xxviii. c. 22, p. 72.

|| Bailivis . . . iungimus . . . diocesanis episcopis, et inquisitoribus . . . parent, et intendunt in hereticorum investigationes, captione . . . condemnatos sibi relictos statim recipiant, inflatæ animadversione debita puniendos . . . non obstantibus appellationibus. Ord. i. p. 330, ann. 1298.

here he introduced a reservation nullifying the whole—"Save in cases affecting our royal right *." The same ordinance contained a regulation respecting the parliament, setting forth among their privileges the organization of the body which was to destroy privilege and privileged †.

The following year, he suffers the bishops to re-enter parliament. Toulouse recovers its rights of municipal justice; the nobility of Auvergne obtain the concession that their own judges are to be respected, the king's officers restrained, &c. Finally, in 1306, when the revolt on account of alteration of the coinage compels the king to seek shelter in the Temple, having no longer confidence in the burgesses, he restores to the barons the wager of battle, the proof by duel, in default of witnesses ‡.

business to transact in parliament, they shall be treated kindly, and their affairs be quickly expedited. Ord. i. p. 357.

* Nisi in casu pertinente ad jus nostrum regium . . . However, he added, that he would dissize himself, after holding it for a year and a day of the fief, so acquired by forfeiture, in favour of any suitable person who would undertake the duties of the fief, but reserving to himself this alternative—Or we will make the owner of the fief sufficient and reasonable recompense." Ibid. p. 358.

The greater part of this reforming ordinance concerns the bailiffs and other royal officers, and tends to prevent the abuses of power. Nominated by the grand council (14), they are not to be members of this assembly (16). They are not to choose their kindred or connexions for their provosts or lieutenants, or to hold office in their native district (27), or to attach themselves by marriage or purchase of immovables to the district over which they have jurisdiction—a precautionary measure imitated from the Romans, but extended to the children, sisters, nieces, and nephews of the royal officers (50-51). The ordinance regulated the time of their assizes (26), at the conclusion of each of which, the time of holding the next was to be specified; it defined the limits of their respective provinces (60), of their authority as regarded the bishops' and barons' justices, and their powers over those amenable to their jurisdictions. They could detain no one in prison for debt, except detention of his body (*contrainte par corps*) were ordered by letters under the royal seal (52). The same ordinance prohibited their accepting presents under the guise of gift or loan (40-43), either for themselves or children—they are not to accept wine save in barrels, bottles, or pots (*nisi in barillis, seu boutellis vel potts*), or to dispose of the surplus; and they are neither to make presents to the members of the grand council, their judges (44), nor to receive them from the sub-bailiffs, who are responsible to them (48). They were to nominate to these offices with the greatest precautions (56), and the king not only continues to exclude clerks from them, but places them in very bad company, with usurers, infamous persons, and oppressors of the lieges—"Non clerici, non usurarii, non infames, nec suspecti circa oppressiones subjectorum" (19). Ord. i. p. 357-367.

† No doubt the parliament may be traced further back. We find the first mention of it in the ordinance, called the testament of Philippe-Auguste (A. D. 1190). See M. Klimrath's important memoir, *Sur les Ordonnances et sur le Parlement*. See, also, a Dissertation, in manuscript, on the Origin of the Parliament (*Archives du Royaume*). The anonymous author, who, perhaps, wrote under the chancellor Maupeou, is of the same opinion as M. Klimrath. However, considering the new degree of importance which the parliament assumed in the reign of Philippe-le-Bel, we need not be surprised at his being stated to be its founder by the majority of historians.

‡ Ann. 1304. Ord. i. p. 547. This appears to be an ordinance for carrying into execution the 62nd article of the

The great affair of the Templars (A. D. 1306-9), forced him once more to relax his hold. He repeated his promises of 1303, laid down regulations for the responsibility of the bailiffs, bound himself to discontinue taxing the farmers (censiers) on the lands of the nobles, restrained the violence of the barons, promised the Parisians to exercise with moderation his rights of prisage (*de prise*) and purveyorship, the Bretons that he would coin good money, and the Poitevins that he would raise to the ground the workshops of the false coiners. He confirmed the privileges of Rouen. All of a sudden turning charitable and an almsgiver, he devoted the fines due on renewals to portioning off poor maidens of noble birth; and he liberally bestowed on the hospitals the rushes with which the royal apartments were strewn in his frequent journeys.

In nothing is the hypocrisy of his administration more remarkable than in regard to the coinage. It is curious to trace from year to year the lies and tergiversations of the royal false coiner. In 1295, he apprises his people that he is about to make an issue, "in which, perhaps, the quality (titre) and the weight may be somewhat deficient, but that he will indemnify all who shall take it, his dear wife, queen Jane of Navarre, being pleased that the revenues of Normandy should be attached to this end *." In 1305, he causes proclamation to be made through the streets by sound of trumpet, that his new coin is as good as that of St. Louis †. Several times he laid strict injunctions on the minters to keep the adulteration secret. Afterwards, he gives it out that the coin has been altered by others, and orders the mints where the adulterate money had been struck to be destroyed ‡. In 1310 and 1311, dreading comparison with foreign coins, he prohibits their importation §. In 1311, he forbids the weighing or the assaying of the royal coin ||.

No doubt in all this the king was convinced that he was only exercising his right, and that he considered the privilege of raising at will the value of his money, an attribute of his sovereign power. The laughable part of the business is to see this sovereign power, this divinity, obliged to temporize with the mistrust of the people. The nascent religion of royalty already has its unbelievers.

At last, royalty seems to entertain doubts of itself. This haughty power, having exhausted force and craft, implicitly avows its weakness and appeals to liberty. We have seen the bold words in which the king caused himself to be addressed both in the famous *Supplique du peuple de France* (petition of the French people), and in the discourse of the deputies of the states in 1308; but nothing is more remarkable than the terms of the ordinance by which he confirms the enfranchisement of the serfs of the Valois, granted by his brother:—"Seeing that every human creature who is made

edict which we have just analysed; it is the administrative complement of the law.

* Nos autem Johanna impertimus assensum. Ord. i. p. 326.

† Id. p. 429.

‡ Id. p. 451.

§ Ord. i. p. 481. May 16th, 1311.

|| Que nul ne rachasse, ne face rachacier, ne trebucher, ne requerre nulle monnoye que l'eile soit de nostre coing. (Let none refine, nor cause to be refined, nor turn the balance against, nor alter any coin whatever of our minting.) Jan. 20th, 1310. Ord. i. p. 475.

in the image of our Lord, ought generally to be free by natural right, and that in no country this natural liberty or freedom should be so effaced or obscured by the hateful yoke of servitude, that the men and women who dwell in the aforesaid places and countries, in their lifetime are regarded as if dead, and at the end of their dolorous and wretched existence are so fast bound up and strictly treated, that the goods which God has lent them in this world, they cannot by their last wishes dispose of and order"

These words must have sounded harshly in feudal ears. They seemed a protest against slavery, against baronial tyranny. The stifled feeling which had never dared to murmur, not even in a whisper, now burst forth and descended from royal lips like a judgment. Having overcome all his enemies by the aid of his barons, the king ceased to observe any terms with the latter; and, on the 13th of June, 1313, he prohibited them from coining except with his express authorization †.

The ordinance to this effect filled the cup to overflowing. Despite the terror the king's name must have inspired since the overthrow of the Temple, the barons resolved on running every risk and taking decided steps. Most of the lords of the north and of the east (Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu, Burgundy, and Forez), entered into a confederacy against the king:—"To all those who shall see or hear of these present letters, the nobles and the commons of Champagne, for us, for the countries of Vermandois, and for our allies and adjuncts within the borders of the kingdom of France—greeting. Know all, that as the very excellent and very powerful prince, our very dear and redoubted sire, Philippe, by the grace of God, king of France, has enacted and raised many taxes, aids, and imposts contrary to right, has altered the coin, and done many other things by which the nobles and commons have been much aggrieved and impoverished. . . . And it does not appear that they have been turned to the honour or profit of the king, or of the kingdom, or to the defence of the commonweal. For which griefs we have several times humbly and devotedly besought and supplicated the said lord our king, to be pleased to repeal and give up these things; which he has in nowise done. And again in this present year current, this year 1314, our said lord the king has laid undue impositions on the nobles and the commons of the kingdom, and aids which he has endeavoured to raise; the which we cannot conscientiously suffer or allow, for so we should lose our honours, franchises, and liberties; both we and those who shall come after, us. . . . We have sworn and covenanted on oath, loyally and in good faith, for ourselves and our heirs to the countships of Auxerre and of Tonnerre—to the nobles and the commons of the said countships, their allies and adjuncts, that we, with regard to the aid demanded the present year, and all other griefs and novelties not duly done and to be done, in time present and to come, which the king of France, our lord or others, shall desire to exact of them, will aid and succour them at our proper cost and expense." . . . ‡.

This document would seem to be a reply to the dangerous words of the king touching slavery. The king denounced the lords; the latter, the king. The two powers which had combined to despoil the Church, now accused each other in presence of the people, who as yet had no existence as people, and who could make no rejoinder.

The king, defenceless against this confederacy, addressed himself to the towns. He summoned their deputies to come and consult with him in the matter of the coinage (A. D. 1314). Docile to royal influence, these deputies demanded that the king would prohibit the barons from coining for eleven years, in order that he might mint good money, on which he would gain nothing *.

ACCESSION OF LOUIS X.

In the midst of this crisis, Philippe le Bel dies (A. D. 1314). With the accession of his son, Louis X., so well surnamed *Hutin* (disorder, tumult), comes a violent reaction of the feudal, local, provincial spirit, which seeks to dash in pieces the still feeble fabric of unity, demands dismemberment, and claims chaos †.

The duke of Brittany arrogates the right of judgment without appeal; so does the exchequer

pagne, pour nous, pour les pays de Vermandois et pour nos alliés et adjoints étant dedans les points du royaume de France; salut. Sachent tuis que comme très-excellent et très-puissant prince, notre très-cher et redouté sire, Philippe, par la grâce de Dieu, roi de France, ait fait et relevé plusieurs tailles, subventions, exactions non deus, changement de monnoyes, et plusieurs autres choses qui ont été faites, par quoi li nobles et li commons ont été moult gravés, appauvris. . . . Et li n'apert pas qu'ils soient tournez en l'honneur et profit du roy ne dou royaume, ne en defension dou profit commun. Desquels griefs nous avons plusieurs fois requis et supplié humblement et dévotement ledit sire li roy, que ces choses voulist défaire et délaissier; de quoy rien n'en ha fait. Et encore en cette présente année courant, par l'an 1314, lidit nos sire le roy ha fait impositions non dueement, sur li nobles et li commons dou royaume, et subventions lesquelles li s'est efforcé de lever; laquelle chose ne pouvons souffrir ne soutenir en bonne conscience, car ainsi perdrions nos honneurs, franchises et libertés; et nous et cis qui après nous verront (viendront). . . . Avons juré et promis par nos serments, leuement et en bonne foy, par (pour) nous et nos hoirs aus comtés d'Auxerre et de Tonnerre, aus nobles et aus commons desdits comtés, leurs alliés et adjoints, que nos, en la subvention de la présente année, et tous autres griefs et novelletés non dueement faites et à faire, au temps présent et avenir, que li roi de France, nos sires, ou aultre, lor voudront faire, lor aidierons, et secourerons à nos propos coutés et despens. . . . Boulainvilliers, Lettres sur les Anciens Parlements, t. iii. p. 29. 81.

* "Que le Roi pourchace par devers ses barons que ils se sueffrent de faire ouvrer jusques à onze ans." "Otherwise," the ordinance goes on to say, "the king cannot supply his people, or his kingdom, with good money. And they were agreed that the king should give such full weight of gold and silver as to gain nothing thereon" (et fuerent à accort que li Rois doint tant en or, en argent que li n'y preigne nul profit). Ord. i. p. 548-549. However, such was the opposition offered by the barons and prelates, interested in the matter, that he was obliged to be contented with prescribing the alloy, weight, and stamp of these coins. Leblanc, p. 229.

† See how the continuator of Nangis suddenly changes his language, how bold he becomes, and how he elevates his voice. Fol. 69-70.

* Ord. xli. p. 387, ann. 1311.

† Ord. i. p. 3-22, art. 14.

‡ The original is as follows:—"A tous ceux qui verront, orront ces présentes lettres, li nobles et li commons de Cham-

of Rouen. Amiens will not have the king's sergeants subpoena before the barons, or his provosts remove any prisoner from the town's jurisdiction. Burgundy and Nevers require the king to respect the privileges of feudal justice, and to discontinue fixing his scutcheons on the towers and barriers of the nobles*.

The common demand of the barons is that the king shall renounce all intermeddling with their men. The nobles of Burgundy take the punishment of their own officers on themselves; and Champagne and the Vermandois forbid the king's citing the inferior vassals before his tribunals†.

Provinces, the most distant from each other, as Perigord, Nîmes, and Champagne, are of one accord in denouncing the king's attempts to tax the farmers holding of the nobles‡.

Amiens desires that the royal bailiffs neither imprison nor make seizure till after judgment passed. Burgundy, Amiens, and Champagne unanimously demand the restoration of the wager by battle, of the judicial combat §.

The king is no more to acquire fief or patronage on the domains of the barons in Burgundy, Tours, and Nevers, any more than in Campagne (save in cases of succession or confiscation ||).

The young monarch grants and signs all; there are only three points to which he demurs and which he seeks to defer. The Burgundian barons contest with him the jurisdiction over the rivers, roads, and consecrated places. The nobles of Champagne doubt the king's right to lead them to war out of their own province. Those of Amiens, with true Picard impetuosity, require without any circumlocution, that all gentlemen may wear upon each other, and not enter into securities, but ride, go, come, and be armed for war, and pay forfeit to one another.

... The king's reply to these absurd and insolent demands is merely: "We will order examination of the registers of my lord St. Louis, and give to the said nobles two trustworthy persons, to be nominated by our council, to certify and inquire diligently into the truth of the said article." ... ¶.

The reply was adroit enough. The general cry was for a return to the good customs of St. Louis: it being forgotten that St. Louis had done his utmost to put a stop to private wars. But by thus invoking the name of St. Louis they meant to express their wish for the old feudal independence—for the opposite of the quasi-legal, the venal, and pettifogging government of Philippe-le-Bel.

The barons set about destroying him by bit, all the changes introduced by the late king. But they

could not believe him dead so long as there survived his *Alter Ego*, his mayor of the palace, Enguerrand de Marigny, who, in the latter years of his reign, had been *coadjutor and rector of the kingdom*, and who had allowed his statue to be raised in the Palace by the side of the king's. His real name was Le Fortier; but along with the estates he bought the name of Marigny. This Norman, a *gracious and cautious* individual, but, apparently, not less silent than his master, has left no public paper of his own on record—he would seem neither to have written nor spoken. He had the Templars condemned by his brother, whom he made archbishop of Sens for the purpose. Undoubtedly, he bore the principal share in the king's transactions with the popes; but he managed matters so well that Clement's escape from Poitiers was set down to him†, and the pope, probably, felt himself indebted to him. On the other hand, he might have persuaded the king that the pope would be more useful to him at Avignon, in apparent independence, than in a state of durance which must have shocked the Christian world‡.

It was in the Temple, in the very spot where Marigny had installed his master for the spoliation of the Templars, that the young king Louis repaired to hear the solemn accusation brought against him §. His accuser was Philippe-le-Bel's brother, the violent Charles of Valois, a busy man, of mediocre abilities, who put himself at the head of the barons. Though in such near proximity to the throne of France, he had traversed all Christendom to find another, the while a petty Norman knight reigned side by side with Philippe-le-Bel. It is not surprising that he was mad with envy.

Marigny would have had no difficulty in defending himself, could he have procured a hearing. He had done nothing, except being the thought and conscience of Philippe-le-Bel. To the young king, it was as if he were sitting in judgment on his father's soul; and so he desired simply to remove Marigny, banish him to the island of Cyprus, and recall him after a time. Therefore, to effect his destruction, Charles of Valois had recourse to the grand accusation of the day, which none could surmount. It was discovered, or presumed, that Marigny's wife or sister, in order to effect his acquittal, or bewitch the king, had caused one, Jacques de Lor, to make certain small figures: "The said Jacques, thrown into prison, hangs himself in despair, and then his wife, and Enguerrand's sisters are thrown into prison, and Enguerrand himself, condemned before the knights (*jugé en présence des chevaliers*) is hung at Paris on the thieves' gibbet. However, he made no confession as to the said witchcrafts, but only observed that with regard to exactions, and alterations of coin, he

* Ord. i. p. 551 and 592, 561—567, and 625, 572.

† Id. p. 559, 8°; 574, 5°; 554, 2°.

‡ Id. p. 562, 2°.

§ "Nous voulions et octroyons que en cas de murtre, de larcin, de rapt, de trahison, et de roberie, gage de bataille soit ouvert, se les cas ne pouvoient estre proves par tesmoings." (We will and grant that in cases of murder, larceny, rape, treason, and robbery, the wager of battle lie open, if there be not sufficient evidence to prove the fact.)

Ord. i. p. 507. "Et quant au gage de bataille, nous voulions que il en usent, si come l'en feisoit anciennement." (And, as to wager of battle, we will that it be had recourse to, according to ancient usage.) Ibid. p. 558.

¶ "Item, que le Roy n'acquiere, ne ne s'accroisse es baronies et chasteletries, es fiefs et riens-fiefs desdits nobles et religieux, se n'est de leur volenté, nous leur octroyons." 4th article.

¶ Ord. i. p. 572 (31); p. 576 (15); p. 564 (6).

* Gratiolus, cautus, et sapiens. Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 69. See, also, Dupuy, Preuves du Diff. p. 45; and Bern. Guidonis Vita Clem. V. Baluze, p. 82.

† His enemies laid the accusation to his charge. See Paulus Æmilius.—He was also said to have been bribed by the count of Flanders to procure a truce. Oudeghert, ann. 1313, fol. 239.

‡ This reminds us of the manner in which Themistocles managed the two parties before the battle of Salamis. See Herodotus.

§ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 69. Modern writers have added many circumstances respecting the rupture between Charles of Valois and Marigny, the lie given, a blow, &c.

had not been the sole mover in those matters. . . . Wherefore his death, the causes of which were a mystery to most, was a subject of great admiration and surprise."

"Pierre de Latilly, bishop of Châlons, to whom the deaths of Philippe, king of France, and of his predecessor were ascribed, was by the king's order detained in prison, in the name of the archbishop of Reims. Raoul de Presles, advocate-general (*advocatus præcipuus*) to the parliament, equally suspected, and detained in prison on the like suspicion, was confined in the prison of St. Genevieve at Paris, and put to various kinds of torture. As no confession of the crimes with which he was charged could be forced from him, although he was subjected to the most different and most painful torments, he was at last set at liberty—the greater part of his property, movable or immovable, having been either given away, or lost, or pillaged *."

All bootless was it to have hung Marigny, imprisoned Raoul de Presles, and, as they subsequently did, to have ruined Nogaret. The legist had more of life in him than the barons supposed. Marigny springs into being with each reign, and is ever fruitlessly put to death. The ancient system, toppling down with repeated shocks, crushes at each fall, an enemy: it is not the stronger for it. The whole history of this period is the death-struggle betwixt the legist and the baron.

With each accession we have a restoration of the good old uses of St. Louis, as if in expiation of the preceding reign. The new king, the companion and friend of the princes and barons, commences in his capacity of first of the barons, as a *good and rude justice*, to hang the best servants of his predecessor. A grand gibbet is erected, and the people follow to it with hootings the man of the people, the man of the king, the poor plebeian king, whose lot it is to bear in each reign the sins of the crown. After the death of St. Louis, falls the barber La Brosse; after that of Philippe-le-Bel, Marigny; after Philippe-le-Long's death, Gérard Guecte; and, after Charles-le-Bel's, the treasurer Rémy. . . . He perishes illegally, but not unjustly. He dies sullied by the violences of an imperfect system, the evil of which is greater than the good. But in dying, he bequeaths to the crown which strikes him its instruments of power, and to the people that curse him, institutions of order and of peace.

A few years slipped away, and the body of Marigny was respectfully taken down from Montfaucon to receive Christian burial. Louis-le-Hutin, left ten thousand livres to his sons. Charles of Valois, in his last sickness, believed it essential to

the safety of his soul, to restore the memory of his victim, and caused liberal alms to be distributed with the recommendation to the receivers—"Pray to God for my lord Enguerrand de Marigny, and for my lord Charles de Valois *."

Marigny's best vengeance was that the crown, so strong in his care, sank after him into the most deplorable weakness. Louis-le-Hutin, needing money for the Flemish war, treated as equal with equal, with the city of Paris. The nobles of Champagne and Picardy hastened to take advantage of the right of private war which they had just reacquired, and made war on the countess of Artois, without troubling themselves about the judgment rendered by the king who had awarded this fief to her. All the barons had resumed the privilege of coining; Charles of Valois, the king's uncle, setting them the example. But instead of coining for their own domains only, conformably to the ordinances of Philippe-le-Hardi and Philippe-le-Bel, they minted adulterate coin by wholesale, and gave it currency throughout the kingdom †.

On this, the king had perforce to arouse himself, and return to the administration of Marigny and of Philippe-le-Bel. He denounced the coining of the barons (November the 19th, 1315); ordained that it should pass current on their own lands only; and fixed the value of the royal coin relatively to thirteen different coinages, which thirty-one bishops or barons had the right of minting on their own territories §. In St. Louis's time, eighty nobles had enjoyed this right.

The young feudal king, humanized by the want of money, did not disdain to treat with serfs and with Jews. The famous ordinance of Louis Hutin for the enfranchisement of the serfs of his domains, is exactly similar to that of Philippe-le-Bel for the Valois, already quoted:—"As according to the right (law) of nature each ought to be born free, and through ancient usages and customs which from time long past have been introduced and observed in our kingdom hitherto, and perchance for the misdeed of their predecessors, many of our common people have fallen into bond of servitude and of diverse conditions, which is exceedingly displeasing to us—We, considering that our kingdom is called and named the kingdom of the Franks (freemen), and desiring that the reality accord with the name, and that the condition of the people be amended by us and by the advent

* Contin. G. de Nangis, ann. 1325, p. 84. *Orate pro Domino Ingeranno*. . . .

† Et ecurrunt. . . . Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 71.

‡ Nous qui avons oïe la grande complainte de nostre pueble du royaume de France, qui nous a montré comment par les monetes faites hors de nostre royaume et contre-faites à nos coings, et aus coings de nos barons, et par les monetes ausiel de nos dits barons lesquelles monetes toutes ne sont pas du poids de la loy ne du coing anciens, ne convenables, nos subgies et de ceuz souvent grossement. . . . Ordonons, &c. (We, having heard great complaint from our people of the kingdom of France, who have shown us how—through money coined out of our kingdom in imitation of our coin, and of that of our barons; and, likewise, through the coining of our said barons, which is not altogether of the weight prescribed by law, or like the ancient and just coin—our subjects and our people are injured in many ways, and often grossly by the latter. . . . Ordain, &c.)

§ Ord. l. p. 606—609.
§ Ord. l. p. 615, et seq.

* There were three Raoul de Presles. The first, who gave evidence in 1309 against the Templars, was implicated in the affair of Pierre de Latilly, and recovered his liberty with the loss of his property. Louis Hutin felt remorse at this, and, in his will, ordered every thing to be restored to him, as a thing of right (*comme de raison*). Philippe-le-Long and Charles-le-Bel ennobled him for his good services.—The second Raoul is only noted for forgery, and, also, for having had a natural son during his imprisonment, who became the most illustrious of the name. He introduced himself to the notice of Charles V. in 1365, by an allegory, entitled *La Muse*. He was charged by this prince to translate the City of God, and would appear to have had a share in the composition of the *Souge du Verger*.

of our new government—by deliberation of our grand council, have ordained and do ordain, that generally throughout our kingdom, so long as it may belong to us and to our successors, such servitudes be restored to franchises, and that to all those who, by origin, or antiquity, or newly, by marriage, or by residence of place in servile condition, have fallen or may fall into bond of servitude, franchise be given on good and suitable conditions *."

It is curious to see the son of Philippe-le-Bel admitting serfs to liberty: but it is trouble lost. The merchant vainly swells his voice and enlarges on the worth of his merchandize; the poor serfs will have none of it. Had they buried in the ground some bad piece of money, they took care not to dig it up to buy a bit of parchment. In vain does the king wax wroth at seeing them dull to the value of the boon offered. At last, he directs the commissioners deputed to superintend the enfranchisement, to value the property of such serfs as preferred "remaining in the sorrience (chétivete) of slavery," and to tax them "as sufficiently and to such extent as the condition and wealth of the individuals may conveniently allow, and as the necessity of our war requires."

But with all this it is a grand spectacle to see proclamation made from the throne itself of the imprescriptible right of every man to liberty. The serfs do not buy this right, but they will remember both the royal lesson, and the dangerous appeal to which it instigates against the barons †.

ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE TALL.

The short and obscure reign of Philippe-le-Long is scarcely less important as regards the public law of France, than even that of Philippe-le-Bel.

In the first place, his accession to the throne decides a great question. As Louis Hutin left his

* Comme selon le droit de nature chacun doit naistre franc; et par aucuns usages et costumes, qui de grant ancienneté ont esté entroduites et gardées jusques cy en nostre royaume, et par aventure pour le meffet de leurs prédecesseurs, moult de personnes de nostre commun pueple, soient encheues en lieu de servitudes et de diverses conditions, qui moult nous desplaît: Nous considerants que nostre royaume est dit, et nommé le royaume des Francs, et voulants que la chose en vérité soit accordant au nom, et que la condition des gens amende de nous et la venue de nostre nouvel gouvernement; par délibération de nostre grant conseil avons ordonné et ordonons, que generalement, par tout nostre royaume, de tant comme il peut appartenir à nous et à nos successeurs, telles servitudes soient ramenées à franchises, et à tous ceus qui de origine, ou ancienneté, ou de nouvel par mariage, ou par residence de lieus de serve condition, sont encheues, ou pourroient eschoir ou lieu de servitudes, franchise soit donnée à bonnes et convenables conditions. Ord. i. p. 583.

† At the close of this brief reign of his, Louis seems to have become the enemy of the barons. Philippe-le-Bel never returned them a drier, or it would seem, more desirous answer than that of his son to the nobles of Champagne (December the 1st, 1315). They had called for an explanation of the vague term *Cas Royaux* (crown cases), by virtue of which the king's judges claimed for their own courts whatever cases they desired. The king replies:—"We have enlightened them on this wise, to wit, that a crown case is understood to be whatever case by right, or by ancient usage, may and ought to come before the sovereign, and no other." Ord. i. p. 606.

queen pregnant, his brother Philippe is regent and guardian of the future infant. This child dies soon after its birth *, and Philippe proclaims himself king to the prejudice of a daughter of his brother's; a step which was the more surprising from the fact that Philippe-le-Bel had maintained the right of female succession in regard to Franche-Comté and Artois. The barons were desirous that daughters should be excluded from inheriting fiefs, but that they should succeed to the throne of France; and their chief, Charles of Valois, favoured his grand-niece against his nephew Philippe †.

Philippe assembled the States, and gained his cause, which, at bottom, was good, by absurd reasons. He alleged in his favour the old German law of the Franks, which excluded daughters from the *Salic land*; and maintained that the crown of France was too noble a fief to fall into hands used to the distaff ("*pour tomber en quenouille*")—a feudal argument, the effect of which was to ruin feudality. Whilst the progress of civil equity and the introduction of the Roman law opened the right of inheritance to daughters, whilst fiefs were becoming feminine and passing from one family into another, the crown, immovable in the midst of universal nobility, did not go out of the same house. The house of France received from without the moveable and variable element—woman, but preserved in the succession of the males the fixed element of the family, the identity of the *Paterfamilias*. The woman changes her name and penates. The man, inhabiting the abode of his ancestors, and reproducing their name, is led to follow in their track. This invariable transmission of the crown in the male line has imparted steadfastness to the policy of our kings, and usefully counterpoised the fickleness of our forgetful nation.

By thus rejecting the right of the daughters at the very moment it was gradually triumphing over the fiefs, the crown acquired its character of receiving always without ever giving; and a bold revocation, at this same time, of all donations made since St. Louis's day ‡, seems to contain the principle of the inalienableness of the royal domain. Unfortunately, the feudal spirit which resumed strength under the Valois in favour of private wars, led to fatal creations of appanages, and founded, to the advantage of the different branches of the royal family, a princely feudality as embarrassing to Charles VI. and Louis XI., as the other had been to Philippe-le-Bel.

This contested succession and disaffection of the barons forced Philippe-le-Long into the paths of Philippe-le-Bel. He flatters the cities, Paris, and, above all, the university,—the grand power of Paris.

* (This child was named John, and is not counted among the kings of France. Contemporary writers cautiously style him the *royal infant*, who, if he had lived, would have been king. Sismondi, t. ix. p. 345.) TRANSLATOR.

† Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 72.—"Not returning to Paris until a month after the death of Louis X., he found his uncle, the count de Valois, at the head of a party ready to dispute the regency with him. The citizens of Paris took up arms under the direction of Gautier de Châtillon, and drove out the count de Valois' soldiers, who had already seized the Louvre." Felibien, Hist. de Paris, t. i. p. 535, quoting the Chronique de Flandre.

‡ In particular, the king revokes the gifts bestowed on Guillaume Flotte, Nogaret, Plaisan, and some others. Ord. i. p. 667.

He causes his barons to take the oath of fidelity to him, *in presence of the masters of the university, and with their approval* *. He wishes his good cities to be provided with armories; their citizens to keep their arms in *sure place*; and appoints them a captain in *each bailliwick or district* (March the 12th, 1316 †)—naming, in particular, Senlis, Amiens, and the Vermandois, Caen, Rouen, Gisors, the Cotentin, and the country of Caux, Orléans, Sens, and Troyes.

Philippe-le-Long was desirous (in a fiscal point of view, it is true) of establishing a uniform system of weights and measures; but it was too early for this great step ‡.

He made some efforts to establish order and responsibility in the public accounts. The receivers, all expenses being paid, were to send the residue into the king's treasury, but secretly, *so that no one should know the hour or the day*. The bailiffs and seneschals are to come up to Paris yearly, to settle their accounts. The treasurers are to balance theirs, twice a year. Notice will be given in what money the payments are to be made. *The judges of the accounts will then pass them. . . . And the king will know how much he has to receive* §.

Among his financial regulations we find this article :—*"All payments for castles not on the frontier, are to cease entirely from this time forward"* ||. A great fact is contained in these words. France begins to enjoy internal peace; at least, until the English wars.

The security for this internal peace, is the organization of a strong judicial power. The parliament is constituted; and the proportion of clergymen and of laymen who are to compose it, is regulated by an ordinance which secures the majority to the latter ¶. As regards counsellors, foreign to the body, and temporarily called in, Philippe-le-Long reiterates the sentence of exclusion already pronounced against the bishops by Philippe-le-Bel :—*"No prelate shall be returned to parliament, for the king makes it a case of conscience not to disturb them in the care of their spiritualities"* **.

To know with what vigour the parliament of

* *Magistris universitatis civitatis ipsius hoc ipsum unanimitur approbantibus.* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 79.

† Ord. i. p. 635, et seq.

‡ "The king had begun to lay down regulations, that throughout his kingdom but one uniform measure should be used for wine, corn, and all merchandise; but he was prevented by illness from carrying his work through. The said king also proposed, that all the coin throughout the kingdom should be reduced to one uniform standard; and, as the execution of so great a project would have been very expensive, he was said to have resolved, seduced by false counsels, to have extorted the fifth part of their goods from his subjects. He despatched deputies on this business into the different districts; but the bishops and barons, who had long enjoyed the right of coining, according to difference of place and the wants of the people, as well as the communities of the good cities of the kingdom (ainsi que les communautés des bonnes villes du royaume), having withheld their consent from the project, the deputies returned to their master without having succeeded in their negotiation." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 79.

§ Ord. i. p. 715, 714, 629, 659.

|| *Tous gages de chasteaux qui ne sont en frontière, cessent du tout des-ores-en-avant.* Ord. i. p. 660 (27).

¶ Ibid. p. 728—731.

** *Il n'aura nuls Prélz députés en parlement, car le Roy fait conscience de us empêcher ou gouvernemen de leurs spiritualitez.* Ibid. p. 702.

Paris proceeded to act, we must read in the Continuator of Nangis, the history of Jordan de Lille, "a Gascon lord famed for his high birth, but ignoble through his robberies." . . . Nevertheless, he had managed to get the pope's niece to wife, and through the pope, the king's pardon. He made use of these advantages only, "to extend his crimes, murders, and rapes, supporting bands of assassins, the friend of robbers, a rebel to the king. He might yet, perhaps, have escaped. One of the king's men had come to seize him; he slew him with the very staff on which were the royal arms, the ensign of his office. Summoned to trial, he came to Paris attended by a brilliant escort of the noblest counts and barons of Aquitaine. . . . This did not save him from being thrown into the prison of the Châtelet, condemned to death by the master of the parliament, and the evening before Trinity day, being dragged at horse's tail and hung on the common gibbet *."

The parliament, which thus vigorously defends the honour of the king, is itself a true king in a judicial point of view. Its members wear the royal habit—the long robe, purple, and ermine. It is not, apparently, the shadow and effigy of the monarch, but rather, his thought, his constant, immutable, and truly royal will. The king wishes justice to pursue her course, "notwithstanding all concessions, ordinances, and letters-royal to the contrary." Thus, the monarch distrusts the monarch, and recognizes himself better in his parliament than in himself. He distinguishes within himself a double character. He feels himself both king and man, and the king orders the man to be disobeyed—a fine confession of the twofold *Homo*, a to be respected and truly human inconsistency, which contains the whole mystery of our old monarchy.

Many texts of ordinances, interpreted in this sense, do honour to the wisdom of the councillors who dictated them. The monarch seeks to raise a barrier against his own liberality. He expresses a fear that excessive gifts may be torn from his weakness, or carelessness; that whilst he sleeps or reposes, privilege and usurpation may be but too awake †.

And so, in 1318, with regard to certain feudal rights he says— . . . "the which are frequently asked of us, and are of greater value *than we believe*, we must take counsel when any one asks them from us ‡."

At another time, he recommends the receivers to *apprise* no one of extraordinary receipts, or "unexpected sums which may fall in to us, in order that we may not be required to give them §."

These confessions of weakness and of ignorance which the king's counsellors caused him to make, naive as they are, are not the less respectable. It seems as if the new government, become all of a sudden the providence of the people, felt the disproportion between its means and its duties. This contrast is whimsically marked in the ordinance of

* Contin. G. de Nangis, ann. 1323, p. 80.

† See, in my *Symbolique du Droit* (p. 79, 80), the king's Nooning (la Méridienne du Roi).

‡ . . . Lesquels on nous demande souvent, et sont de plus grande valeur *que nous ne croyons*, nous devons être avisés, si quelque'un nous les demande. Ord. i. p. 661 (39).

§ . . . On aventures qui nous échoiront, à ce que nous ne puissions être requis de les donner. Ibid. p. 715 (9).

Philippe-le-Long—on the government of his hotel (ordering of his palace) and the good of his kingdom. He begins by laying it down in a noble preamble, that Messire God has appointed kings on earth, in order that well-ordered in their persons, they may filly order and govern their kingdom. He next announces that he hears mass every morning, and prohibits his being interrupted during the ceremony by the presentation of petitions. No one must address him in chapel, "Except our confessor, who will speak to us of things touching our conscience *." He then provides for the safety of his royal person—"No unknown person, or servant of low estate, must enter our wardrobe, nor touch any part of it, nor assist at the bed-making, and no bed-clothes except our own must be allowed to be used †." Dread of poisoning and of sorcery is a feature of this period.

To these household details succeed regulations for the council, the treasury, the royal demesnes, &c. In all this the state looks like a simple royal appanage, and the kingdom like an appendage of the hotel (*de l'hôtel* ‡).—Throughout the whole, we detect the small wisdom of the *king's people* (*gens du roi*); that civic honesty which is exact and scrupulous in the petty, flexible in the great. No doubt this finance presents us with the ideal of royalty, in the estimate of the lawyers—the model which they held up to the feudal king, in order to make up a real king after their own mind.

These praiseworthy beginnings of order and of government brought no relief to the sufferings of the people. During the reign of Louis Hutin, a horrible mortality had swept off, it was said, the third of the population of the North §. The Flemish war had exhausted the last resources of the country; and, in 1320, it was found expedient to bring this war to a close. France had enough to occupy her at home. Men's imaginations becoming excited, a great movement took place among the people. As, in the days of St. Louis, a multitude of poor people, of peasants, of shepherds or *pastoureaux*, as they were called, flock together and say that they seek to go beyond the sea, that they are destined to recover the Holy Land. Their leaders were a degraded priest and an apostate monk. They enticed along with them crowds of simple-minded persons, even down to children who ran away from their homes ||. At first, they begged; then, they took. Some were thrown into prison; but their comrades broke into the prisons and released them. At the Châtelet, they threw the provost who was for turning them from the gates

from the top of the steps; they then drew up in order of battle in the Pré-aux-Clercs, and quietly quitted Paris, the citizens taking good care to make no opposition to the movement. Next, they wended their way towards the South, every where massacring the Jews*; whom the king's officers vainly tried to protect. At last, troops were got together at Toulouse, who fell upon the Pastoureaux, and hanging them up by twenties and thirties, the rest dispersed †.

These strange emigrations of the people did not so much indicate fanaticism, as suffering and misery. The harons, ruined by the deteriorations of the coinage, and pressed down by usury, fell back on the peasant. The latter had not yet arrived at the time of the Jacquerie; he had not yet summoned daring to turn against his lord. He took to flight, and massacred the Jews, who were so detested, that many were scandalized to see the king's officers undertaking their defence. The commercial cities of the South were fiercely jealous of them. This was precisely the period in which, as financiers, collectors, and tax-gatherers, they were beginning to domineer over Spain. Loved by the monarchs for their address and servility, they grew bolder daily, and at last, even assumed the title of Don. As early as the time of Louis the Debonnaire, bishop Agobart had written a treatise, "De insolentiâ Judæorum" (of the Insolence of the Jews); and, in Philippe-Auguste's day, men saw with astonishment a Jew, the king's bailiff. In 1267, the pope was obliged to launch a bull against Christians who Judaized ‡.

Expelled by Philippe-le-Bel, they had quietly returned. Louis Hutin had guaranteed them a safe residence in his dominions for twelve years. According to the terms of his ordinance, their privileges, if they could be found, were to be restored to them, as well as their books, synagogues, and burial-places—if not, the king will reimburse them for the loss. Two auditors are nominated to enquire into the possessions sold at half their value by the Jews in the hurry of their flight. The king makes himself a partner with them in the recovery of their debts, of which he was to have two-thirds §.—The noble debtors who had interest to obtain an ordinance from Philippe-le-Bel, interdicting all suit on debts due to Jews, found themselves again at their mercy. The accounts of the Jews were held valid in the courts of law, and they could glut the treasury with victims at their pleasure. Rankling from innumerable injuries, the Jew could now take vengeance—in the king's name.

The "ancient grudge" against their race being thus irritated and exasperated by fear, men were ready to go to any extreme against them. In the midst of the grievous mortality produced by misery, the report ¶ suddenly spread that the Jews and lepers have poisoned the springs. The lord of Parthenay writes word to the king that a great

* Ibid. p. 669.

† Que nulle personne mescongie, ne garçon de petit estat, ne entre en notre garde-robe, ne mettent main, ne soient à nostre lit faire, et qu'on n'i souffre mettre draps estrangers. Ibid.

‡ "Through the excessive (*outrageans*) gifts made by our predecessors in times past, the domain of the kingdom has been greatly lessened (*moult apettité*). We, who anxiously desire the increase and the good estate of our kingdom, and of our subjects, intend henceforward to retain such gifts, as far as we fairly can (*au plus que nous pourrons bonement*), and prohibit all from daring to petition us for gifts in perpetuity (*dons à héritage*), except in the presence of our grand council." Ibid. p. 670 (6).

§ Contin. G. de Nang. p. 71.

|| "With only wallet and staff, and penniless, leaving their sheep and swine in the fields, they flocked after them like sheep." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 77.

* "They (the Jews) flung down beams and stones without number, and even their own children, and so defended themselves manfully but inhumanely. . . . Finding escape hopeless . . . they hired one of their own men . . . to cut their throats." Ibidem.

† Ille viginti, ille triginta secundum plus et minus suspendens in patibulis et arboribus. Ibid.

‡ See M. Beugnot's Memoir on the Jews of the West, and on the great history of Jost.

§ Ord. l. p. 595.

leper*, arrested on his territory, has confessed that a rich Jew had given him money, and supplied him with drugs. These drugs were compounded of human blood, of urine, and of the body of Christ (the consecrated wafer), and the whole, after having been dried and pounded, was put into a bag with a weight, and thrown into the springs or wells†. Several lepers had already been provisionally burnt in Gascony, and the king, alarmed at the new movement which was originating, hastily returned from Poitou to France, and issued an ordinance for the general arrest of the lepers.

Not a doubt was entertained by any one of this horrible compact between the lepers and the Jews. "We ourselves," says a chronicler of the day, "have seen with our own eyes one of these bags in Poitou, in a burgh of our own vassalage. A leprose woman, afraid of being taken, threw behind her a piece of rag tied up, which was directly brought to the authorities, and we found there an adder's head, the limbs of a frog, and what resembled a woman's hair steeped in a black and fetid liquor—a thing horrible to see and to smell. The whole being thrown into a large fire would not burn; a sure proof that it was a violent poison‡. . . . The rumours and opinions were various. The most probable was, that the king of the Moors of Grenada, grieving over his frequent defeats, bethought himself of taking vengeance, by plotting with the Jews the destruction of the Christians. But, already too suspected, the Jews applied to the lepers. . . . These, at the devil's instigation, suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Jews. The principal lepers held four councils, if I may so term them; and the devil, through the medium of the Jews, gave them to understand, that since the lepers were accounted such abject and worthless beings, it would be advisable to effect the death of all Christians, or to infect them with leprosy§. The suggestion pleased all; and each, on his return home, told it again to the rest. . . . A great number, lured by false promises of kingdoms, countships, and other temporal possessions, said and believed firmly that the thing could be accomplished."

The vengeance of the king of Grenada is evidently fabulous. The culpability of the Jews is improbable; they were at the time favoured by the king, and usury gave them the means of a more useful vengeance. As regards the lepers, the tale is not so strange as modern historians have concluded. The depressed spirits of these lonely beings might easily lead them to indulge in foolish and guilty imaginings. At any rate, the accusation was a specious one. The Jews and the

lepers had one trait in common between them—their filth and their secluded life. The house of the leper was no less mysterious and infamous than that of the Jew*. The suspicious spirit of the time was startled at all mystery, like a child who is frightened by night, and who strikes all the harder at whatever meets his hand.

The people viewed with feelings of ill-will the institution of leper-houses, lazar-houses, and lazarettoes—the foul residuum of the crusades—just as they had done the order of the Temple, from the moment it could no longer do any thing for the Holy Land. The lepers themselves, no doubt, neglected from the same moment, must have lost the religious resignation which, in preceding ages, empowered them to overlook the anticipated death to which they were condemned here below.

Indeed, the rituals for the sequestration of the leprose, differed little from the burial-service. After the leper had been sprinkled with holy water, the priest conducted him into the church, the leper singing the psalm "Libera me Domine," and the crucifix and bearer going before. In the church a black cloth was stretched over two trees in front of the altar, and the leper, kneeling by its side, devoutly heard mass. The priest, taking up a little earth in his cloak, threw it on the leper's feet†, and put him out of the church, if it did not rain too heavily, took him to his hut in the midst of the fields, and then uttered the prohibitions—"I forbid your entering the church . . . or entering the company of others. I forbid your quitting your house without your leper's dress‡," &c. He continued, "Take this dress, and wear it in token of humility . . . take these gloves. . . . take this *diquette*§ as a sign that you are forbidden to speak to any one, &c. You are not to be indignant at being thus separated from others. . . . And, as to your little wants, good people will provide for them, and God will not desert you||. . . ." We still read in an old ritual these melancholy words: "When it shall come to pass, that the leper (*le mead*) shall pass out of this world, he is to be buried in his hut, and not in the churchyard¶.

* For information concerning the lepers, consult the dictionaries of Bouchel and Brion, and, especially, Delamare's *Dictionnaire de Police*, i. p. 603. See, also, the *Olim* of the Parliament, iv. f. lxxvi. &c.

(Consult, also, some admirable papers, entitled "Antiquarian Notices of Leprosy and Leper Hospitals, in Scotland and England," read by Dr. J. Y. Simpson, Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, before the Medico-Chirurgical Society of that city, and published in the *Edin. Med. and Surg. Journal*, Nos. 149—151.) TRANSLATOR.

† *Leprosium aqua benedicta respersum ducat ad ecclesiam cruce procedente . . . cantando "Libera me, Domine." . . . In ecclesia, ante altare, pannus niger. Presbyter cum palli terram super quolibet pedum ejus perducit dicendo:—"Sis mortuus mundo, vivens iterum Deo."* Rituel du Berri, Martene, ii. p. 1010. At a later period, these mournful ceremonies were forbidden by many rituals, as those of Angers and Reims. *Ibid.* p. 1005, 1006.

‡ Rituel d'Angers. *Ibidem*. p. 1006.

§ (Clappers—an instrument consisting of two pieces of bone, or wood, with which the leper gave intimation of his approach.) TRANSLATOR.

¶ *Ibidem*. p. 1005, 1009.

¶ *Ibidem*. p. 1006. This was not, however, a mark of reprobation. Dead to the world, the leper seemed to go through his purgatory here below; and, in some places, the confessional service was read over him: "O*s* just*i* meditabitur sapientiam." *Ibid.* 1010.

* *Scriptas confessionem . . . magni cujusdam leprosi. Cont. G. de Nang. ann. 1321. p. 78. c.*

† *Fiebant de sanguine humano et urina de tribus herbis . . . ponebatur etiam corpus Christi, et cum essent omnia desiccata, usque ad pulverem terebantur, que missa in sacculis cum aliquo ponderoso . . . in puteis . . . jactabantur. Ibidem.*

‡ *Inventum est in panno caput colubæ, pedes bufonis, et capilli quæsi mulleris, infecti quodam liquore nigerrimo . . . quod totum in ignem copiosum . . . projectum, nullo modo comburi potuit, habito manifesto experimento, et hoc itidem esse venenum fortissimum. Ibidem.*

§ *Suadente diabolo per ministerium Judæorum . . . ut Christiani omnes morerentur, vel omnes uniformiter leprosi efficerentur, et sic, cum omnes essent uniformes, nullus ab alio despiceretur. Ibidem.*

At first, there was a doubt whether wives should follow their husbands who had become leprosy, or remain in the world and marry again. The Church decided that the marriage-tie was indissoluble, and awarded these unhappy beings this immense source of consolation. But then, what became of the imaged death, what was the meaning of the bier? The leper lived, loved, perpetuated his kind, and the lepers formed a community . . . a wretched community, it is true, envying and yet envied. . . . Idle and useless, they appeared a burthen, whether they begged, or lived in enjoyment of the rich foundations of the preceding century.

The people readily believed them guilty. The king ordered all found guilty to be burnt, with the exception of those female lepers who happened to be pregnant. The other lepers were to be confined to their lazarettos.

As to the Jews, they were burnt indiscriminately, especially in the South. "At Chinon they dug in one day a large pit, which they filled with fire, and burnt a hundred and sixty, men and women, pell-mell; and numbers of these jumped into the pit, singing as if it was their wedding." Many a widow threw her child into it before herself, in her dread that it should be taken from her and baptized. At Paris, the guilty alone were burnt, and the rest condemned to perpetual exile, some of the richer being detained until the extent of their obligations were known, and they could be claimed for the royal treasury, together with the rest of their property. The king got about a hundred and fifty thousand livres.

"It is asserted, that at Vitry forty Jews, in the king's prison, seeing that they were sure to die, and desirous to escape from falling into the hands of the uncircumcised, unanimously agreed to get one of their old men, who passed for a good and holy person, and whom they called their father, to put them out of the world. He would not consent, except upon condition of a young man's being associated with him in the task. When all were killed, and these two alone remained, each sought to die by the other's hand. The old man gained the point, and by his prayers persuaded the young one to put him to death. The young man, seeing himself left alone, collected the gold and silver which he found on the corpses, made himself a rope out of their dresses, and let himself down from the top of the tower. But the rope being too short, and the weight of gold too heavy, he broke his leg, was taken, confessed all, and met an ignominious death."

Philippe-le-Long did not enjoy the spoil of the lepers and of the Jews, any longer than his father had done that of the Templars. He was seized with fever in the course of the same year (A.D. 1321), in the month of August, without his physi-

cians being able to guess its cause. He languished five months, and died. "Some suspect it to have been a visitation from Heaven, brought on his head by the maledictions of his people for so many unheard-of extortions, not to mention those he was meditating. During his illness, the exactions abated, without ceasing entirely."

ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE HANDSOME.

His brother Charles succeeded him, without bestowing a thought more on the rights of Philippe's daughter, than Philippe had done to those of Louis's daughter.

The period of Charles's reign is as barren of facts with regard to France, as it is rich in them respecting Germany, England, and Flanders. The Flemings imprison their count. The Germans are divided betwixt Frederick of Austria and Lewis of Bavaria, who takes his rival prisoner at Muhlendorf. In the midst of the universal divisions, France seems strong from the circumstance of its being one. Charles-le-Bel interferes in favour of the count of Flanders. He attempts, with the pope's aid, to make himself emperor; and his sister, Isabella, makes herself actual queen of England by the murder of Edward II.

A fearful history is that of Philippe-le-Bel's children! His eldest son puts his wife to death. His daughter murders her husband.

The king of England, Edward II., born in the midst of his father's triumphs, and presented to the Welsh as about to become the realization of their Arthur, was, nevertheless, ever beaten. In France, he allowed Guyenne to be encroached upon, and promised to pay homage for it. In England, he was ill-used by Robert Bruce; but he prosecuted him in the papal court. He had inquired of the pope whether he might, without sin, rub his body with a marvellous oil, which inspired courage. His wife despised him; but he loved not women, and consoled himself for his mishaps with handsome youths. By way of reprisal, the queen threw herself into the arms of the earl of Mortimer. His barons, who detested their king's minions, first put out of the way the brilliant Gaveston, a bold Gascon and skilful knight, who amused himself with unhorsing in tournaments the most dignified lords and noblest barons. Spencer, Gaveston's successor, was no less hated.

As England found itself disarmed by these dissensions, the king of France took advantage of the opportunity, and seized the Agenois*. Isabel

* See *Le Différent entre la France et l'Angleterre sous Charles-le-Bel*, par M. de Brequigny. The quarrel, which first arose about the possession of a petty fortress, quickly became a most serious matter through Edward's own weakness and the audacity of his officers. Whilst Edward makes excuses for his delay in doing homage, and begs the French king to stay the French incursions on his domains, the English officers in Guyenne dismantle the disputed fortress, and hold to ransom the grand master of the cross-bowmen of France, who had sought satisfaction for the insult. Edward hastened to disavow these acts to Charles; and, at the same time, ordered all persons to assist Raoul Basset, the author of the insult to the French king. But he soon shrunk from the prospect of war, and degraded Raoul. His officers, left without support, were to give satisfaction to Charles-le-Bel, who did not stop on so fair a road. Edward's ambassadors wrote him word, that it was openly said in the

* *Judæi . . . sine differentiâ combusti . . . factâ quadam foveâ permaximâ, igne copioso in eam injecto, octies viginti sexiesque promiscui sunt combusti; unde et multi illorum et illarum cantantes quasque invitati ad nuptias, in foveam saliebant.* Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 78.

† *Ne ad baptismum repererunt.* Ibid.

‡ *Unius antiqui . . . sanctorum et melior videbatur; unde et ob ejus bonitatem et antiquitatem pater vocabatur.* Ibid. p. 79.

§ *Cum funis esset brevior . . . dimittens se deorsum cadere, tibiam sibi fregit, auri et argenti præ maximo pondere gravatus.* Ibidem.

came over to France, with her young son, to enter her protest, she said; but it was against her husband that she protested. Charles-le-Bel, not choosing to embark in her name in so hazardous a business as an invasion of England, forbade his knights to espouse her party*; and even gave out that he intended to arrest her and send her back to her husband†. Like a true son of Philippe-le-Bel's, he did not give her an army; but he gave her money to get one. This money was supplied by the Bardi, bankers of Florence. On the other hand, the French monarch sent troops into Guyenne, to put down, he said, some Gascon adventurers.

The count of Hainault gave his daughter in marriage to Isabella's young son; and the count's brother took upon himself to head the small troop which she had raised. A great force would but have injured her cause, by alarming the English. Edward was disarmed, and given up beforehand. He sent his fleet against her, which took care to avoid a meeting. He despatched Robert de Wateville with troops, who went over to her. He implored the men of London, who prudently replied, "That it was their privilege not to leave their city for war; that they would not admit strangers, but should welcome the king, the queen, and the prince royal." Not less prudently did the churchmen deport themselves towards the queen on her arrival. The archbishop of Canterbury preached on the text, "The people's voice is God's voice‡." The bishop of Hereford took for his, "*Caput meum doleo*" (It is my head pains me§); whilst he of Oxford chose the text from Genesis, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman. She shall crush thy head:" a homicidal prophecy, which was verified.

Meanwhile, the queen was advancing with her

French court, "That they would no longer put up with parchment and lip service only, as before." Edward, who at first had applied to the pope and made some preparations, grew alarmed at the storm which threatened to disturb his pleasures. He gave full powers to arrange the business, and despatched to Charles a Frenchman, named Sully, along with his plenipotentiary. The king hearkened to the Frenchman, dismissed the Englishman, and marched his troops into Guyenne. Agen, after having waited for succours in vain from the earl of Kent, opened its gates to him. New ambassadors arrived from England. All the answer they received was, "That they should allow the king of France to take possession of the rest of Gascony, without opposition, and that Edward should present himself before him. Then, if he (Edward) sought justice from him, he should have good justice and speedy; if he sought favour at his hands, he (Charles) would do as seemed good to him."

* "At which many knights were exceedingly wroth . . . and said that gold and silver had come in great quantities from England." Froissart, ed. Dac. r., l. 26.

† "He (Robert of Artois) was also informed, that the king was not averse to the seizure of the persons of the queen, her son Edward, the earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and Sir Hugh Spencer. He therefore came in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the peril she was in." Froissart, b. i. c. viii.

(Wherever it is not signified to the contrary, the references to Froissart are made to the edition, in 2 vols. 8vo, published by William Smith, Fleet-street.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Vox populi, vox Dei. Walsingham, li. Angl. p. 126.

§ Thom. de la Moor. The conclusion arrived at was, that the only means of curing the body was cutting off the head.

son, and her small band. She came in the character of an unfortunate wife, who only seeks to separate her husband from the evil councillors who are hurrying him to ruin. Her grief and woe-begone appearance inspired universal pity, and all took her side. She soon had Edward and Spencer in her grasp. When this man, whom she hated with such deadly hate, was brought before her, she feasted her eyes on the sight; and then had him undergo, before the window of her palace, obscene mutilations previously to his execution*.

At the moment, she durst not go further. She took alarm, felt the pulse of the people, and cajoled her husband. She wept, but acted whilst weeping. Nothing seemed to be done by her, but by the hand of justice, and in regular form. The crown still sat on Edward's head—this stopped all. Three counts, two barons, two bishops, and the clerk to the parliament, William Trussel, repaired to the castle of Kenilworth, and gave the prisoner to understand that if he did not quickly resign the crown, he would gain nothing by it, but rather risk his son's losing the throne, as the people might proceed to choose a king out of the royal family. Edward wept, fainted away, and ended by resigning. Then, the clerk drew up and pronounced the formula, which has been preserved as a good precedent:—"I, William Trussel, clerk to the parliament, in the name of all the people of England, resume the homage which I had paid to thee, Edward. From this time forward, I defy thee, and deprive thee of all royal power. Hereafter, I no longer obey thee as king†."

Edward thought that he was sure of life at least; no king had yet been murdered. His wife still kept up her cajolements. She wrote tenderly to him, and sent him rich dresses‡. However, a deposed king is very embarrassing. At any moment he might be released from confinement. In their anxiety, Isabella and Mortimer consulted the bishop of Hereford, who could draw from him only the equivocal reply—"Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est §." This was an answer, and no answer at all. According to the placing of the comma, this doubtful oracle might be so read as to signify life or death. Their interpretation was, death. Fear was killing the queen, so long as her husband lived. A new governor was set over the king's prison—John Maltravers, a sinister name; but its owner was worse.

Maltravers made his prisoner long taste the terrors of death; mocking him for some days, perhaps in the hope that he would kill himself. He was shaved with cold water, crowned with straw; and, finally, as he persisted to live, they threw him down under a heavy door, and keeping him forcibly in this position impaled him with a red-hot spit. The iron was said to have been

* See the revolting details in Froissart, b. i. c. 13.

† Walsingham, p. 126. Thom. de la Moor, p. 600, 601.

‡ Misit indumenta delicata et litteras blandientes. Walsingham adds, "She appeared almost distracted (when seen of others) at the news of her husband's dejection. . . . At the same time so large a dowry was assigned her, that scarce a third of the kingdom remained for her royal son." p. 126, 127.

§ (Like the Delphic responses, this may be read two ways, since it may either signify "Tis good to fear saying Edward," or, "Fear not, to slay Edward is good.") TRANSLATOR.

passed into his bowels through a funnel of horn, so as to leave no external marks. The corpse was laid out for public inspection, honourably buried, and a mass founded for the repose of his soul. There was no trace of violence; but his cries had been heard, and the contraction of his face denounced the horrible invention of his assassins*.

Charles-le-Bel did not profit by this revolution. He died almost at the same time as Edward, leaving only a daughter; so that he was succeeded by a cousin of his. All that fine family of princes who had sat near their father at the council of Vienne was extinct. In the popular belief, the curses of Boniface had taken effect.



BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND. PHILIP OF VALOIS, A. D. 1328—1349.

THIS memorable epoch, which depresses England so low, and, in proportion, raises France so high, presents, nevertheless, in the two countries two analogous events. In England, the barons have overthrown Edward II. In France, the feudal party places on the throne the feudal branch of the Valois.

The young king of England, Philippe-le-Bel's grandson by his mother's side, first entering a protest, proceeds to do homage at Amiens. But humbled England, nevertheless, contains within herself those elements of success, which are soon to give her the superiority over France.

Intimately connected with Flanders, the new English government holds out a welcome to foreigners, and renews the commercial privileges which Edward I. had granted to merchants of all countries. On the contrary, France can take no share in the new movement of commerce. (One word as to this great revolution, which, alone, explains the succeeding events. The secret of the battles of Créci and of Poitiers lies in the counting-houses of the merchants of London, Bordeaux, and Bruges.)

In 1291 the Holy Land is lost, the age of the crusades over. In 1298, the Venetian, Marco Paolo, the Christopher Columbus of Asia†, dictates the relation of his travels, and of a twenty years' sojourn in China and Japan‡. For the first time, Europe learns that twelve months' journey beyond Jerusalem, there exist kingdoms and well-ordered cities. Jerusalem is no longer the centre of the world, or of human thought. Europe loses the Holy Land, but sees the earth.

In 1321, there appears the first work on political and commercial economy, the *Secreta Fiddium Crucis* § of the Venetian Sanuto—an old title, but

* Ipso prostrato et sub ostio ponderoso detento ne surgeret, dum tórtoros imponent cornu, et per foramen immitterent ignitum veru in viscera sua. Ibid.

† Like Columbus, he had his ginsayers; but Columbus's return put an end to all doubts, whilst they began with Paolo's return. His Latin translator appeals in confirmation of his veracity to Paolo's father and uncle, the companions of his travels.

‡ Marco Paolo, when a prisoner at Genoa, dictated to the countrymen of Columbus the work which fired him to his great enterprise.

§ The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. In the year 1321, I had an audience of our lord the pope, and pre-

sented him two books on the recovery of the Holy Land, and safety of the faithful; one bound in red, the other in yellow. At the same time I brought under his notice four geographical maps, one of the Mediterranean Sea, another of the land and sea, the third of the Holy Land, the fourth of Egypt." At the end of Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

* The reason which he gives for his dividing his book into three parts in honour of the Holy Trinity is, that there are three principal things to be looked to for the re-establishment of the health of the body—the preparatory syrup, the medicine, and good regimen:—"Partitur autem totale opus ad honorem Sanctæ Trinitatis in tres libros. Nam sicut infirmanti corpori . . . tria impertiri curamus: primo, syrupum ad præviam dispositionem; . . . secundo, congruam medicinam quæ morbum expellat; . . . tertio, ad conservandam sanitatem debitum vitæ regimen. . . . Sic conformiter continet liber primus dispositionem quasi syrupum," etc. *Secreta Fiddium Crucis*, apud Bongars, p. 9.

† He demonstrates the superiority of the route by Egypt over that by Syria. Then he proposes against the sultan of Egypt, not a crusade, but a simple blockade. Ten galleys will be sufficient. He determines, with a foresight altogether modern, the men, money, and provisions requisite. The fleet is to be got ready at Venice. He says, that the Venetian seamen alone can safely navigate the low shores of Egypt, which resemble their own lagunes (p. 35, 36). He does not stipulate for a Venetian admiral, but contents himself with saying, that he ought to be on good terms with the Venetians, in order to act in concert with them (p. 83).

The blockade will effect the ruin of the sultan, and, consequently, of the Mahomedan world, of which Egypt is the heart. "It is essential," he plainly says, "either that all access to Egypt be completely prevented, or that it be thrown so thoroughly open that all may go, return, and trade freely through the sultan's territories; and, on the latter alternative, that the thought of recovering the Holy Land be entirely given up."—"But, it may be said, if the sultan should divert the Nile from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea? The thing is impossible; and, if it could be effected, Egypt would be ruined and become a desert. . . . The sultan reduced, the fortresses on the Egyptian coast will become a sure asylum for the Christian nations, just as the lagunes of the Adriatic were for the Venetians, which,

The world, in fact, is commencing a great crusade, but of a thoroughly new kind. Less poetic than the first, it does not go in quest of the Holy Land, of the Graal, or of the empire of Trebizond. If we stop a vessel at sea, we shall no longer find a younger son of France who seeks a kingdom*, but rather some Genoese or Venetian, who will willingly sell us sugar and cinnamon. Such is the hero of the modern world, no less heroic than the other: he will risk for the gain of a sequin as much as Richard Cœur-de-Lion for St. Jean d'Acre. The crusader of commerce performs his crusade in every sense of the word, and has his Jerusalem every where.

The new religion, that of wealth—faith in gold—has its pilgrims, its monks, its martyrs, who dare, and who suffer, just as the others dared and suffered. They watch, fast, practise self-denial. They pass their best years on dangerous roads, in distant countries, at Tyre, London, Novgorod. Alone, unmarried, shut up in fortified quarters, they sleep armed in their counters, surrounded by their enormous dogs†; almost always plundered when out of cities, and often massacred in them.

To carry on commerce was no easy matter in those days. The merchant who had made a prosperous voyage from Alexandria to Venice without unlucky accident, had yet done nothing. To sell to good advantage, he was obliged to plunge into the north. He had to carry his merchandise through the Tyrol, and by the rugged banks of the Danube, to Augsburg or Vienna; he had to transport it safely through the midst of the gloomy forests and gloomy castles of the Rhine, and to take it on to Cologne, the holy city. It was here the merchant returned thanks to God‡. Here, the North and South met, and the merchants of the Hanse towns bargained with those of the Venetians.—Or, else, he deflected to the left. He penetrated into France, on the assurance of the good count of Champagne. He unpacked his bales at the old fairs of Troyes, and at those of Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube, and Provins§. Thence, in a few days' journey, though not without risk, he could reach Bruges, the grand emporium of the Low Countries, the city of the seventeen nations||.

But this French route was no longer possible when Philippe-le-Bel, who had become through his wife master of Champagne, directed his ordinances against the Lombards, embroiled the coinage, and interfered to regulate the interest paid at the fairs¶. Then came Louis Hutin, who laid duties

throughout the tempests of the Gallic, African, and Lombard invasions, and that of Attila, have remained inviolate." (Part iii. c. 2.) The allusion in these last words is to the recent fears, with which the Mongol invasions had inspired all Christendom.

* As in the fourth crusade, Baldwin, count of Flanders, cousin to Philip-Augustus. See, above, p. 224.

† See Sartorius, *Hist. de la Hanse*, and the abridgment of it by Maillet.

‡ Ulmann, *Städtrw.* i. p. 337. 368. 386. 397.

§ Grosley, *Ephemerides*, p. 104.

|| "Merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles at Bruges, besides strangers from almost unknown countries, who repaired thither." Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 376. Mr. Hallam quotes for the fact Meyer, fol. 205, ad ann. 1385.

¶ The fairs of Champagne were more ancient than the county itself. They are mentioned as early as the year 427, in a letter from Sidonius Apollinaris to St. Loup. They

on all goods sold and bought. This was sufficient to shut up the counters of Troyes; he had no need to interdict, as he did, all traffic "with the Flemings, the Genoese, the Italians, and the Provençals."

At a later moment, the French king perceived that he had killed his goose which laid the golden eggs. He reduced the duties, recalled the merchants*. But he had himself taught them to take another route. They reached Flanders henceforward either by way of Germany or by sea. The emergency taught Venice a bolder navigation, which brought it into direct communication with the Flemings and English, across the ocean.

France, throughout its length and breadth, remained almost impenetrable to commerce. The roads were too dangerous, the tolls too numerous. The barons did not pillage to the same extent as formerly; but the king's agents plundered in their stead. Robbed like a merchant became a proverb†. The royal hand reached over all; but it was seldom felt, save as represented by the paw of the treasury. When the order came, it was for universal seizure: salt, water, air, rivers, forests, fords, defiles, nothing escaped fiscal ubiquity.

Whilst the coinage was constantly tampered with in France, it underwent little alteration in England. The French king had failed in his attempt to establish a uniformity of measures. One of the principal articles of the charter granted by the king of England to foreigners related to this point. After setting forth his great care for the merchants who visit or reside in England—Germans, French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Navarrese, Lombards, Tuscans, Provençals, Catalans, Gascons, Toulousans, Cahorcins, Flemings, Brabanters, and others—he guarantees them protection, good and prompt justice, good weight, and good measure. The judges who shall wrong a merchant shall be punished, even after having indemnified him. There shall be a judge in London for foreigners, to render them summary justice. In cases in which they shall be interested, the jury shall consist half of Englishmen, the other half of men of the same country as the stranger concerned‡.

went on and flourished, without any one's interfering with them. Philip's ordinance is the most ancient royal document that relates to them. Grosley, *Ephemerides*, p. 102-4.

* See the ordinances of Charles-le-Bel and Philippe-de-Valois. It was the rivalry of Lyons which completed the ruin of the fairs of Champagne. When to fiscal annoyances were added the alarm and losses of internal war; Troyes was deserted, and Lyons opened her gates as an asylum for commerce. To revive the fairs of Champagne, it was found necessary to abolish the fairs of Lyons. In 1486, two of the four fairs of Lyons were transferred to Bourges, and two to Troyes; but they declined the moment Lyons was allowed to re-open her markets. *Ibid.* p. 107—109.

† "Qu'ils en fissent leur profit comme d'un marchand." (They might make their profit of it, as out of a merchant). Comines, i. li. c. 10.

‡ The king sets forth that he grants them for ever, both in his own name and in that of his successors; 1st, safe residence under the royal protection, and exemption from certain specified duties (*De muragio, pontagio, et panagio liberi et quieti*)—"from city-wall, bridge, and grazing duties;" 2dly, liberty to sell wholesale to whom they chose, and even to retail merceries and spices; 3dly, the right of importing and exporting, on payment of the duties, all articles except wine, which is not to be exported without the king's special license; 4thly, security from seizure of their merchandise; 5thly, good justice, since, if wronged by a judge, he shall be punished, even though he have indemnified them; 6thly,

Even before this charter, foreigners flocked to England. Looking at the impetus acquired by commerce in the thirteenth century, one cannot be much surprised that an English merchant should have invited and feasted five kings in the fourteenth *. The historians of the middle age speak of English commerce in the same terms that one might use in the present day.

"O England, could the vessels of Tarshish, so vaunted in Scripture, compare with thine! . . . Aromatics come to thee from the four climates of the world. Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians, bring thee the sapphire and emerald, rolled down by the rivers of Paradise. Asia humbly ministereth to thee purple, Africa balm, Spain gold, Germany silver. Flanders, thy weaver, weaves for thee costly garments out of thy wool. Gascony pours thee out its wines. The islands, from Ursa to the Hyades, minister to thee. . . . More happy, however, art thou, through thy own fecundity; the ribs of all people throughout the world bless thee, kept warm by the fleeces of thy sheep †!"

Wool and meat are the primitive elements of England and of the English race. Before England was the great manufactory of ironware and woollens, for the whole world, she was a manufactory of meat. From time immemorial her people have been a *cattle-breeding*, sheep-rearing race; a race fed on flesh. Hence, their freshness of complexion, beauty, strength. Their greatest man, Shakespeare, was at first a butcher.

May I be here allowed to describe my personal impressions.

I had seen London, and great part of England and Scotland; I had admired rather than understood. It was only on my return, as I was going from York to Manchester, across the island, that I felt a distinct perception of what England is. It was morning, with a cold fog. The land seemed to me no longer surrounded only, but covered, drowned by the ocean. The landscape was but half revealed by a pale sun. The red bricks of the new houses would have contrasted harshly with the green turf, had not the tints been harmonized by the floating

mist. Above the pastures, covered with sheep, flamed the red chimneys of the factories. Pasturage, tillage, manufacturing industry, were all here within a narrow space, one on the other, one nourished by the other—the grass living on the fog, the sheep on the grass, man on blood.

Under this absorbing climate, man, ever a hungered, can only live by labour. Nature compels him to it. He pays her back with interest, makes her work herself, subdues by fire and steel. All England pants with struggle. Man seems scared by his efforts. Mark that red face, that strange air—one would think him drunk. But his head and hand are steady; he is only drunk with blood and strength. He treats himself like his steam-engine, which he fills and feeds to excess, to obtain from it its utmost power and velocity.

The Englishman of the middle age was almost what he now is, too highly fed, too prone to action, and warlike for want of employment.

England, already agricultural, was not yet manufacturing. She supplied the material, which others wrought. The wool was on one side of the strait, the workman on the other. The English butcher and the Flemish draper were united, in the midst of the quarrels of princes, by an indissoluble alliance, which France wished to break, a wish that cost it a hundred years of war. The king had at stake his succession to the French throne; his people, liberty of commerce, and free trade for their wool. Assembled round the woollack, the commons demurred less to the king's demands and willingly voted him armies.

The mixture of the spirit of trade with that of chivalry imparts a fantastical aspect to all this period of history. The haggarty Edward III., who swore by the *heron*, at the round table, that he would conquer France *—the gravely silly knights, who,

- Par devant la roïne, Robert s'agenouilla,
Et dist que le haïron par temps départira,
Mès que chou ait voué que le cuer li dira,
"Vassal, dist la roïne, or ne me parles ja;
Dame ne peut vouer, puis qu'elle seigneur a,
Car s'elle veue riens, son mari peult a,
Que bien puet rapeller chou qu'elle vouera;
Et honnis soit li corps que j'ai pensera,
Devant que mes chiers sires commandé le m'ara."
Et dist le roy: "Voués, mes cors l'aquittera.
Mes que finer en puisse, mes cors s'en penera;
Voués hardiement, et Dieux vous aidera."
"Adonc, dit la roïne, je sai bien, que piecha,
Que sul grosse d'enfant, que mon corps senti là,
Encore n'a li gaires, qu'en mon cors se torna,
Et je voue, et prometh a Dieu, qui me créa,
Qui nasqui de la Vierge, que ses cors n'empira,
Et qui mourut en crois, en le crucifia,
Que j'a li fruis de moi, de mon cors n'istara,
Si m'en arts menée ou pais par delà,
Pour vanchier le veu que vo corps voué a;
Et s'il en voeli isir, quant besoins n'en sera,
D'un grand couteil d'acier li mien cors s'ochira;
Sera li saine perdue, et li fruis périra."
Et quant li rois l'entent, moult forment l'en pensa;
Et dist: "Certainement nus plus ne vouera;
Li haïrons fu partis, la roïne en menega.
Adonc, quant ce fu fait, li rois s'apareilla,
Et fit garnir les nés, la roïne l'entra,
Et maint franc chevalier avecques lui mena.
De illoec en Anvers, li rois se s'arrêta.
Quant outre sont venu, la dame delivra;
D'un blau fil gracieux la dame s'accoua,
Lyon d'Anvers de non, quant on le baptisa.

in all trials in which they are interested, one-half of the jury to consist of their countrymen; 7thly, but one weight and measure throughout the kingdom, and in each town or seat of a fair there is to be a royal weight, the balance to be thoroughly empty, and the weigher is not to turn it with his hands; 8thly, a judge at London, to render them speedy justice; 9thly, for all these privileges they are to pay a penny more on every tun imported, and forty deniers more on every bag of wool, &c.; 10thly, but, these duties once paid, they are free to trade throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom. Shortly afterwards, the privileges of those towns which would have interfered with this free trade are declared null and void. The king and barons did not trouble themselves about the competition of the foreigners injuring the English. Rymer, ii. 747. Last edition.

* "In 1363, Picard, who had been lord mayor some years before, entertained Edward III. and the Black Prince, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with many of the nobility, at his own house in the Vintry, and presented them with handsome gifts." Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. iii. sp. 386. Mr. Hallam quotes Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, p. 415 (who quotes Stow).

† . . . Tibi de tua materiâ vestes pretiosas tua textrix Flandria texuit. Tibi vinum tua Vasconia ministravit. Tibi servierunt omnes insule. . . . Tibi per orbem benedixerunt omnium latera nationum, de tuis ovium velleribus calefacta. Matth. Westm. p. 340. 841.

in consequence of a vow, keep one eye covered with red cloth*, are not quite such fools as to serve at their own charge. The pious simplicity of the crusades does not belong to this age. These knights, at bottom, are the hiring agents, the "commercial travellers" (*commis-voyageurs*) of the London and Ghent merchants. Edward must learn humanity, lay aside his pride, seek to please the clothiers and weavers, give his hand to his gossip, the brewer Artaveld, and harangue the populace from a butcher's dresser †.

The noble tragedies of the fourteenth century have their comic part. In the haughtiest knights, there is something of the Falstaff. In France, Italy, Spain, and the fine climates of the South, the English showed themselves no less gluttonous than brave. It is the Hercules *bosphragos* (ox-eating). They come literally to devour the land. But, in return, they are conquered by the fruits and wines. Their princes die of indigestion; their armies of dysentery.

Read, after this, Froissart, that Walter Scott of the middle age; follow him in his never-ending tales of adventures and feats of arms. Gaze in our

Ensi le franque Dame le sien veu aquitta;
Ainsque soient tout fait, main pseudomme en morra,
Et maint bon chevalier dolent s'en clamera,
Et mainte preude femme pour lasse s'en tenra.
Adone parti li cours des Engles par delà.

Chi finent leus veus du hairon.—Ce petit poëme se trouve à la fin du t. i. de Froissart, ed. Dacier-Buchon, p. 420.

(Robert knelt before the queen, and said that the heron would depart by and by, but that the heart must tell her what to vow. "Vassal," said the queen, "speak not so to me; a wife cannot make a vow since she has a lord, for if she vow any thing, her husband has power to revoke whatever she shall vow; and shame to the body of her who shall think of it, before my dear lord shall have commanded me." And the king said, "Vow; my heart will see you through it; my heart will labour to accomplish it: vow boldly, and God will be your aid." "Then," said the queen, "I well know that for some time I have been big with child, which I feel here, and but this moment it turned in my body; and I vow and promise to God who created me, who was born of the Virgin, whose body perished not, and who died on the cross,—he was crucified,—that my fruit shall not leave my body until you have taken me into the land beyond, to fulfil the vow that your body hath vowed; and if you wish to leave whilst there shall be need of you, a dagger of steel shall slay my body; I shall lose my soul, and the fruit of my womb will perish." And when the king heard her, he mused intently; and said, "Certes, none can vow more deeply." The heron was divided, the queen eat of it. Then, when it was done, the king made preparations, and fitted out ships, and the queen embarked, and took many a brave knight with her. The king stopped not thence to Antwerp. When they had crossed the sea, the lady was brought to bed; the lady was delivered of a fine lovely boy, *Lion of Antwerp* his name when he was baptized. Thus the brave dame fulfilled her vow. For all to be done, many a brave man shall die, and many a good knight shall call out dool, and many a worthy woman hold herself unfortunate. Then the English court went on beyond.)

* "There were among them many young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth, so that they could not see with it. It was said they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France; nor would they make any reply to whatever questions were asked them; so that all marvelled at their strange demeanour." Froissart, vol. i. c. 28.

† Froissart, ed. Buchon, t. i. p. 214.

museums on the heavy and brilliant suits of armour of the fourteenth century. . . . Do they not look like the spoils of Renaud or of Roland? . . . However, these strong corselets, these moving fortresses of steel, do most honour to the prudence of those who muffled themselves up in them. . . . Whenever war becomes a trade and traffic, the weight of defensive arms ever thus increases. The merchants of Carthage and of Palmyra went into battle similarly equipped*.

Such is the strange character of this period; at once warlike and mercantile. Its history is *épopée* and tale—a romance of Arthur and farce of Scaramouch. The whole epoch is double, and squinting. Contrasts prevail: prose and poetry in all directions give one another the lie, and rally each other. The two centuries which intervene betwixt the dreams of Dante and those of Shakespeare, themselves produce the effect of a dream. It is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which the poet brings together at pleasure handicraftsmen and heroes, and where the noble Theseus figures by the side of joiner Bottom, whose fine ass's ears turn Titania's head.

Whilst the young Edward makes a sorry beginning of his reign by doing homage to France, Philippe of Valois commences his with a flourish of trumpets. Feudal himself, son of the ~~French~~ Charles of Valois, and springing from the branch of the royal house, friendly to the barons, he is supported by them. Yet had these very barons and Charles of Valois himself maintained woman's right to the succession on the death of Louis Hutin, and had wished the crown, treated as a feminine fief, to pass by marriage into different families, and so remain weak. They forgot this policy when the claim of males to the succession placed on the throne one of themselves, the son of their leader, Charles of Valois. They relied on his correcting the unjust and violent acts of the preceding reigns; for instance, on his restoring Franche-Comté and Artois to those who had so long vainly laid claim to them. Robert of Artois, thinking his cause gained, contributed powerfully to the elevation of Philippe.

At first, the new king displayed great complaisance towards the barons. He began by freeing them from the obligation of paying their debts †. In token of a gracious accession and of good justice, he strung up his predecessor's treasurer on an entirely new gibbet ‡. It was, as we have said, the custom of the day. But since a monarch, truly a justicer, is the natural protector of the weak and afflicted, Philippe welcomed the count of Flanders, ill-entreated by the men of Bruges, just after the fashion that Charles-le-Bel had comforted the good queen Isabella.

It was quite a festival to handseel the new accession by a war with these citizens. The nobility

* For Carthage, see, in particular, Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon*. For Palmyra, see the authorities quoted in my *Life of Zenobia*, in the *Biographie Univers.* de MM. Michaud.

† They pretended that there was a conspiracy among men of mean condition to ruin the French nobility, and so obtained at once an order from the king for the imprisonment of all their creditors, and sequestration of their property; there followed the ordinance, which reduced their debts by a fourth, and allowed four months' grace, without interest. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 96. Ord. t. ii. p. 59.

‡ Pierre Remy. Contin. G. de Nang. p. 87.

eagerly attended the king. However, the men of Bruges and of Ypres, though deserted by those of Ghent, did not distress themselves. They advanced to meet him, well-armed and in good order, as far as Cassel, which they desired to protect (August 23rd). The insulting device on their banners was a cock, with this bantering motto :—

"Quand ce coq ley chantera
Le Roy trouvé cy entrera *."

It was not for lack of heart that they failed to realize this vaunt, but want of endurance and patience. Whilst the two armies were in presence and watching each other, the Flemings felt that their affairs were going ill, that the looms of Ypres were still, and their sales unopened in the markets of Bruges. The manufacturers had left their souls in their counting-houses. Each day, as they saw their villages in flames, they calculated both what they lost, and what they missed gaining. They could hold out no longer, and would put an end to this by an engagement. Their leader, Zanekin (Little John), disguising himself as a dealer in fish, visits the French camp. None there bestowed a thought on the enemy. The nobles, richly attired, spent their time in gossiping, feasting, and visiting each other. The Flemings burst into the camp just as the king is dining, bear down all before them, and force their way to the royal tent †. Once more, the scene of precipitation on the part of the Flemings, and of carelessness on the part of the French, is repeated; and the event was no better for the first. These bulky Flemings, whether through brutal pride in their bodily strength, whether through shop-keeping prudence, or the ostentation of wealth, had taken it into their heads to wear, though on foot, the heavy corsets of knights. It is true, they were well protected, but they could hardly budge. They were stifled by their armour. Thirteen thousand of them strewed the earth, and their count, re-entering his states, put to death ten thousand more within three days ‡.

* "When this same cock shall crow,
The foundling king shall enter here."

Calling the said king Philip, the *roy trouvé* (the foundling king). Oudegherst. fol. 257.

† Oneques en l'ost du roy ne fuit en guet; et les grands seigneurs alèrent d'une tente en l'autre, pour eux deduire, en leurs belles robes. . . . Froissart describes the attack as follows :—"Those that were in the garrison at Cassel set out one day, about vesper, with a design to defeat the king and all his army. They marched very quietly without noise in three divisions; the first of which advanced straight to the tents of the king, and was near surprising him, as he was seated at supper, as well as his whole household. The second went to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and almost found him in the same situation. The third division attacked the quarters of the count of Hainault, and nearly surprised him; . . . they would all have been slain, if it had not been, as it were, a miracle of God: but, by his grace, each of these lords defeated their enemies, and so completely, that, in the space of an hour, out of twelve thousand Flemings, not one escaped. Their captain was also killed. Nor did any of these captains receive any intelligence of the other until the business was finished. Of all the Flemings not one turned his back; but they were all slaughtered on the spot, and lay in three large heaps, one upon the other. This battle happened in the year of grace 1328, on St. Bartholomew's day." B. i. c. 22.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 90. Oudegherst, c. 151, f. 259.

—I regret not having seen M. Warnkenig's important work before my description of the battle of Courtrai was in print.

Indisputably, the king of France was at this moment a great king. He had just reinstated Flanders in its state of dependence on him. The king of England had done him homage for his French provinces. His cousins reigned at Naples and in Hungary. He was protector of the king of Scotland. He was surrounded by a court of kings—by those of Navarre, Majorca, Bohemia; and the Scottish monarch was often one of the circle. The famous John of Bohemia, of the house of Luxembourg, and father to the emperor Charles IV., declared that he could not live out of Paris, the *most chivalrous residence in the world*. He flattered over all Europe, but ever returned to the court of the great king of France—where was kept up one constant festival, where jousts and tournaments ever went on, and the romances of chivalry, king Arthur and the round table, were realized.

To have an idea of the royal state of the time, you must see Vincennes, the *Windsor of the Valois*. You must see it, not as it now is, half razed to the ground; but as it was when its four towers vomited forth to the four winds*, plumed and blazoned squadrons, large feudal armies, when four kings descending into the lists, jostled before the most Christian king; when this noble scene was set in a majestic forest, whose oaks, centuries old, reared their heads as high as the battlements, and stags "belled" all night at the foot of the towers, until day, and the huntsman's horn drove them into its bosky depths. . . . Vincennes is now nothing; and yet, not to speak of its donjon keep, I see from where I am now writing its little clock tower, with no less than eleven tiers of ogives.

In the midst of this feudal pomp, which delighted the barons, they had soon reason to smirne that the son of their friend, Charles of Valois, would be no otherwise king than were the sons of Philippe-le-Bel. The first act of this chivalrous reign was an ignoble process; and the royal castle soon became a record-office where handwritings were compared and forgeries detected. This process aimed at no less than the ruin and dishonour of one of the great barons, of a prince of the blood, of the very man who had most contributed to Philippe's elevation, of his cousin and brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. This process revealed what was most of all humiliating to the great barons, one of their number a forger and sorcerer: two crimes which characterize the age. But, until now, they had not been attached to the name of knight, or been detected in one of his rank.

Robert complained that for twenty-six years he had been supplanted in the possession of Artois by Mahaut (Matilda), his father's youngest sister, and wife of the count of Burgundy. Philippe-le-Bel had supported the claim † of Mahaut and of her

—See, L'Histoire de la Flandre et de ses Institutions Civiles et Politiques, jusqu'à l'année 1305, par M. Warnkenig, translated from the German by M. Gneuldorf, 1835. I would refer, particularly, to pages 305 and 306 of the first volume, for some interesting circumstances which complete my account.

* Like the churches of the middle age and the cities of antiquity, the castles were, I am of opinion, in general set towards the east (*orientés*). See my Histoire Romane, and my Symbolique du Droit.

† A decree of the court of France, delivered in full parliament, rejected the claims of Robert and of his successors for ever, and directed, "That the said Robert should love

two daughters, the wives of his sons, and who had brought them the magnificent dowers of Artois and Franche-Comté. On the demise of Louis Hutin, Robert, taking advantage of the reaction in favour of feudalism, threw himself upon Artois. But he was compelled to let go his hold. Philippe-le-Long marched against him. He therefore waited until all Philippe-le-Bel's sons should be dead, and a son of Charles of Valois mount the throne; in which last event none had a greater share than Robert*. In his gratitude, Philippe of Valois gave him the command of the vanguard in the Flemish campaign, and erected his county of Beaumont-le-Roger into a peerage. His wife was the king's sister, Jane of Valois, who could not be content with being countess of Beaumont, and hoped that her brother would restore Artois to her husband. She maintained that the king would do justice to Robert, if he could produce any new document in his favour, *no matter how small* †.

Warned of the danger, the countess Mahaut hastened to Paris, but died almost on her arrival. Her rights devolved on her daughter, Philippe-le-Long's widow. She too died, three months after her mother‡. The only competitor now left to contest the prize with Robert, was the duke of Burgundy, the husband of Jane, Philippe-le-Long's daughter, and grand-daughter of Mahaut. The duke himself was the king's wife's brother. He was allowed to take possession of the county by Philippe, who, however, reserved to Robert the right of bringing forward his claims§.

Robert lacked neither documents nor witnesses. The countess Mahaut's chief counsellor had been the bishop of Arras. He died, leaving large property; and the countess brought an action of recovery against the bishop's mistress, a certain dame Divion, whose husband was a knight||, and with whom she fled to Paris. Scarcely had she arrived before Jane of Valois, who knew her to be acquainted with all the bishop's secrets, pressed her to deliver up whatever papers she might have

the countess as his dear aunt, and the said countess should love the said Robert as her good nephew."

* The ancient Chronicle of Flanders went so far as to give him all the honour of it:—"And the barons were not agreed to make him king; but, however, the affairs were so managed by the efforts of Messire Robert d'Artois, that Messire Philippe . . . was elected king of France. Chron. c. 67, p. 131. Mém. Ac. Insc. x. 592.

† Que se il li en peut monstrier lettre, ja si petite ne sera, que il li délivrera la Comté. Ibid. 600.

‡ The common report was, that Mahaut had been poisoned (*enherbée*). As to Jane, her daughter, "One night she was disputing with her ladies, and they took a fancy to drink *clairey*" (wine mixed with honey and spices, and strained till it is clear), "and she had a butler named Huppin, who had lived with the countess, her mother. . . . As soon as the queen (la royne) was in her bed, she was seized with the pangs of death, and quickly gave up the ghost, and the poison gushed out of her eyes, her mouth, her nose, her ears; and her body was covered with white and black spots." Chron. de Flandre, Ibid. p. 605.

§ "Having been given to understand, that at the treaty of marriage between Philippe of Artois and Blanche of Brittany . . . of the which treaty there were two letters ratified by Philip the Fair . . . and registered in our register office, the which letters, since the said count's decease, have been abstracted by our dear cousin, Mahaut d'Artois, &c." 1329. Ibid. p. 601.

|| *Quædam mulier nobilis et formosa, quæ fuerat M. Theodorici concubina. Gest. Episc. Leod. p. 408.*

in her possession—and she even asserted that the princess threatened her with drowning or burning*. Having no papers, she fabricated some: first, a letter from the bishop asking Robert's forgiveness for his having ~~burned~~ ^{poisoned} the title-deeds; and then, a charter of Robert's grandfather, securing Artois to his father. These, and other documents to back them, were hastily forged by a clerk of Divion's, and she attached old seals to them†. She had taken care to get from the abbey of St. Denys the names of the peers at the time of the supposititious deeds‡; but with this exception, but few precautions were taken. The documents preserved in the Trésor des Chartes are plainly false§; at this epoch of calligraphy, important deeds were written with far different pains||.

In support of these deeds, Robert produced fifty-five witnesses¶. Several deposed that Enguerrand de Marigny, whilst in the cart, on his way to the gibbet, confessed his having been an accomplice of the bishop's in the abstraction of the title-deeds.

This romance was but ill-supported by Robert. When called on by the king's attorney, in the royal presence, to declare whether he meant to rely on these equivocal documents, he first said, "Yes," then, "No**." Dame Divion confessed the whole,

* The princess, she stated, even threatened her: in the name of the king—"I have sought to excuse you, she said, by representing to him that you have none of the said letters, but he answered that he would have you burnt if you do not give him some." Ibid. p. 600.

† La Divion had been despatched to Artois expressly to procure the count's seal. After some search she found one in the hands of Ourson-le-Borgne (Orson the squint-eyed), named (nicknamed?) the handsome Parisian. He asked three hundred livres for it. Not having the sum, she offered him as security a black horse, on which her husband had jostled at Arras. Ourson refused; and then, with her husband's leave, she placed in his hands jewels, to wit, two crowns, three chaplets, two agraffs, and two rings, all of gold, and valued at seven hundred and twenty-four livres Parisian. Ibid. p. 600, 610.—"Then she took a seal from a letter which had been sealed by the said bishop Thierry, and by a cunning trick (*par barat engigneux*) removed it from this old letter and placed it on the new. And Jeanne and Marie, servants of the said Divion, witnessed this, Marie holding the candle, and Jeanne assisting." Ibid. p. 598. Evidence of Martin de Neusport.—La Divion averred that she, and the lady of Beaumont, and Jeanne, "were the only three who had to do with the seal." Ibid. p. 611.

‡ Moreover, "since king Philippe was wont to write his letters in Latin," they got a chaplain named Thibault, of Meaux, to furnish them with the beginning and end of a letter of confirmation (of a warrant?) in this language, which he was told was for the marriage of Jean d'Artois with the Demoiselle de Leuze. Ibid. p. 612.

§ Archives, Section Hist. J., 439.

|| However, La Divion seems to have attached great importance to her performance. She sent the documents, as she forged them, to Robert of Artois, "Saying these words, 'Sir, see here the copy of the letters which we have; look if it is good;' and he answered, 'If I have it like this, it will do.'" At first, she was for submitting them to the inspection of skilled writers (*à des experts*). Mém. Acad. x. Ibid.

¶ Archives, Sect. Hist. J., 439, No. 2.—They took care to pave the way for these witnesses, by preparatory written proof in the forged letter of the bishop of Arras:—"Of the which letters I have one; the others, containing the treaty of marriage of Madame the queen Jane, were thrown by one of our great lords into the fire." . . . Ibid. p. 597.

** . . . "And swore to the king, with hands uplifted to

as did the witnesses *; and their confessions are extremely naïve and circumstantial. Among other things, she states that she went to the Palais de Justice to know if seals could be counterfeited, that she had paid a hundred crowns to a burgess for the deed which supplied the seals, and that the deeds were written in her hotel, place Baudoyer, by a clerk who was in a great fright, and who, in order to disguise his hand, made use of a brass pen, &c.†. The wretched woman vainly repeated that she had been forced to the act by Madame Jeanne de Valois: she was burnt all the same in the pig-market, near the gate St. Honoré‡. Robert, who was further accused of having poisoned Mahaut and her daughter, did not wait to stand his trial§, but made his escape to Brussels||,

the saints, that a man clothed in black just like the archbishop of Rouen, had given him the said letters of confirmation." This was his confessor; to whom Robert had given the letters, in order that he might safely swear, when he had them returned, that he had received them from him. Ibid. p. 610.

* Jacques Roudelle admitted that he was told if he would give evidence, "it should be worth a journey to St. James in Galicia to him." Gérard de Juvigny, "that he had borne false witness at the request of the said Monsieur Robert, who came so often to him that he was quite tired out." . . . Ibid. p. 599.

† La Divion's deposition. . . . "Likewise she confesses that her said clerk, Prot, wrote by her orders all the said false letters, and wrote that to which hangs the seal of the said late countess, with a brass pen, to disguise his hand. . . . Likewise she says, that Mons. Robert immediately afterwards sent the said Prot she knows not where, to what place, or to what part; that she had said to Mons. Robert, 'Sir, I don't know what we should do with this clerk, I greatly doubt his demeanour, for he is timorous beyond every thing; and whatever noise he hears in the night, he says—Alas! my lady, alas! Jane; the officers are seeking me, muttering to himself, What I suffer, what I suffer (Je en ay trop grant paour). And to myself he has talked all day long of his great fear, and that should he be taken and thrown into prison, he would say all without sparing any thing.' And said, that the said Mons. Robert answered her, 'We will look well to it.' But she does not know where he is, but believes him to be in some lodging in the territory of the said Mons. Robert." Archives, Section Histor. T. 440, No. 11. "Likewise she says, that the said Dame Marie has repeatedly knelt to her, praying and imploring her with clasped hands, saying, 'For God's sake, lady, let Monseigneur have the letters you wot of, as he needs them for his right to the county of Artois; and I know that you can do it if you like, for it were great pity he should be disinherited for want of letters, and he wants but a very little one. The king has told Madame that if he can show never so little a letter, that he will give him the county; and so, for God's sake, think of it,' and relieve Monseigneur and Madame from the state of uneasiness they are now in. For they are so overwhelmed with sorrow that they cannot drink, eat, sleep, or rest night or day." Archives, Section Histor. J., 440, No. 11.

‡ Four years afterwards, Jeannette, her servant, underwent the same punishment there. As for the false witnesses, the principal were exposed in the pillory, in shirts covered with red tongues. Archives, Ibid. No. 43.

§ Mém. de l'Académie, x. 616—621.

|| . . . He remained for some time in Brabant. The duke had advised him to leave Brussels for Louvain, and had promised in the marriage contract of his son with Marie of France, that Robert should quit his dominions. However, he remained for some time on the frontiers, going from castle to castle, "and the duke of Brabant knew it well." The patron (son-in-law) of Huy had given him his chaplain, brother Henri, to guide him, and "to go on his errands in this wild country." Taking refuge in the castle of

whence he repaired to London and the English court. His wife, the king's sister, underwent a kind of banishment to Normandy. His sister, the countess of Foix, was accused of impudicity, and her son, Gaston, was authorized to imprison her in the castle of Orthez. The king believed that he had every thing to fear from this family. Indeed, Robert had commissioned assassins to murder the duke of Burgundy, the chancellor, the grand treasurer, and other enemies of his*. There were means of guarding against assassination; but where was there security against sorcery? Robert attempted to kill the queen and her son by the agency of waxen images†.

The king's furious persecution of one of the first

Argenteau, and being forced to quit it "for the ribaldry (*ribaudeerie*) of his servant," he repaired to Namur, and had to negotiate a long time before he was received there, having to wait in a poor house, as his cousin, the count, was absent with the king of Bohemia. Ibid. p. 621—623.

* "The assassins went as far as Reims, where they thought to find the count of Bar, at a festival he was to hold in honour of the ladies." But they found they were tracked, and had to return. This failing, Robert determined on visiting France himself. He stayed a fortnight; and returned, impressed by his wife with the conviction, that if he were to kill the king, all Paris would declare for him. Ibid. p. 625, 626.

† Between the feast of St. Remy, and All Saints' Day of the same year, 1333, Robert sent for brother Henry, and, after many kind words (*carresses*), began by again confidentially telling him a falsehood, saying, "that his friends had sent him from France a *voust* or *voust*, which the queen had had made for his destruction. Brother Henry inquired, 'What is a voust?' 'It is an image of wax,' replied Robert, 'which one has baptized, to annoy (grever) those one wishes to annoy.' 'We do not call them *vousts* in this country,' replied the monk, 'we call them *manies*.'" Robert did not keep up the imposition long, but confessed to brother Henry that what he had just told him about the queen was not true, but that he had an important secret to impart to him, which he would not reveal until he had sworn to him that he would receive it under the seal of confession. The monk swore, "his hand on the plex." Then Robert opened a small casket, and took out of it "an image of wax, wrapped up in a kerchief of crape, which image was after the fashion of the figure of a young man, and was, he thinks, about a foot and a half long, and he saw it very clearly through the kerchief, which was very loose, and around its head was hair such as a young man wears." The monk wanted to touch it. "Don't touch it, brother Henry," said Robert to him, "it is quite finished, this is baptized, and has been sent me from France quite finished and baptized; there is nothing more to be done to this, which is made against John of France, and in his name, and to grieve (grever) him: This I tell you in confession. But I want another, and I want to have it baptized." "And for whom is it?" said brother Henry. "It is against a she-devil," said Robert, "it is against the queen, not queen, but she-devil; and as long as she lives, she will do no good but only grieve me, and whilst she lives I shall have no peace; but were she and her son dead, I should at once be reconciled with the king, and do with him all that I liked, I doubt nothing: so pray you to baptize it for me, as it is all ready and only wants baptism: I have the godfathers and godmothers ready, and all that is required except baptism. . . . it must be done exactly as you baptize a child, and a name be given to it." The monk refused to lend his aid in such a matter, and showed that it was ill-done to put faith in it, and that it did not bett so great a man as he was—"You wish to practise it on the king and queen, who are the very persons in the world who have it in their power to reinstate you honourably." Monseigneur Robert replied, "I would rather strangle the devil, than let the devil strangle me." Ibid. p. 627.

barons of the kingdom, and his loading him with an opprobrium which reflected on the whole baronage, could not but weaken the friendly dispositions of the nobility towards the son of Charles of Valois. The burgesses and merchants must have been still more discontented. The king had ordered his bailiffs to tax provisions and wages (*salaires*) in the markets, so as to lower them by one-half. He thus chose to pay for every thing half-price, whilst he doubled the duties: all payment for which he refused except in money of full weight*.

One of the subjects of the king of France, and who, perhaps, suffered the most, was the pope, whom he treated less like a subject than a slave. He had threatened John XXII. to have him prosecuted as a heretic by the university of Paris. His conduct towards the emperor was singularly Machiavelian. Whilst negotiating with him, he compelled the pope to make a war of bulls on him. He would have liked to have made himself emperor. Benedict XII. confessed to the imperial ambassadors with tears, that the king of France had threatened to use him worse than Boniface VIII. had been †, if he granted the emperor absolution; and he had great difficulty in resisting a new demand of Philippe's, which would have secured at once the omnipotence of the latter, and the complete degradation of the papacy. He wished the pope to grant him for three years the disposal of all the benefices in France, and for ten, the right of levying tenths for the crusade throughout Christendom‡. Once become collector of this universal tax, Philippe would have scattered his agents abroad in every direction, and, perhaps, have enmeshed Europe in the net of French financial administration.

In a few years, Philippe de Valois had contrived to offend every one—the barons by the affair of Robert of Artois, the burgesses and merchants by his maximum and his coinage, the pope by his threats, and all Christendom by his duplicity with regard to the emperor and his demand of levying in all kingdoms the tenths for the crusade.

Whilst this great power was thus undermining itself, England was starting up. The young Edward III. had avenged his father by the death of Mortimer and the imprisonment of his mother, Isabella. He had welcomed Robert of Artois, and refused to give him up. He began to quibble with regard to his having done homage to France. At first, the two powers came into collision in Scotland. Philippe sent succours to the Scotch, who were, nevertheless,

defeated. In Guyenne, the attack was more direct; and the French king's seneschal drove the English out of the disputed territory.

But the grand movement originated in Flanders, in the city of Ghent. The Flemings happened to have a count, who was wholly French—Louis de Nevers, who was only count through the battle of Cassel and the humiliation of his country, and who resided at Paris, at the court of Philippe de Valois. Without consulting his subjects, he ordered a general arrest of all the English throughout Flanders; on which Edward had all the Flemings in England arrested*. The commerce, which was the life-blood of each country, was thus suddenly broken off.

To attack the English through Guyenne and Flanders, was to wound them in their most sensible parts, to deprive them of cloth and wine. They sold their wool at Bruges, in order to buy wine at Bordeaux. On the other hand, without English wool, the Flemings were at a stand-still. Edward prohibited the exportation of wool †, reduced Flanders to despair, and forced her to fling herself into his arms‡.

At first, a crowd of Flemish workmen emigrated into England, whither they were allured at any cost §, and by every kind of flattery and caress. It is curious to see how low from this time forward this haughty nation will condescend, when the occasion and its interest require. "Their dress shall be beautiful," wrote the English to Flanders, "their bedfellows still more beautiful ||." I take it that the English character has been seriously modified by these emigrations, which went on during the whole of the fourteenth century. Previously, we find no indications of that patient industry which now distinguishes the English. By endea-

* But at the same time he wrote to the count and to the burgomasters of the three great cities, complaining of this act of violence. Oudegherst, c. 156, fol. 262. Meyer, fol. 136, ap. Sism. t. x. p. 103.

† Statutum fuit quod nulla lana crescens in Anglia exeat, sed quod ex ea ferent panni in Angliā. Walsingham. Hist. Angl.

‡ "Then might you have seen throughout Flanders weavers, fullers, and others living by the woollen manufacture, either begging, or ashamed of this, or driven by debt, tilling the soil." Meyer, p. 137.

§ "All workers in cloths (operatores pannorum) coming into England had fit places assigned them, with many liberties and privileges." . . . To force them to emigrate, not only was the exportation of wool forbidden, but all importation of their fabrics prohibited. . . . "Likewise it was enacted, that no one should use cloth made out of England." Walsingham, ann. 1335, 1336.—See Rymer, *passim*, and Anderson's History of Commerce, &c.

|| However, Walsingham says that they were debarred admission into England before the expiry of three years, "that the pride of the Flemings might be checked, who worshipped money-bags more than they respected Englishmen" (qui plus saccos quam Anglos venerabatur). Ann. 1337.

(The original of the passage quoted in the text seems to be the following—"Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs; their beds should be good, and their bedfellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties, that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them." Fuller's Church History, quoted in Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk.—See Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. iii. note at p. 379.) TRANSLATOR.

* Nov. 1330. Ord. ii. p. 49, 50. 58.

† In aurem nuntius, quasi dens conquerebatur, quod ad principem esset inclinatus, et quod rex Francie sibi scripserit certis litteris, et Bavarum sine ejus voluntate absolveret, pejora sibi ferent, quam pape Bonifacio a suis predecessoris essent facta. Albertus Argent. p. 127.

‡ He annexed twenty-seven conditions to his departure for the crusade; among others, the re-establishment of the kingdom of Arles in favour of his son, the concession of the crown of Italy to Charles, count of Alençon, his brother, and the uncontrolled disposal of the famous treasure of John XXII. He postponed his departure for three years, and as some obstacle might arise in the interval, which would force him to renounce the expedition, the power of deciding on the validity of his reasons for such renunciation, was to be conferred on two of the French bishops. Villani, l. x. c. 196, p. 719. Sism. t. x. p. 69. After long negotiation, the pope granted him the tithes of the kingdom of France for six years.

vouring to separate Flanders and England, the French king only stimulated Flemish emigration, and laid the foundation of England's manufactures.

Meanwhile, Flanders did not resign herself. The towns burst out into insurrection. They had long hated the count, either because he supported the country against the monopoly of the towns*, or because he admitted the foreigners, the Frenchmen, to a share of their commerce†.

The men of Ghent, who undoubtedly repented of having withheld their aid from those of Ypres and of Bruges at the battle of Cassel, chose, in 1337, as their leader, the brewer, Jacquemart Artaveld. Supported by the guilds, and, in particular, by the fullers and clothiers, Artaveld organised a vigorous tyranny‡. He assembled at Ghent

* Meyer, p. 125, ann. 1322.

† "He gave a licence to the merchants, St. Jean d'Angely and of Rochelle, to import merchandise of all kinds into Sluys, and appointed Damme as a staple for their wines . . . and forbade all monopoly of the trade." Meyer, p. 135.

‡ "There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of Methglin, called Jacob von Artaveld, who had gained so much popular favour and power over the Flemings, that every thing was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with such authority, that no one dared to contradict his orders. Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four score armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his secrets; if he met any man whom he hated or suspected, he was instantly killed; for he had ordered those who were in his confidence to remark whenever he should make a particular sign on meeting any person, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This happened very frequently; so that many principal men were killed; and he was so dreaded, that no one dared to speak against his actions, or scarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handsomely.

"When his companions before mentioned had conducted him to his hotel, each went home to his dinner, and immediately after returned to the street before his house, where they remained making a noise and brawling, until he pleased to come out and go round the town, to pass his time and amuse himself; and thus was he escorted until he chose to go to supper. Each of these soldiers had four Flemish groats a-day as wages, and for his expenses, which he had paid to him very regularly every week. He had also in every town and castlewick through Flanders, sergeants and soldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and serve him as spies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel against him, and to give him information. The instant he knew of any such being in a town, he was banished or killed without delay, and none were so great as to be exempted, for so early did he take such measures to guard himself. At the same time he banished all the most powerful knights and esquires from Flanders, and such citizens from the principal towns as he thought were in the least favourable to the earl; seized one-half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and support of their children. Those that were banished, of which the number were very considerable, resided for the most part at St. Omer, and were called *les exiles*. To speak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince, who had such perfect command as Jacob von Artaveld. He collected the rents, the duties on wines, and other taxes belonging to the earl, though they were the earl's lawful revenue, in whatever part of the county of Flanders he might reside; he raised also extraordinary subsidies, which he spent and gave away, without rendering account to any one. When he said he was in want of money, he was immediately believed; and well it was for them who did believe him—for it was perilous to contradict him; and if he wished to borrow money of any of the citizens, there was no one that dared to refuse him." Froissart, b. i. c. 29.

the men of the three great cities, "and showed them that they could not live without the king of England; for all Flanders depended on cloth-making, and, without wool, one could not make cloth; therefore, he recommended them to keep the English king their friend *."

Edward was a very little prince to oppose to this great power, Philippe of Valois; but he had on his side the good wishes of Flanders, and the unanimous zeal of his English subjects. The barons who sold the wool, and the merchants who traded in it, equally demanded war. To render it more popular still, he sent a circular to be read in all the parishes, informing the people of the wrongs done him by Philippe, and of his fruitless efforts to preserve peace†.

It is curious to compare the administration of the two kings at the beginning of this war. From this period, the proclamations of the king of England become exceedingly numerous. He orders every man between sixteen and sixty to take up arms‡. To protect the country from French fleets and Scottish invasions, he establishes a system of signals on all the coasts§. He takes Welshmen into his pay, and gives them a uniform||. Procuring artillery¶, he is the first to take advantage of this grand and fearful invention. He provides for the fleet, and for the provisioning of his forces. He writes menaces to the earls who are to make preparation for his transport, and to the archbishop of Canterbury words of comfort, and of flattery for the people:—"We acknowledge with grief that the people of our kingdom have hitherto been oppressed by various burdens, tallages, and impositions. The necessity of our affairs hinders us from relieving them. Let your grace, then, preserve this people in benignity, humility, patience," &c. &c.

The king of France is far from having as many details to attend to. War for him is still a feudal business. The barons of the South obtain from him restitution of the right of private war, and a promise to respect their justices††. But, at the same time, the nobles desire to be paid for serving the king. These haughty barons hold out their hands for bounty-money. The knight banneret is to have twenty sous a day, the knight, ten, &c. &c.‡‡. This was the worst of systems, a system at once feudal and mercenary, and which united the inconveniences of both.

Whilst the English king renews the commercial charter which secures liberty of trade to foreign merchants, the French monarch orders the Lou-

* Sauvage, p. 143. "The chief instigators to this alliance were Jacob Artaveld, and Siger of Courtray, a most noble Flemish knight, who was beheaded at Bruges by Philip's orders." Meyer, p. 143. Comp. Froissart, c. 29.

† Rymoe, t. iv. p. 804.—In the same manner, before the campaign which ended in the battle of Crecy, he wrote to the two heads of the Dominicans and of the Augustins, popular preachers, "to explain all, both to clerks and to the people, and to animate and encourage them." Rymer, Acta Public. v. 496.

‡ Rymer, t. ii. p. 916, ed. 1821.

§ Signa per ignem. Ibid. p. 996—campaign, Ibid. p. 1066.

|| Una secta vestiti. Ibid. p. 993.

¶ Ibid. t. ii. p. 916, ed. 1821.

** Ibid. p. 1025, ann. 1338.

†† Ord. ii. p. 61, ann. 1330; p. 93, ann. 1333.

‡‡ Ord. ii. p. 120—130, ann. 1338.

bards to come to his fairs in Champagne, and takes it upon him to trace the route they are to follow*.

The English set out full of hope (A.D. 1338). They felt themselves to be summoned by all Christendom. Their friends in Flanders promised them powerful assistance. The barons were well-inclined towards them, and Artaveld answered for the three great cities. The English, who have always believed that money can do every thing, displayed their magnificence and profusion from the moment they arrived. "They were as lavish of gold and of silver, as if money rained on them from the clouds, giving handsome jewels to the lords, ladies, and demoiselles, to acquire their good-will and favour; and their behaviour was such, that they were beloved by those of both sexes, and even by the common people, to whom they gave nothing, but who were pleased with their state and magnificence†."

Whatever might be the admiration felt by the Flemings for their great English friends, Edward found them more hesitating than he expected. At first, the barons professed their readiness to second him, but alleged that it was only fair that the most powerful among them, the duke of Brabant, should be the first to declare himself. The duke asked for time, and at last consented. Then, they stated that they waited for only one thing more in order to declare themselves—namely, that the emperor should defy the king of France, since, they said, we are in reality subjects of the empire. And, indeed, the emperor had only too good cause for war, Philippe having invaded the Cambresis, a fief of the empire‡.

Lewis of Bavaria, the emperor, had other, and more personal motives for declaring himself. Persecuted by the French popes, he talked of nothing less than of proceeding to Avignon with an army, to force the pope to grant him absolution. Edward sought conference with him at the diet of Coblenz. In this great assembly, where were present three archbishops, four dukes, thirty-seven counts, and a crowd of barons, the Englishman learnt to his cost what German pride and slowness were. At first, the emperor was desirous of granting him the favour of kissing his feet. Before this supreme judge, the king of England presented himself as the accuser of Philippe of Valois. The emperor, the globe in one hand, the sceptre in the other, whilst a knight held over his head a naked sword, defied the king of France, declared him to have forfeited the protection of the empire, and graciously conferred on Edward his diploma as imperial vicar on the left bank of the Rhine. This was all that the Englishman could get out of him; for the emperor pondered, felt scruples, and instead of involving himself in a hazardous war with France, turned his steps towards Italy. Here, however, Philippe of

Valois had the passage of the Alps barred against him by a son of the king of Bohemia*.

Returning with his diploma, the English king inquired of the duke of Brabant where he could show it to the barons of the Low Countries. The duke fixed upon the little town of Herck (Arques), on the frontiers of Brabant, as the place of meeting. "When all were met, know that the town was filled to crowding with lords, knights, squires, and all manner of people; and the town-hall, where were sold bread and flesh, of little worth, was hung with rich and fine cloths, like to the presence-chamber of the king; and the English king was seated, with a rich and noble crown of gold on his head, five feet higher than the rest of the company, on a butcher's bench, where he used to cut and sell his meat. Never had such a hall so great honour†!"

Whilst all the lords were doing homage on this butcher's bench to the new vicar imperial, the duke of Brabant had the king of France entreated to believe nothing that might be said against him. When Edward defied Philippe in his name, and in the name of the barons, the duke declared that he preferred sending his defiance apart; and, in short, when Edward prayed him to follow him to Cambrai, he confined himself to promising that as soon as he should hear that Edward had sat down before that city, he would join him with twelve hundred good lances.

During winter, the German and Low Country barons were tampered with by French gold; and they became the more inactive. Edward could not put them in motion until the September of the year following (A.D. 1339). Cambrai was better defended than had been supposed. The season was advanced; Edward raised the siege, and entered France. But, when on the frontier, the count of Hainault declared that he could not follow him beyond it; that holding fiefs both of the empire and of France, he would willingly serve on the imperial territory; but that as soon as he was on the French soil, he must obey the king as his suzerain, and that he should straightway go and join him against the English‡.

Amidst these tribulations, Edward advanced slowly towards the Oise, ravaging the whole country, and keeping together with difficulty his discontented and starving allies. He required a victory to indemnify him for so much expense and so many disgusts; and, for a moment, thought that he was on the point of coming to a pitched battle. The French king appeared in person, near La Capelle, at the head of a fine army:—"There were eleven score and seven banners," says Froissart, "five hundred and sixty pennons, four kings, six dukes, thirty-six earls, upwards of four thousand knights, and more than sixty thousand common men. With Philippe de Valois, king of France, were the kings of Bohemia, of Navarre, and of Scotland; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Athens; the earls of Alençon (the king's brother), of Flanders, Hainault, Blois, Bar, Forets, Foix, Armagnac, the earl dauphin of Auvergne, &c., and from Gascony and Languedoc so many earls and viscounts that it would take up too much time to name them. It

* By way of Aigues-Mortes, and then through Carcassonne, Besucres, Macon. Ibid. p. 365.

† Froissart, b. i. c. 24.

(On reference to the edition specified in the note at p. 350, differences will occasionally be noticed between Johnes's translation and that given in the text. These arise from the differences in the text of Froissart chosen by M. Micholet, and that which was adopted by Mr. Johnes, and the translator of course adheres to M. Micholet's readings.)

TRANSLATOR.

‡ Froissart, b. i. c. 32.

* Schmidt, Hist. des Allem. t. iv. l. vii. c. vii. p. 515.

† Froissart, vol. i. c. 24.

‡ Ibid. c. 28.

was a fine sight to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, the knights and esquires richly armed." The French king himself demanded battle; and Edward had only to fix, for the 2nd of October, on the ground—a fine plain, without wood, marsh, or river to advantage either party.

On the day fixed, when Edward, already "mounted on an ambling palfrey, and attended only by Sir Robert d'Artois, Sir Reginald Cobham, and Sir Walter Manny, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honour"—the French bethought themselves, says the chronicler of St. Denys*, that it was Friday, and then that there was some unfavourable ground to be got over between the two armies. According to Froissart, "the French were of contrary opinions among themselves, and each spoke out his thoughts. Some said it would be a great shame, and very blameable, if the king did not give battle when he saw his enemies so near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promise: others said it would exhibit a singular instance of madness to fight, as they were not certain that some treachery was not intended; besides, if fortune should be unfavourable, the king would run a great risk of losing his kingdom; and if he should conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain possession of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day passed until near twelve o'clock in disputes and debates. About noon a hare was started in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting and noise, which caused those in the rear to imagine the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords. Several new knights were made, especially by the earl of Hainault, who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare*. . . . In the midst of the debates of the council of the king of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert king of Sicily, a very great astrologer . . . he had often cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his astrology and the influence of the stars, that, if the king of France fought with the king of England in person, he would surely be defeated; in consequence of which, he, as a wise king, and much fearing the danger and peril of his cousin the king of France, had sent long before letters, most earnestly to request king Philippe and his council never to give battle to the English when king Edward should be there in person†."

This unlucky expedition had exhausted Edward's finances; and he was advised by his friends, who were exceedingly disheartened, to apply to those rich communes of Flanders, which could do more for him, of themselves alone, than the whole empire. After taking a long time to deliberate, the Flemings answered that their conscience would not allow them to declare war against the French king, their suzerain, and their scruple was the more natural, as they had engaged to forfeit two millions of florins to the pope, if they attacked the king of France. For this, Artaveld found a remedy.

In order to set them at ease, both as regarded their conscience and their money, he bethought himself of making the king of England, king of France*. Edward, who had just accepted the title of Imperial Vicar, in order to gain over the barons of the Low Countries, suffered himself to be made king of France, in order to quiet the consciences of the commons of Flanders. Philippe de Valois had an interdict laid on his priests by the pope; but Edward sent them English priests to confess them and give them absolution†.

The war became direct. Both parties fitted out large fleets, the one to guard, the other to force the straits. The French fleet, strengthened by Genoese galleys, numbered, it is said, more than a hundred and forty large vessels, which bore forty thousand men; the whole commanded by a knight, and by the treasurer Bahuchet, "who only knew how to keep his books." This singular admiral, who had a horror of the sea, kept his whole fleet closely moored in the harbour of Sluys. In vain did the Genoese Barbarera (Blackbeard) remonstrate upon the want of sea-room, and strive to make him comprehend that it was necessary to stand out from shore in order to allow freedom of manœuvring. The English came upon them before they attempted to move, threw out grappling irons, and, from the continuous stage of decks their close order presented, the engagement resembled a land-fight. In six hours, the English archers gave Edward the victory. The appearance of the Flemings, who presented themselves in force on the shore, took away all hope from the conquered. Barbarera's division, which had stood out to sea in good time, alone escaped. The French lost thirty thousand men. The unlucky Bahuchet was hung on the mast of his own ship‡. Already did the Englishman, who styled himself king of France, treat his enemy as rebels. France might find other thirty thousand men; but the moral result of this battle was not less fatal than that of the battle of La Hogue, or of Trafalgar. The French lost all heart at sea; and the strait remained open to the English for centuries§.

At last, all seemed to favour Edward. Artaveld had brought sixty thousand Flemings, in his absence, to the assistance of his ally, the count of Hainault||, and this large army inspired him with the hope of striking some decisive blow. He led this world of English, Flemings, and Brabanters, before the strong city of Tournay. This cradle of the monarchy has been more than once its boulevard; and Charles VII. acknowledged the oft-

* Id. vol. I. c. 43.

† Meyer, l. xii. fol. 141.

‡ Froissart, vol. I. c. 120—122, p. 333, ed. Buchon.

§ (The convenient ministry of a jester was employed to acquaint Philip with this great defeat, which no courtier was willing to hazard his favour by communicating; and the king was accordingly invited to join his buffoon in railing at "the cowardly English," who durst not leap into the sea after the manner of his brave Normans. Walsingham, as quoted in the Rev. E. Smedley's History of France, published in the Library of Useful Knowledge, p. 178.)

TRANSLATOR.

|| After leaving Edward, whom he served in the empire, to defend Philippe in the kingdom, this young lord, irritated by the ravages which the French king had allowed to be committed in his territories, sent his defiance to him, and again ranged himself under Edward. Froissart, c. 101, p. 281, ed. Buchon.

* Chron. de St. Denys, c. xvii. Froissart, vol. I. c. 42.

† Id. ibid.

proved devotion of this city by giving it for arms the royal arms of France.

Philippe de Valois came to its relief. The town held out, and the siege was protracted. Meanwhile the Flemings, not knowing what to do, went to plunder Arques towards St. Omer*. Suddenly, however, the garrison of this town fell upon them, lance in rest, banners unfurled, and with loud cries. The Flemings tried to escape by throwing away their booty; but they were chased for two leagues, lost eighteen hundred men, and communicated their alarm to the rest of the army. "Now, there fell out a strange hap . . . About midnight, as these Flemings were asleep in their tents, so sudden an alarm and fright came upon them, that they all got up, and could not make sufficient haste to decamp. They directly pulled down their tents and pavilions, flung them into the baggage-waggons, and took to their heels; without waiting for any one, or keeping any order or regular road. When the two commanders, Messire Robert d'Artois and Henry of Flanders, heard of this, they got up in the greatest haste, and ordered large fires and torches to be lighted: they mounted their horses, and galloping after the Flemings, said to them, 'Sirs, tell us what has ailed you, that you fly thus, when no one pursues you; you ought to think yourselves very secure, and yet you are still going on. Return back, for God's sake: you are exceedingly to blame, to run away without being pursued.' But, notwithstanding all their entreaties, they would not stop, and each took the nearest way he could find to his own home. These lords, perceiving they could not prevail with them, ordered their baggage to be packed up in the waggons, and came to the siege of Tournay, where they related to the chiefs what had happened to the Flemings, which surprised all; some said, they must have been bewitched†."

The Englishman laboured in vain. This great war of the Low Countries, with which he sought to overwhelm France, came to nothing in his hands. With the exception of occasional fits of brutal rage, the Flemings were not naturally warlike; all their desire was, to have nothing to pay. But their barons wanted to be paid into the bargain; they took pay on both sides, and remained at home.

Luckily for Edward, at the very moment Flemings went out, Brittany took fire‡. This was a land that would burst into flames in a far different

fashion. The Bretons can hardly ever have been said to be at peace in the middle age. When they were not fighting at home, they were hired to fight abroad. In Philippe-le-Bel's day, and up to the battle of Cassel, they willingly followed the armies of our kings into Flanders, to plunder and feed on the fat of the land. But when France, on the contrary, was broken in upon by Edward; and when the Bretons would only have come in for a poor war, they remained at home and fought with each other.

This war is the pendant to the Scottish wars. Just as Philippe-le-Bel had encouraged Wallace and Robert Bruce against Edward I., the third Edward supported Montfort against Philippe de Valois. And this is not an historical analogy alone. As all know, there is both affinity of race and tongue, and a geographical resemblance between the two countries. In Scotland, as in Brittany, the remotest districts are inhabited by a Celtic people, and the borders by a mixed population charged with defending the country. Our *landes* of Maine and of Anjou, and our forests of Ille and Vilaine answer to the gloomy Scotch border. But this border is still more desert. You may travel whole hours at the rapid pace of an English stage-coach, without meeting tree or house; only a few nooks of land, where the small Northumbrian sheep pick up a scanty existence. All seems to have been burnt up under Hotspur's horse*. . . . Whilst traversing this land of song and ballad, one wonders where writer or singer could have come from. But little is required for poetry to grow out of. It needs not the oleaners of the Eurotas; a patch of Breton heath, or the thistle, the national emblem, at meeting which Burns turned aside his ploughshare, is enough†.

England found in this thin but warlike population, an invincible outlaw, a never-dying Robin Hood. . . . The borderers lived sumptuously on their neighbour's goods. When nothing was left of the plunder of the lost foray, the mistress of the house served up to her husband for dinner, on a dish, a pair of spurs, and he started off on another expedition with alacrity‡. . . . These were strange wars; the difficulty for both parties was to find one another. In this great Scottish expedition, Edward III. advanced several days, the rain constantly falling, and through briars and thickets, without desecrating any other army than herds of deer§; and was obliged to offer a large sum to whoever

* They were led by Robert of Artois—"On a Wednesday morning he sent for all the captains of his host, and said to them, 'Sirs, I have been sent for to go to St. Omer, and am promised that it shall soon be given up to me.' Without delay they ran to arm themselves, and said to one another—"Be quick, comrade, we shall again drink to-day those good wines of St. Omer." Chronicle quoted by Sauvage in his edition of Froissart, p. 156.

† Froissart, b. i. c. 72.

‡ Count de Montfort repaired to England, and did homage to Edward at Windsor. "The king of England, considering that his war against France would be strengthened by this means,—that he could not have a better entry into that country than through Brittany,—that the Germans and Brabanters had done nothing for him but cost him large sums,—and that the lords of the empire had led him up and down, taking his money, without making any return for it, was very happy to comply with the earl's request, and received his homage for the duchy. . . ." Froissart, b. i. c. 68. The letters by which Lewis of Bavaria recalls his grant to Edward of the title of Imperial Vicar, are dated June 25, 1341.

* See Shakespeare's Henry IV.

† "The rough bur-thistle spreading wide

Amidst the braided bear,

The weeder-clips I turned aside,

And spared the symbol deer."

See the Introduction to Scott's Border Minstrelsy.

‡ "Ride, Andrew, hough'st I th' pot." Ibid.

§ "In the course of the day there were frequent cries of alarm, as if the foremost ranks were engaged with the enemy; which ~~these~~ behind believing to be true, they hurried forward as fast as possible, over rocks and mountains, sword in hand, with their helmets and shields prepared for fighting, without waiting for father, brother, or friend. When they had hastened about half a league towards the place from which the noise came, they found themselves disappointed, as the cries proceeded from some herds of deer or other wild beasts, which abounded in these heaths and desert places, and which fled before the banners, pursued by the shouts of the army, which made them imagine it was something else." Froissart, b. i. c. 18.

would find out the enemy for him*. The Scotch, collecting and dispersing with the ease of spirits, entered England when they would. They had few horses †, and no baggage. Every man carried his small bag of meal, and a briek (iron-plate) to bake it on.

They did not content themselves with carrying war into England, but willingly adventured to distant parts. All know the story of the Douglas, who, charged by his dying monarch to bear his heart to Jerusalem, bent his course thither through Spain, and launched the heart in battle against the Moors ‡. But their national crusading ground was France; that is, they could there do most harm to the English. A Douglas became count of Touraine; and Douglas is a name said to be still found in la Breuse §.

Our Brittany had its border like Scotland; and, no doubt, its ballads as well ¶. Perhaps the life of the mercenary soldier, which was long the pursuit of the Bretons in the middle age, stifled this poetic genius.

But the history of Brittany is one poem. So diversified and obstinate a struggle has not been handed down. This race of rams have ever been butting, without finding any thing harder than themselves. They have made head in turn against France, and the enemies of France. Brittany; under Nomenés and Montfort, repulsed our kings; under Allan Barbetorte, she repulsed the Northmen; and, under Duguesclin, the English.

It was on the Breton border, in the *landes* of Anjou, that Robert-le-Fort was slain by the Northmen, and gained the throne for the Capets. There, too, the future kings of England took the

name of Plante-Genêts (Plantagenets*). These heaths, like that of Macbeth, hailed both kingdoms.

The long tale of the Breton wars which light up (*renluminent*), so well the Chronicles of Froissart †, those adventures of all kinds, intermingled with romantic incidents, remind one of some of the abrupt landscapes of the country with their sudden contrasts, poor, stony, and the rocks sprinkled with sad looking flowers. But there is more than one part of its history, whose savage horror is not imaged in the elegant and chivalrous chronicler. The history of Brittany can only be thoroughly felt and comprehended on the theatre of the events themselves; by the rocks of Auray, the shores of Quiberon, and those of St. Michel-en-Grève, where the fratricide duke met the black monk ‡.

The fine Amazonian adventures in which Froissart delights, those feats of Jane of Montfort's, who had a man's courage and lion's heart, those brave speeches of Jane of Clisson's and Jane of Blois', do not tell the whole of the war of Brittany: this war is likewise that of Clisson the butcher, and of the devout and conscientiously cruel Charles of Blois.

Duke Jean III. (of Brittany), dying without children, left a niece and a brother. The niece, daughter of his elder brother, Louie, was married to Charles of Blois, a prince of the blood. The king favoured her claim to the succession; and the barons of French Brittany were mostly on her side §. Montfort, the younger brother, was supported in his claim by the British Bretons, and called in the English ¶. The king of England, who in France maintained the right of the female line, in Brittany espoused that of male; whilst the king of France was just as inconsistent in the opposite direction.

A singular destiny was that of the Montforts, as, indeed, we have already observed ¶. It was a Montfort who advised Louis-le-Gros to arm the French communes. It was a Montfort who headed the crusade against the Albigois, and annihilated the liberties of the cities of the South. It was a Montfort who introduced into the English parliament the representatives of the commons. And now we find another, in the fourteenth century, whose name is the rallying cry of the Bretons against the French.

Montfort's competitor, Charles of Blois, was nothing less than a saint—the second furnished by the house of France. He confessed himself morning and evening, and heard mass four or five times daily. He would not travel without an almoner,

* Plante-genista, the heath or broom.

† "Entrerons en la grant matière et histoire de Bretagne, qui grandement renluminie ce livre pour les beaux faits d'armes qui y sont ramentués." (Let us enter on the great subject and history of Brittany, which greatly lights up this book by the fine deeds of arms recounted in it.) Froiss. i. p. 403-4, ed. Buchon.

‡ (For this legend, see Miss Costello's *Bocages and the Vines*.) TRANSLATOR.

§ According to Froissart, Charles of Blois always had on his side five out of seven.

¶ "The constable first repaired to British Brittany (*Bretagne bretonnais*), because he was aware that it ever inclined more to duke Jehan de Montfort, than French Brittany (*Bretagne gallois*)." Froissart, t. I. ed. Buchon.

—"The countess of Montfort held many fortresses in Bretagne bretonnais." "The count de Montfort was buried at Quimpercorentin," ed. Sauvage, p. 175.

¶ See, above, p. 232.

* "There was another proclamation made, that whoever chose to take pains and find out where the Scots were, and should bring certain intelligence of it to the king, the messenger of such news should have one hundred pounds a year in land, and be made a knight by the king himself." Ibid. In Rymer is an order for Thomas de Rokesby to receive half-yearly, at Michaelmas and Easter, one hundred pounds at the Exchequer, until he was provided with one hundred pounds in land for his life. Signed by the king at Lincoln, September 28, 1327.

† ("Ils avoient peu de cavalerie, mais point de bagages." This is a singular slip of the pen; especially with Froissart lying open before our author—who expressly says, "They are all on horseback, except the camp-followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses, the common people on little galloways." B. i. c. 17.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ "... the Moorish cavalry flew. Douglas with his companions eagerly pursued the Saracens. Taking the casket from his neck which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him and cried, 'Now pass thou onward, as thou wast wont, and Douglas will follow thee, or die!' The fugitives rallied—surrounded and overpowered by superior numbers, Douglas fell, while attempting to rescue William St. Clare, of Roslin, who shared his fate. Robert and Walter Logan, both of them knights, were slain with Douglas. . . . His few surviving companions found his body in the field, together with the casket, and reverently re-conveyed them to Scotland. The remains of Douglas were interred in the sepulchre of his father, in the church of Douglas, and the heart of Bruce was deposited at Melrose." Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, ann. 1350.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, art. Douglas.

¶ There are no ancient ones extant. See, amongst other works, M. Emile Souvestre's charming book—*Les Derniers Bretons*.

who had to carry in a pan bread, wine, water, and fire, in order to say mass by the way *. Did he meet a priest, down he flung himself from his horse upon his knees in the mud. He repeatedly performed the pilgrimage to St. Yves, the great saint of Brittany, barefooted over the snow. He put pebbles in his shoes, would not have his sackcloth cleared of vermin †, and was girdled with three ropes whose thick and frequent knots wore their way into his flesh, so that, says a witness, *you were wrung with pity*. When he prayed, he smote his breast with such violence, as to turn it from white to green ‡.

One day, he halted within a stone's throw of the enemy, and exposed to great danger, in order to hear mass. At the siege of Quimper, when the tide had nearly surprised his soldiers, he exclaimed, "If God so wills, the tide will do us no harm;" and, indeed, the town was carried, and numbers of the inhabitants put to the sword. He hastened at once to the cathedral to return thanks to God for his success; then stopped the massacre.

This terrible saint had no pity either on himself, or on others. He believed himself compelled to punish his adversaries as rebels. When he began the wars by besieging Montfort in Nantes (A. D. 1342), he threw over the walls to him the heads of thirty knights. *Montfort surrendered*, was delivered up to the king, and, in violation of the terms on which he capitulated, imprisoned in the tower of the Louvre §.

"The countess of Montfort, who possessed the courage of a man and the heart of a lion, was in the city of Rennes when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and, notwithstanding the great grief she had at heart, as may well be supposed, for she had rather her lord had been killed than in prison, she did not behave like a distressed woman, but like a bold and proud man, and did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers. Showing them a young child, called John, after his father, she said, 'Oh, gentlemen, do not be cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord; he was but one man; look at my little child here: if it please God, he shall be his restorer (avenger), and shall do you much service. I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and will seek out for such a leader, as may give you a proper confidence ||.' " Being besieged in Hennebion by Charles of Blois, she headed

* See the Procès-verbal, and evidence concerning the life and miracles of Charles, duke of Brittany, of the house of France, &c. MS. de la Bibl. du Roi, 2 vols. in fol. No. 5381.—D. Morice (Preuves, t. ii. p. 1) gives an extract from another manuscript.

† The twenty-fourth witness, Yves le Clerc, t. i. p. 147, deposes—"He did not change his sackcloth, although full of lice to a wonder; and when his groom of the chambers was about to clean the said sackcloth of them, the lord Charles said, 'Let be; remove not a single louse' and said that they did him no harm, and when they stung him (ipsam pungebant) he remembered his God."

‡ In tantum quod astantibus videbatur quod a sensu alienatus erat, et color vultus ipsius mutabatur de naturali colore in viridem. The seventeenth witness, Pagan de Quelen, t. i. p. 87.

§ The Chronicle in verse by Guillaume de Saint-André, councillor, ambassador, and secretary to duke Jean IV., and apostolical and imperial notary, leaves no doubt of the duplicity practised towards him. Roujou, iii. p. 178.

|| Froissart, b. i. c. 72.

a sortie, burned the tents of the French, and, not being able to regain the town, made for the castle of Auray (Brest †); where she soon collected five hundred men-at-arms, and, at their head, again rode past the French camp and re-entered Hennebion, "with great triumph and sound of trumpets and nakirs." It was time for her to arrive. The Breton lords had begun to talk of capitulation openly, when she saw approaching the succours which she had so long expected from England. "The countess of Montfort came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed Sir Walter Manny, and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant dame *."

The English monarch came himself, about the close of the year, to succour Brittany; and the king of France drawing nigh with his army, it seemed as if this petty war of Brittany was about to become a great one. However, nothing important took place. The wants of both kings compelled them to a truce, in which their allies were comprehended—the Bretons alone remaining free to make war.

Montfort's captivity strengthened his party; and Philippe of Valois managed to strengthen it still more by putting to death fifteen Breton lords whom he believed to favour the English. 'One of them, Clisson, when prisoner in England, had been most kindly treated; and it is said that the earl of Salisbury out of revenge on Edward, who had debauched his beautiful countess, informed the French king of the secret treaty concluded between his master and Clisson †. Philippe invited the Bretons to a tourney, when they were seized, and put to death without trial. The brother of one of them, who was a priest, was not included in the same punishment; but he was exposed on a ladder, where the people stoned him.

Shortly afterwards, Philippe had three Norman barons executed, without trial. He sought, too, to get the count of Harcourt in his power; but the count escaped, and was no less serviceable to the English than Robert of Artois.

Hitherto, the barons had been little scrupulous about treating with the foreigner. The feudal man still considered himself a species of sovereign, who might negotiate on his own account. The near connexions between the French and English nobility, and community of tongue, (the English nobles still spoke French,) favoured intimacies of the kind. Clisson's death raised a barrier between the two kingdoms.

In one and the same year, the Englishman lost Montfort and Artaveld. The latter had become altogether English. Feeling Flanders escaping out

* Id. ibid. c. 81.

† Chronique de Flandre, p. 178, 174.—Froissart, b. 1, c. 77, and c. 99.

(This story of Clisson's being betrayed by the earl of Salisbury, is not in Froissart, but may be found in the Hist. de Bretagne, vol. i. p. 268.—Lord Hailes observes of the whole expedition, into his account of which Froissart interweaves his beautiful romance of Edward's passion for the countess of Salisbury—"All this seems to be fabulous, and to have been invented by some person who meant to impose on the inquisitive credulity of Froissart. It cannot be reconciled with known historical dates, with the characters and conditions of the persons therein mentioned, or with the general tenour of authenticated events." Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 211.) TRANSLATOR.

of his grasp, he sought to hand it over to the prince of Wales. Edward was already at Sluys, presenting his son to the burghomasters of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, when Artaveld was slain.

With all his popularity, this king of Flanders was at bottom only the chief of the large cities, the defender of their monopoly. They prohibited the smaller ones from engaging in the woollen manufacture. A revolt from this cause had taken place in one of them, which was put down by Artaveld; and he had killed a man with his own hand. Even within Ghent, the two guilds of clothiers made war with each other. The fullers required a rise of wages from the weavers or cloth manufacturers, who refused, and a furious combat was the consequence. There was no means of separating these bull-dogs; and the priests vainly exposed the host in the public place. The weavers, supported by Artaveld, crushed the fullers (A. D. 1345 *).

Artaveld, who trusted to neither, was anxious to escape from his dangerous position, to resign what he could not keep, or else to reign under a master who needed and would support him. Recalling the French was not to be dreamed of. He therefore invited the English, and went over to Bruges and Ypres, to harangue and negotiate. In the interim, Ghent slipped from his hands.

On his return, he found the populace already up. The rumour ran that through him, Flemish gold was finding its way to England. No one greeted him. He hurried to his hotel, and, from his window, in vain endeavoured to convince the multitude. The doors were forced; and Artaveld was slain precisely as the tribune Rienzi was, two years afterwards at Rome †.

* *Malus dies lune (Den quaden maendach) pugnabant textores contra fulones ac parvum quæstum. Dux textorum Gerardus erat, quibus et Artaveldæ accessit. (On a black Monday . . . the weavers fought against the fullers and poor workmen. Gerard was the leader of the weavers, with whom Artaveld sided.) Meyer, p. 146. "Who, having slain more than fifteen hundred fullers, drove the rest of the said trade out of the city, and reduced the trade of the fullers to nothing, as it remains to this day." Oudegh. f. 271.*

† "When on his return he came to Ghent about mid-day, the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, 'Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne.' With this they had also spread a rumour through the town, that Jacob von Artaveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had usurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the earl of Flanders but kept them securely to maintain his own state, and had, during the time above mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully, now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began therefore to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hotel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

"Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side,

Edward had missed Flanders, as well as Brittany. His attacks on the two wings having failed, he directed one against the centre; and this, guided by a Norman, Godefroi d'Harcourt, was much more fatal to France.

Philippe de Valois had collected all his forces into one great army, in order to recover from the English their conquests in the south. And, indeed, this army, which is said to have numbered a hundred thousand men, recovered Angoulême, and then sat down to spend itself before the insignificant town of Aiguillon, where the English defended themselves all the more stoutly from the conduct of the king's son, who commanded the French, in having given no quarter to the other places he had taken.

According to Froissart's improbable account, the king of England had set out to succour Guyenne; when, driven back by contrary winds, he lent an ear

attacked, and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob von Artaveld saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language, saying, 'My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? by what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills.' Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, 'We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title of reason.' Artaveld replied in a soft tone, 'Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken any thing from the treasures of Flanders; and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of them, that you must reasonably be satisfied.' But they cried out, 'No, no, we must have it directly; you shall not thus escape from us; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it into England, without our knowledge: you therefore shall suffer death.' When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said, 'Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God. Recollect former times, and consider how many favours and kindnesses I have conferred on you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant, that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner, that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes; corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandises which have made you so wealthy.' They began to bawl out, 'Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed so long without rendering any account; and it is not proper for any officer to receive the rents of a lord or of a country without accounting for them.' When Jacob von Artaveld saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hotel was already broke into on that side, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy: his death-stroke was given him by a saddler (weaver?) called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him.' Froissart, b. i, c. 115.

to the counsels of Godefroi d'Harcourt, who prevailed on him to attack Normandy, which happened to be without defence*.

The advice was only too good. The whole country was unarmed; and this was the work of the kings themselves; who had prohibited private wars. The people, busied with agricultural or mechanical employments, had become altogether pacific. Peace had borne its fruits†; and the flourishing and prosperous state in which the English found the country, should induce us to make large deductions from what historians say against the administration of the crown in the fourteenth century.

One's heart bleeds to see in Froissart the savage apparition of war in a peaceful country, already rich and industrious, and whose progress was about to be stopped for centuries. Edward's mercenary army, with its Welsh and Irish plunderers, burst into the midst of a defenceless population. They found sheep in the pastures, the barns full, the towns open‡. The plunder of Caen alone loaded many vessels§; and Saint Lo|| and Louviers they found stored with cloth¶.

* "When they embarked, the weather was as favourable as the king could wish, to carry him to Gascony; but on the third day, the wind was so contrary, that they were driven upon the coasts of Cornwall . . . During this time, the king altered his mind with respect to going towards Gascony, through the advice and representations of Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his interest to land in Normandy, by such words as these, 'Sir, that province is one of the most fertile in the world; . . . you will find in Normandy rich towns and handsome castles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to suffice them for twenty years to come.'" Id. *ibid.* c. 120.

† "The king proceeded through the Cotentin. It was no wonder that the people of the country were terrified and awe-struck, since they had never seen men-at-arms, and knew not what war or battle meant. They fled before the English as long as they heard speak of them." Id. *ibid.* c. 122.

‡ "He made sir Godfrey marshal, and the whole army marched under his guidance, because he was well acquainted with every part of Normandy . . . They found the country rich and plentiful, abounding in all things; the barns full of every sort of corn, and the houses with riches; the inhabitants at their ease, having cars, carts, horses, swine, sheep, and every thing in abundance which the country afforded." Id. *ibid.* c. 121.

§ "Both the armies of sea and land went forward, until they came to a strong town, called Bardeur; . . . but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur." Id. *ibid.* "The English continued masters of Caen for three days; in this time they amassed great wealth in cloths, jewels, gold and silver plate, and other valuables, which they sent in barges down the river of Estreham to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their fleet was. The earl of Huntingdon made preparations therefore, with the two hundred men-at-arms and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England their riches and prisoners. The king purchased, from sir Thomas Holland and his companions, the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid down twenty thousand nobles for them." Id. *ibid.* c. 123.

¶ "In the town of Lo was much drapery, and many wealthy inhabitants; among them you might count eight or nine score who were engaged in commerce . . . No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of wales of cloth." Id. *ibid.* c. 123.

¶ "He went on towards another town, called Louviers,

To encourage his people still more, Edward discovered at Caen, most opportunely, a deed by which the Normans offered Philippe de Valois to conquer England at their own expense, on condition of its being partitioned out amongst them as it was between the companions of William the Conqueror*. This deed, written in the pitiable French then spoken at the English court†, is probably a forgery; but it was translated into English by Edward's orders, and read after the sermon in all the churches through England. Before leaving his kingdom, the English king had charged the popular preachers, the Dominicans, to preach up the war and expound its causes. Not long afterwards (A.D. 1361), he ordered French to be disused in all public acts. There was but one tongue, but one English people. The descendants of the Norman conquerors and those of the Saxons, were knit together by hatred of the new Normans.

Finding the bridges cut down at Rouen, the English marched up the left bank of the river, burning on their march Vernon, Verneuil, and Pont-de-l'Arche. Edward halted at Poissy, to throw a bridge over the river, and to celebrate the festival of the Virgin Mary; whilst his men pushed on so far as to burn St. Germain, Bourg-la-Reine, St. Cloud, and even Boulogne, close to Paris.

All the succour which the French king gave Normandy, was to despatch to Caen the constable and the count de Tancarville, who allowed themselves to be taken prisoners. His army was in the south, a hundred and fifty leagues off. He thought the speediest way would be to summon his German and Low-Country allies. He had just had the young Charles IV., the son of John of Bohemia, elected emperor; but expelled by the Germans, Charles came to take the king's pay. His arrival, with that of the king of Bohemia, of the duke of Lorraine, and of other German lords, caused the English to ponder.

They had displayed sufficient bravado and audacity. They saw themselves involved in the heart of a large kingdom, in the midst of burnt towns, ravaged provinces, and a people pushed to desperation. The French king's forces increased daily. He was in haste to punish the English, who had insulted him by their near approach to his capital.

which was in Normandy, and where there were many manufactures of cloth; it was rich and commercial. The English won it easily, as it was not inclosed; and having entered the town, it was plundered without opposition. They collected much wealth there . . ." Id. *ibid.* c. 124.

* According to this deed, they promised to furnish 4000 men-at-arms, and 20,000 infantry, 6000 of the latter to be crossbow-men—all raised in the province, with the exception of 1000 men-at-arms, whom the duke of Normandy was to be at liberty to levy elsewhere, but whom he was to pay. They bound themselves to maintain this force for ten, or even twelve weeks. Should England be conquered, as it is hoped, the crown is thenceforward the duke of Normandy's. The lands and rights of the English, noble, plebeian, and secular, are to be transferred to the churches, barons, nobles, and good towns of Normandy. The property appertaining to the pope, the church of Rome, and that of England are not to be included in the conquest. Robert of Avesbury (*Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi Tertii*) quotes the deed at length, after the copy found, according to him, at Caen, ann. 1346.—The warlike language of this document, and certainty of conquest, do not coincide with the state of peace in which Edward found the country.

† Rymer, iii. pars 1, p. 76, ann. 1346.

His good citizens of Paris, too, had begun to wag their tongues. He had wished to throw down the houses adjoining the city walls; and a revolt had well-nigh taken place.

Edward resolved to retire through Picardy, to effect a junction with the Flemings, who had just laid siege to Béthune, and to traverse Ponthieu, his maternal inheritance. But he had to cross the Somme. Philippe guarded all the bridges, and pressed the enemy closely; so closely, indeed, that at Airaines he found Edward's table laid, and eat his dinner.

Edward had ordered search to be made for a ford, but none could be found. He was brooding over his thoughts when a youth of Blanche-Tache (White-spot, or White-ford) undertook to show him the ford of that name. Philippe had stationed some thousands of troops there; but, urged by the sense of their imminent peril, the English made a great effort and effected their passage. Philippe came up shortly after; but had no means of pursuing them; the tide had set into the Somme; the sea protected the English.

Edward's situation was not cheering. His army was wet, hungry, and newly-leveled. The men who had taken and wasted so much booty, looked so many beggars. This rapid and shameful retreat, threatened to be as fatal as a defeat. Edward resolved to risk a battle.

Besides, arrived in Ponthieu, he felt himself stronger; he was now on his own ground, at least. "Let us post ourselves here," he exclaimed, "for we will not go further before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot, as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage portion; and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary, Philippe de Valois."

Having so spoken, he entered his oratory, performed his prayers with great devotion, went to his bed, and the next morning heard mass. He divided his army into three battalions, and made his men-at-arms dismount. The English eat, drank a glass, and then seated themselves on the ground, "placing their helmets and bows before them, that they might be the fresher when their enemies should arrive."

Meanwhile, the vast mass of the French army was advancing with much tumult.†. The king of France had been advised to rest his troops, and had consented. But the great barons, instigated by the point of feudal honour, kept pushing forward to gain the first rank.

And when the king himself came up, and saw the English, "his blood boiled, for he hated them, and he cried out to his marshals, 'Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis.'"

The king had long been at a heavy expense for these mercenaries; but it was rightly judged that the Genoese bowmen were indispensable against the English archers. Barbarians's speedy retreat

at the battle of Sluys had naturally increased the distrust felt of these foreigners. The Italian mercenaries were accustomed to spare themselves in battle; and these bowmen, at the very moment the order was given to engage, declared that their bow-strings were soaked with the rain, and unserviceable. They might have kept them dry under their hoods, as the English did.

Upon this the count of Alençon exclaimed, "This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them." The Genoese could not do much, the English riddled them so with arrows, and iron-balls discharged from bombards‡. "You would have thought," says a contemporary writer, "that you heard God's own thunders‡." This is the first time artillery was used in the field§.

The French king, beside himself, then called out to his men-at-arms, "Kill me those scoundrels, for they block up our road without any reason." But, in riding down the Genoese, the men-at-arms broke their ranks. The English shot straight into the confused mass, sure of each arrow's telling. The horses were scared, and took their bits in their mouths. Every minute increased the disorder.

The king of Bohemia, old and blind, nevertheless was on horseback, with his knights. When they told him what was taking place, he concluded that the battle was lost; and then this brave prince who

* Qui quidem balistarum trahere coeperunt, sed cogentes cordas ad invicem, arcus accendere nullatenus poterant, quia restrictæ fuerant pro pluvia. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 108.

† (The reader may not be displeased to have Froissart's description of the onset, as picturesquely and faithfully rendered in the old translation by lord Berners:—

"When the genowayes were assembled toguyder and beganne to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to shasse thenglyshmen, but they stode styll and styrtide nat for all that. Than the genowayes agayne the seconde tyme made another leape and a fell crye and stepped forward a lytell, and thenglyshmen removed nat one fote; thirddly, agayne they leapt and cryed, and went forthe tyll they came within shotte; then they shotte feerly with their crossbowes. Than thenglysh archers septe forthe one pase and lette fly their arrowes so hotly and so thycke that it seemed snowe. When the genowayes felte the arrowes perynge through heedes, armes, and brestes, many of them caste downe their crossbowes and dyde cut their strynges, and returned dyscomfited. When the Frenche kyngs sawe them flye away, he said, 'Slee these rascals, for they shall lette and trouble us without reason'; than you shoulde have seene the men of armes dawhe in among them, and kyllid a great nombre of them; and ever styll the englyshmen shot where as they sawe thickest prece, the sharpe arrowes ranne into the men of armes, and into their horses, and many fell horse and man amonge the genowayes, and when they were downe they coude nat relyne agayne; the prece was so thycke that one overthrewe another. And also amonge the englyshmen there were certayne rascalses that went a fote with great knyves, and they went in among the men of armes, and slewe and muredde many as they lay on the grounde, both erles, baronnes, knyghts, and squyers, whereof the kyng of Englande was after dyspleased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.") TRANSLATOR.

‡ Villani, l. xii. c. 65, p. 948.

§ It had already been employed in the attack and defence of towns. In 1240, cannon were used at the siege of Quenoy. In 1258, Barthelémy de Drach, war-treasurer, carries to account a sum given to Henry de Farnescon, for powder and other things wanted for the cannon before Puy-Guil-laume. Note by M. Buchon, Frois. l. p. 310.

* Froissart, b. l. c. 126.

† "There is no one who can agree upon the truth, especially on the French side, such was their bad management and disorder. What I know . . . I have learnt chiefly from the English, who had well observed the confusion they were in, and from those attached to sir John of Hainault, who was always near the person of the king of France." Id. ibid. c. 128.

had spent all his days in the domestic circle of the house of France, and who had fiefs in the kingdom, set the example as vassal and as knight. He said to his attendants, "Gentlemen, you are all my people, my friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind, I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They obeyed, fastened the reins of their horses to his, and rode in together headforemost among the enemy. The morrow they were found on the ground, with their horses all tied together*.

The great barons of France behaved as nobly. The count of Alençon, brother to the king, the counts of Blois, Harcourt, Aumale, Auxerre, Sancerre, and of St. Pol, all magnificently armed and emblazoned, burst through the enemy's lines at full gallop, breaking through the ranks of the archers, and pushing on, disdainful of these footmen, up to the small band of the English men-at-arms. Here was Edward's son, aged thirteen, whom his father had put at the head of one division. The second advanced to his support, and the earl of Warwick, in his anxiety for the little prince, sent to entreat the king to bring up the third. Edward replied that he wished the boy to win his spurs, and to have all the honour of the day.

The English king, who surveyed the battle from an eminence near a windmill, perceived that the French were on the point of being overpowered†. Some had got entangled in the first confusion, among the Genoese; others, after cutting their way to the heart of the English army, found themselves surrounded. The heavy armour, which began to be worn about this time, would not admit of a knight's rising, when once he was down. The Welsh and Cornish dagsmen (cottilliers) flung themselves on the unhorsed knights, and slew them with their knives without mercy, no matter how highly born. Philippe de Valois was a witness of this butchery. His horse was slain under him. He had no more than sixty men around him, but could not be torn from the field of battle. The English, astonished at their victory, did not budge a step; otherwise they would have taken him. At last Jean de Hainaut (John of Hainaut) seized his horse by the bridle and drew him off.

On the English reviewing the field of battle and numbering the dead, they found amongst the slain, eleven princes, eighty lords-banarers, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand common men. Whilst they were numbering the dead there came up the commons of Rouen and Beauvais, and then the troops of the archbishop of Rouen, and of the grand prior of France. These poor people, who knew nothing of the battle, came to swell the number of the dead‡.

* Froissart, b. i. c. 129. This was a relic of barbarism. See Tacitus, De Mor. Germanorum, and the accounts of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

† "King Edward then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet. . . ." Id. ibid. c. 130.

‡ "There were slain in this fight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upwards of seven thousand. . . . In the course of the morning, the English rode forth seeking adventures, and found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king, or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met; and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers, sent

This overwhelming blow only led the way to a greater. The Englishman settled in France. The sea-ports of England exasperated by the depredations of our Calais corsairs, furnished Edward with a fleet. Dover, Bristol, Winchelsea, Shoreham, Sandwich, Weymouth, and Plymouth, fitted out each from twenty to thirty vessels; and Yarmouth alone forty-three*. The English merchants, who were being ruined by this war, had made a last and a prodigious effort to become masters of the strait. Edward proceeded to lay siege to Calais, and fixed himself there as at a post where he would live or die. After the sacrifices which had been made for this expedition, he could not face his commons until he had brought it to a successful issue. "He built between Calais and the river and bridge, houses of wood: they were laid out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom; and in this town of the king's there was every thing necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets every Wednesday and Saturday, for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread, and every thing else which came from England and Flanders, might be had there, as well as comforts, for money†."

The Englishman, well posted, and in the enjoyment of plenty, left those outside and inside of the town to do what they liked, but would not give them the chance of a battle. He preferred starving them out. Five hundred persons, men, women, and children, put out of the town by the governor, died of cold and hunger betwixt it and the camp: such, at least, is the statement of the English historian‡.

Edward had struck root before Calais. Even the pope's mediation could not tear him away. Word was brought him that the Scots were on the point of invading England. He did not stir. His perseverance had its reward. He soon heard that his troops, encouraged by his queen, had made the king of the Scots prisoner. The following year, Charles of Blois was also taken, whilst besieging Roche-de-Rien. Edward might fold his arms; fortune laboured for him.

There was great and urgent necessity for the French king to relieve Calais§. But so great was his penury, and so inert and embarrassed his semi-feudal government, that he could not put himself in

from the cities, towns, and municipalities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of Saturday." Id. ibid.

* Some towns of the interior likewise contributed, but in a very different proportion. The powerful city of York furnished one vessel and nine men. Anderson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 322.

† "He built it," says Froissart, "as if he were to dwell there ten or twelve years, and it was his intention to live in it winter and summer, until he had reduced the town." Froiss. ii. p. 385, ed. Buchon.

‡ Knighton, De Event. Angl. i. iv.—On the contrary, Froissart says that he "allowed them to pass in safety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two sterlings, as charity and alms," b. i. c. 152.

§ The English having given chase to two vessels that attempted to slip out of the harbour, intercepted a letter from the governor to Philippe de Valois, in which was the following passage—"We are agreed, that if we are not quickly relieved, we will sail forth to live or die, for we prefer honourable death in the field to eating one another." Froiss. ii. p. 444, note, ed. Buchon.—The Continuator of Nangis states, that Philippe had continually tried to throw in provisions, both by land and sea, but that they had been intercepted, p. 109.

motion until the siege had gone on for ten months, and the English had fortified and even intrenched themselves with palisades and deep ditches. Having picked up a little money by an alteration in the coinage*, by the gabelle, by the ecclesiastical tenths, and by the confiscation of the property of the Lombards, he at last set out with a large, cumbersome army, like that which had been defeated at Crécy. The only road to Calais was through marshes, or across the downs. To take the first was to perish, for the passes had either been broken up or were strongly guarded: nevertheless, the men of Tournay bravely carried a tower, without machines, and by the strength of their arms†.

On the side of Boulogne, the downs were commanded by the fire of an English fleet; on that of Gravelines, they were guarded by the Flemings, whom the king could not gain over. He offered them mountains of gold, to give them up Lille, Bethune, and Douai; he offered to enrich their burgomasters, and to make their young men knights and barons‡. Nothing touched them. They were in too great dread of the return of their count, who, after a false reconciliation, had again just escaped out of their hands§. Philippe could do nothing. He negotiated, he sent defiance. Edward remained quiet||.

The reports of the starving townsmen was fearful when they saw these numerous French banners and this vast army on the retreat, and deserting them. There now remained for them only to give themselves to the enemy, if he would have them. But the English hated them with a deadly hate, both as seamen and corsairs¶. To comprehend the

excess of irritation arising from the daily hostilities of such a neighbourhood, from the sidelong look of detestation which the two coasts cast on each other, one must read the deeds and exploits of Jean Bart, the lamentable demolition of the port of Dunkirk, and the closing of the docks of Antwerp.

It was probable enough that the king of England, who was sick of his long detention before Calais, having remained there a year, and who, in a single campaign, had spent the sum, enormous at the time, of nearly ten millions of our money, would do himself the pleasure of putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and which, certainly, would have been highly satisfactory to the English merchants. But Edward's knights told him plainly that if he treated the besieged thus, his own men would not dare in future to sustain a siege for fear of reprisals. He gave way, and promised to spare the city, provided some of the principal citizens would come, according to custom, to present him with the keys, bare-headed, bare-footed, and ropes round their necks.

There was danger for those who should first appear before the king. But these men of the coast, who daily brave the wrath of ocean, fear not that of man. Out of this small town, depopulated by famine, six men instantly and cheerfully stepped forward to save the rest. As many or more will any day risk themselves, in tempestuous weather, to save a vessel in danger. This great action, I feel sure, was performed as a thing of course, and not with grief, tears, and long speeches, as the canon Froissart imagines*.

It required, however, the prayers of the queen and of his knights, to restrain Edward from hanging these brave men. No doubt it was suggested to him that they had fought for their town and trade, rather than for king or kingdom. He repopulated the town with English, admitting, nevertheless, many of the old Calaisians, who turned English; among others, Eustache de Saint-Pierre, the leader of the heroic six who brought him the keys of the city†.

harm to the English at sea. Villani, l. 12, c. 95.—M. Dacier has compared and examined the accounts of the different historians (Froissart, iii. 466-7). See, also, a dissertation by M. Bolard, crowned by the Society of Antiquaries of la Morinie(!) No critic, as far as I am aware, has felt the full import of the passage just quoted from Villani.

* This, perhaps, is the reason that the contemporary historians do not give the names of Eustache de Saint-Pierre and his companions, when they relate the circumstance:—"Burgenses procedebant cum similibus forma, habentes funes singuli in manibus suis, in signum quod rex eos laqueo suspenderet vel salvaret ad voluntatem suam." (The burgesses walked in like fashion, each having a cord in his hands, in sign that the king might hang or spare them at his pleasure.) Knyghton. Thomas de la Moor's account agrees with that of this writer. Villani says that they came forth naked to their shirts, and Robert of Avesbury, that Edward contented himself with retaining the most considerable of them prisoners. These data altogether constitute the elements of Froissart's dramatic narrative.

† Froissart's words are, "They sent out of the town all ranks of people, great and little." "All the French were not driven forth," says M. de Brequigny (Mémoires de l'Académie, t. 37): "on the contrary, I have seen numerous French names amongst those to whom Edward granted houses in his new conquest, and Eustache de St. Pierre was of the number." By letters of the 6th of October, 1347, two months after the surrender of Calais, Edward grants Eustache a considerable

* Ord. ii. p. 254. 256. 263.

† "When the French had taken up their quarters on the hill of Sangatte, those from Tournay, who might amount to about fifteen hundred men, right cheerfully advanced towards this tower. The garrison shot at them, and wounded some; at which the men of Tournay waxed wroth, crossed the ditches, and fell with pick-axes and bars furiously on these English. The engagement, when they reached the foot of the tower, was very sharp, and many of the Tournaymen were killed and wounded; but, in the end, the tower was taken and thrown down, and all that were within it put to the sword. The Frenchmen accounted this one of the bravest actions performed." Froissart, vol. i. b. i. c. 144.

‡ He offered to have the interdiction which had been laid on Flanders removed, to keep up a supply of corn in the country for six years at a very low price, to import wool from France, with the exclusive privilege of selling in France the cloths made from such wool, as long as they could supply them, &c. Robert of Avesbury, p. 153.

§ "To constrain him to marry the English king's daughter, the Flemings kept him in courteous restraint. He was wearied of confinement, promised all, and was allowed to go out under good guard. . . . One day that he went hawking by the river, he threw off his falcon, rode after it, and when at some distance struck spurs into his horse, and sought refuge in France." Froissart, ii. p. 480, ed. Buchon.

|| Froissart says that the king, coming to the relief of Calais, sent a challenge to Edward, which the latter refused. Edward, on the contrary, states, in a letter to the archbishop of York, that he had accepted the challenge, and that the reason the combat did not take place was, Philippe's precipitate departure before the day, after having set fire to his camp. Id. ibid. p. 452.

¶ Villani, who must have been well acquainted with French affairs through the Florentine and Lombard merchants, expressly says, that Edward had resolved on hanging the Calaisians as pirates, because they had done much

These keys were those of France. Calais, turned English was, for two centuries, a gate opened to the stranger. England was, as it were, re-joined to the continent. The straits had disappeared.

Let us retrace these sad events, and search their true results; it will afford some comfort.

The battle of Crécy is not merely a battle, the taking of Calais is not simply the taking of a town,—these two events involve a great social revolution. The entire chivalry of the most chivalrous nation in the world had been exterminated by a small band of foot-soldiers. The victories of the Swiss over the Austrian cavalry at Morgarten and Laupen were analogous; but they had not the same important effect, they did not cause the same vibration throughout Christendom. A new system of tactics arose out of a new state of society, and which was the work neither of genius nor of reflection. Edward was neither a Gustavus Adolphus, nor a Frederick. For lack of cavalry he had employed infantry. In his first expeditions, his armies had consisted of men-at-arms, of nobles, and of their followers. But the nobles had become wearied of these long campaigns. A feudal army could not be kept together such a length of time. With all their liking for emigration, the English, nevertheless, love home. The baron required to return after a few months' service to his *baronial hall*, to revisit his woods and dogs, and indulge in the fox-hunt*. The mercenary soldier, so long as he was poor, and shoeless, and stockingless, like the Irish and Welsh whom Edward took into his pay, did not set his heart on return, but heartily followed up a good war which fed and clothed him, not to speak of filling his purse. The foregoing will account for the English army's consisting almost wholly of a mercenary infantry.

The battle of Crécy revealed a secret unsuspected by all—the powerlessness, in a military point of view, of those feudal warriors, who had believed themselves the whole warlike world. No private wars of the barons, or of canton with canton, during the primitive isolation of the middle age, could teach the lesson; in these, gentlemen were conquered by gentlemen only. Their reputation had not been damaged by two centuries of defeat during the crusades. All Christendom was interested in concealing from itself the advantages gained by the unbelievers. Besides, the wars with them took place at such a distance, that there was ever some excuse ready to account for reverses;

pension, until such time as he shall be able to provide for him more amply. The reasons for this favour are the services he is to render, either in maintaining good order in Calais, or providing for the security of the town. By other letters of the same date, he is put in possession of most of the houses and holdings that formerly belonged to him, with the addition of some others. (See Froissart, ii. p. 473, ed. Buchon.)—Philippe did all that lay in his power to remunerate the inhabitants of Calais. He granted all vacant offices (September the 8th, a month after the surrender) to those who chose to accept them. In this ordinance, reference is made to another, by which he had bestowed on those Calaisians who had been expelled from the city, all goods and heritages that should in any way accrue to him. Again, on the 10th of the same month, he grants them numerous privileges and franchises, &c., confirmed under succeeding reigns. Note by M. Buchon, *ibid.* p. 475.

* The English *fox-hunter* is by no means a modern character. See, further on, book ix. c. 3, the description of Henry the Fifth's entry into Paris.

and all was redeemed by the heroism of a Godfrey or a Richard. In the thirteenth century, when the feudal banners were wont to follow the royal standard to the field, when so many baronial courts united to form one alque, brilliant beyond all the fictions of romance, the nobles, as their power abated, waxed in pride; lowered in themselves, they felt exalted in their king. They valued themselves in proportion as they shared in the royal fêtes. He who won most applause in the tourney, deemed himself, and was deemed by others, the most valiant in battle. Flourishes of trumpets, the approving countenance of royalty, and favouring glances from bright eyes, intoxicated the brain more than real victory. So overpowering was this intoxication, that they suffered Philippe-le-Bel to destroy their brothers, the Templars—usually, the younger sons of noble houses—without a word of remonstrance. They held these knightly monks just as cheap as they did the other monks or priests. Their aid was ever ready for the monarch against the pope. The nobles had a good share of the tenths that were extracted from the clergy, under cover of a crusade or of some other pretext*. The time, however, was approaching when the noble, after having helped the monarch to fleece the priest, was to take his own turn.

In palliation of their defeat at Courtrai, the nobles alleged their heroic thoughtlessness, and the fosse which stood the Flemings in such stead; and their reputation was restored by the two easy massacres of Mons-en-Puelle and Cassel. For many years, they accused the king of keeping them from victories. At Crécy, they might have conquered their fill: all the chivalry of the kingdom was there collected, every banner given to the wind with its haughty blazon,—lion, eagle, tower, bezants of the crusades, and all the proud symbolism of heraldry. There stood before them—three thousand men-at-arms excepted—only the barefooted English commons, rude Welsh mountaineers, and Irish swineherds†; reckless and savage races; ignorant alike of French, English, or the laws of chivalry. Their blows at the noble banners were not less true; and they put slew the more. There was no tongue in common between the combatants, in which to sue for quarter. The Welshman or Irishman did not understand the dismounted baron, whose offered ransom would have enriched him for life—he answered with his knife.

—Despite the romantic bravery of John of Bohemia, and of many another, the brilliant banners were on that day besmirched. To have been dragged in the dust, not by the gauntleted hand of the noble, but by the horny fist of the peasant, was

* "In those days (A.D. 1346) our lord the king, with consent of the pope, levied tenths from the churches . . . and innumerable sums of money were raised on different pretexts; but, in truth, the more that was thus extorted, the poorer grew our lord the king. The money was levied to maintain a numerous and noble soldiery, for the aid and defence of the throne and country; but it was all contumaciously wasted on idle shows, gaming, and wantonness." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 168.

† Of the thirty-two thousand men of whom Edward's army consisted, Froissart expressly says that there were only fourteen thousand English (four thousand men-at-arms, and ten thousand archers). The other eighteen thousand were Welsh and Irish (twelve thousand Welsh, and six thousand Irish).

a stain not easily washed out. From that day, worship of the nobility met with more than one unbeliever: armorial symbolism lost all its effect. Men began to doubt whether the lions could bite, or the silken embroidered dragons vomit fire and flame. The Swiss and the Welsh cow seemed quite as good arms to bear as any other.

For the people to be aware of all this required much time and many defeats. Nor Crécy, nor Poitiers was enough. That reprobation of the nobles which found bold utterance after the battle of Agincourt, is still mute and respectful in Philippe de Valois' day. There is neither complaint nor revolt; but suffering, languor, torpor under misery. There is little hope upon earth, little elsewhere. Faith is shaken; feudalism, that second faith, still more so. The middle age lived in two ideas, the emperor and the pope. The empire falls into the hands of a servant of the French king's; the pope sinks, from Rome down to Avignon, into the vales of a king—this king extinguished, and his nobility humbled.

No one said these things, or, indeed, clearly perceived them. Human thought was not so much shocked as discouraged, beaten down, extinguished. Men longed for the end of the world; some fixed this end for the year 1365. And what was left but to die?

THE BLACK PLAGUE.

Epochs of moral depression are those, too, of great mortality. This is inevitable; and it is man's glory that it is so. He suffers life to pass away as soon as it ceases to appear grand and divine to him. *Vitæ que perire projicere animas*. In the last years of Philippe de Valois' reign, the depopulation was rapid. The misery and physical suffering which prevailed were insufficient to account for it; for they had not reached the extreme at which they subsequently arrived. Yet, to adduce but one instance, the population of a single town, Narbonne, fell off in the space of four or five years from the year 1339, by five hundred families*.

Upon this too tardy diminution of the human race followed extermination, the great black plague or pestilence, which at once heaped up mountains of dead throughout Christendom. It began in Provence, in the year 1347, on All Saints' Day, continued sixteen months, and carried off two-thirds of the inhabitants. The same wholesale destruction befel Languedoc. At Montpellier, out of twelve consuls, ten died. At Narbonne, thirty thousand persons perished. In several places, there remained only a tithe of the inhabitants†. All that the careless Froissart says of this fearful visitation, and that only incidentally, is—"For at this time there prevailed throughout the world generally a disease called epidemic, which destroyed a third of its inhabitants."

This pestilence did not break out in the north of the kingdom until August, 1348, where it first

showed itself at Paris and St. Denys. So fearful were its ravages at Paris, that, according to some, eight hundred, according to others, five hundred, daily sank under it". "There was," says the continuator of Nangis, "a fearful mortality of men and women, and still more of the young than the old, in such numbers that one could hardly bury them. They were seldom more than two or three days sick, being struck, as it were, in the midst of health by death. He who was to-day well, the next was borne to his grave. A swelling would suddenly rise in the groin or under the arm-pits; it was an infallible sign, of death. They fell sick, and died through force of the imagination, and through contagion. The visitor of a sick person rarely escaped death. So, in many towns, great and small, the priests fled, leaving to the bolder monks the office of administering to the sick. The holy sisters of the Hôtel Dieu, casting aside all fear of death and human considerations, of their sweetness and humility would touch and handle the sick. As fast as they were cut off, others of the sisterhood took their place, and they rest, we must piously believe, in Christ's peace‡.

"As there was neither famine at the time nor want of food, but, on the contrary, great abundance, this plague was said to proceed from infection of the air and of the springs. The Jews were again charged with this, and the people cruelly fell upon them, especially in Germany, and they were slain, massacred, and burnt indiscriminately."

The plague found Germany in one of her gloomiest fits of mysticism. The greater number of the population had long been without the consolation of the sacraments of the church. To please the kings of France, our popes of Avignon had coldly and lightly plunged Germany into despair. All the countries which acknowledged the title of Lewis of Bavaria, had been laid under interdict. Many cities, Strasburg in particular, remained faithful to their emperor, even after his death, and knew no remission of the pontifical sentence. They heard no mass, received no viaticum. The plague carried off in Strasburg sixteen thousand persons§,—all of whom believed themselves lost to all eternity. At length, the Dominicans, who had persisted in officiating for some time, departed like the rest. Three men only, three mystics, paid no attention to the interdict, and remained to console the dying,—the Dominican Tauler, the Austin friar, Thomas of Strasburg, and the Carthusian, Ludolph. This was the flourishing period of the mystics. Ludolph wrote his *Life of Christ*; Tauler his *Imitation of the Poor Life of Jesus*; Suso his book of the *Nine Rocks*. The great Tauler himself went to consult, in the forest of Solgne, near Louvain, the aged Ruysbroek, the ecstatic doctor.

But among the people at large, ecstasy was fury. Abandoned as they were by the church, and filled

* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 116, and the contemporary translator of the little chronicle of St. Denys, MS. Coslin, No. 110, Bibl. Reg.—Ad sepeliendos mortuos vix sufficere poterant. Patrem filius, et filius patrem in grabato reliquebat. Contin. Can. de S. Victore, MS. Bibl. Reg. No. 813; a small quarto.

† Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 110.

‡ Id. *Ibid*.

§ See, amongst other works, a remarkable thesis by M. Schmidt, of Strasburg, on the mystics of the fourteenth century.

* Narbonne asks for the war allowance to be made it (qu'on lui allège les contributions de guerre).—"We have been extremely distressed by the inundation of the Aude, and, within between four and five years, the number of hearths has been diminished by five hundred; many of our townsmen have been reduced to beggary, &c." D. Vaissette, *Hist. de Lang.* t. iv. p. 231.

† *Ibid.* p. 267.

with contempt for the priests*, they did without sacraments, substituting for them bloody mortifications and frantic processions. The whole population of a place would set out, they knew not whither, as if urged by the breath of the Divine vengeance. They wore red crosses, and would scourge themselves, half naked, in the public places, with whips whose lashes were pointed with iron, and singing canticles unheard before†. They remained in each

* Johannes Vitoridanus, p. 49, ap. Gieseler, ii. 2, p. 65.

† *Noviterque inventas*. Contin. G. de Nangis, lii.—A very remarkable canticle, which the Brothers of the Cross were accustomed to sing during their ceremonies, has been published by M. Mazure, bookseller, of Poitiers. The following is a specimen:—

“Or avant, entre nous tous frères
Battons nos charognes bien fort
En remembrant la grant misère
De Dieu et sa piteuse mort,
Qui fut pris en la gent amère
Et vendus et traités à tort
• Et battu as char vierge et clère . . .
Au nom de ce, battons plus fort, &c.”

(Now on, brothers all together, let us strenuously lay it on our carion carcasses, remembering the great misery of God and his piteous death, who was taken by the hard-hearted race, and sold and dragged to death, and his pure and fair flesh scourged. . . . In his name, let us lay it on harder, &c.)

Dr. Lingard gives the following free version of the above stanzas:—

“Through love of man the Saviour came,
Through love of man he died;
He suffered want, reproach, and shame,
Was scourged and crucified.
Oh! think then on thy Saviour's pain,
And lash thee, sinner, lash again.”

(This canticle is cited by M. Levesque in his *Histoire des Cinq Premiers Valois*, t. i. p. 530, 531.—Lord Hailes dates the ravages of this plague in 1439, observing:—“The great pestilence, which had so long desolated the continent, reached Scotland. The historians of all countries speak with horror of this pestilence. It took a wider range, and proved more destructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind. Barnes, p. 428—441, has collected the accounts given of this pestilence by many historians; and hence he has, unknowingly, furnished materials for a curious inquiry into the populousness of Europe in the fourteenth century.”

Lingard says (vol. iii. p. 65—70, 4to, (“We first discover it in the empire of Cathai: thence we may trace its progress through different provinces of Asia to the Delta and the banks of the Nile: a south wind transported it into Greece and the Grecian Islands: from which it swept the coasts of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and crossed the barriers of the Alps into France. A succession of earthquakes, which shook the continent of Europe from Calabria to the north of Poland, ushered in the fatal year 1348: and though England escaped this calamity, it was deluged from the month of June to December with almost incessant torrents of rain. In the first week of August the plague made its appearance at Dorchester: in November it reached London, and thence gradually proceeded to the north of the island.

. . . . When historians tell us that one-half, or one-third of the human race perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration: but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality from the fact, that all the cemeteries in London were soon filled; that Sir Walter Manny purchased for a public burial-place a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands; and that the bodies deposited in it during several weeks, amounted to the daily average of two hundred. It is observed, that though the malady assailed the English in Ireland, it spared the natives. The Scots too were exempted for several months; and the circumstance afforded them a subject of triumph over their enemies, and introduced

town they came to only a day and a night, and scourged themselves twice a day. When they had gone on in this fashion thirty-three days and a half, they believed themselves to be as pure as on the day of baptism*.

The flagellants proceeded first from Germany into the Low Countries. Then the furor reached France through Flanders and Picardy, passing no further than Reims. The pope denounced them; and the king gave the word to fall upon them. Nevertheless, by Christmas, 1349, they amounted to nearly eight hundred thousand†, and these not from among the people only, but including gentlemen and barons. Noble dames hastened to follow the example‡.

There were no flagellants in Italy. The sombre enthusiasm of Germany and of Northern France, that was declared against the flesh, forms a strong contrast with the picture which Boccaccio has left us of Italian manners at the same epoch.

The prologue to the Decameron is the principal historic evidence we possess with regard to the great plague of 1348. Boccaccio asserts that at Florence alone, a hundred thousand perished. The contagion spread with terrible rapidity. “I have seen,” he says, “two hogs in the street shake with their tusks the rags of a dead body; a short hour afterwards, they turned, and turned, and fell—, they were dead. Friends no longer bore the coffin on their shoulders to the church indicated on the death-bed. Poor porters, wretched undertakers’ men hurried off the body to the nearest church. Many died in the streets; others, left alone in their houses—but the fact of their death was known by the smell. Often, husband and wife, son and father, were laid on the same bier. Large ditches had been dug, in which the corpses were heaped by hundreds, like bales in a ship’s hold. Each carried in his hands strong smelling herbs. The air stank with the dead and dying, or with infectious drugs. Alas! how many fine houses remained empty! how many fortunes without heirs! how many lovely ladies, how many amiable young persons dined in

among them a popular oath, ‘by the foul dethe of the English.’ They had even assembled an army to invade the neighbouring counties, when the contagion insinuated itself into their camp in the forest of Selkirk: five thousand died before they disbanded their forces: and the fugitives carried with them the infection into the most distant recesses of Scotland.

. . . . “A colony (of flagellants) reached England, and landed in London to the amount of one hundred and twenty men and women. Each day at the appointed hour they assembled, ranged themselves in two lines, and moved slowly through the streets, scourging their naked shoulders, and chanting a sacred hymn. At a known signal all, with the exception of the last, threw themselves flat on the ground. He, as he passed by his companions, gave each a lash, and then also lay down. The others followed in succession, till every individual in his turn had received a stroke from the whole brotherhood. The citizens gazed and marvelled, pitied and commended: but they ventured no further. Their faith was too weak, or their feelings were too acute: and they allowed the strangers to monopolize to themselves their novel and extraordinary grace. The missionaries made not a single proselyte, and were compelled to return home, with the barren satisfaction of having done their duty in the face of an unbelieving generation.”

TRANSLATOR.

* MS. des Chroniques de St. Denis, quoted by M. Mazure.

† Ibid.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, li. 111.

the morning with their friends, who, when evening came, supped with their ancestors!"

There runs throughout Boccaccio's whole narrative a something more sickening than the tale of death—the icy egotism which is openly confessed in it. "Many, he says, shut themselves up, lived temperately on the choicest aliments and best wines, avoiding all news of the progress of the pestilence, and diverting themselves with music and other amusements; with, however, complete moderation. Others, however, maintained that the glass, the song, and reckless jollity were the only medicines; and they acted up to what they preached, for they went about, day and night, from house to house, and this the more easily, since all, despairing of life, grew careless of this world's goods as well as of themselves, and their houses were open to all. The authority of all laws, divine and human, was utterly gone, for there were none to enforce them. It was the cruel, perhaps, *all the more prudent* idea of some, that the only remedy was flight. Thinking of themselves alone, they deserted their city, house, and relatives, and plunged into the country, as if God's wrath could not be beforehand with them. The denizens of the country, expecting death and regardless of the future, strove and racked their ingenuity to consume all they had. The cattle, asses, goats, &c., the very dogs wandered around, roaming over the teeming fields, and, like rational beings, returned of their own accord, when they had satisfied themselves, each evening contented to their homes. In the city, relations ceased to visit. Fear had struck such root in the human heart, that the sister deserted the brother, the wife the husband; and, almost incredible, parents shunned attendance on their children. The innumerable sick had no other dependence than the pity of their friends, (and friends were few,) or the avarice of the domestics; the latter being mostly of coarse unfeeling minds, unaccustomed to a sick bed, and only fit to give notice when the sufferer had breathed his last. From this universal desertion there resulted a thing hitherto unheard of—to wit, that a sick female, no matter how lovely, noble, or distinguished she might be, did not hesitate to accept the services of a man, even of a young man, or to expose herself, if constrained by the necessities of disease, just as she would have done to a woman,—and the character of those who recovered under such circumstances was, it is not unlikely, deteriorated."

Boccaccio, both as regards good-natured malice as well as recklessness, is Froissart's own brother. But, in the foregoing, the story-teller tells more than the historian. By its form even, its transition from the tragic to the witty, the Decameron images but too clearly the selfish indulgences which accompany great calamities. His prologue conducts us

* Che poi la sera vengente appresso nell' altro mondo cenarono colli loro passati. G. Boccaccio, Decamerone, Giorn. Prim.

† Matteo Villani blames those who thus withdrew. Ap. Muratori, xiv. p. 14.

‡ Le notte alle lor case, senza alcuno corremento di pastore, si tornavano esaltati. Id. ibid.

§ Id. ibid. Fu forse di minore onestà . . . cagione.

|| Thucydides has described the same effect in his account of the plague of Attica. He also shows the remarkable progress of scepticism, when he reminds us of the false interpretation given to the words of the oracle (λαμός, hunger, for λαμός, pestilence).

through the funeral vestibule of the plague of Florence to the delightful gardens of Pampinea, and that life of laughter, of the *far niente*, and of calculating oblivion of all around, led by his tale-tellers at the side of their mistresses, by rule and on hygienic principles. Machiavel, in his account of the pestilence of 1527, treats his subject with still less reserve. In none of his writings does the author of "The Prince" appear to me more coldly fiendish. He takes love and the compliments of gallantry into a church, hung with black, where his characters meet with surprise, as if from another world, congratulate each other on their still being flesh and blood, and plunge into revelry. Here, death is the go-between.

According to the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, "the survivors, men and women, married in crowds, and the births were in excess. Not one woman who survived proved sterile. Pregnant women were met with at every town; and two or three children at a birth were common."

As occurs after every great scourge,—after the plague of Marseilles—after the Reign of Terror,—men felt a *savage-jay* in life, and maddened for *heira*. The king, widowed and a free man, was going to marry his son to his cousin Blanche; but when he saw the young girl, he thought her too lovely for his son, and kept her for himself. He was fifty-eight years of age, she eighteen. The son married a widow of four-and-twenty, the heiress of Boulogne and of Auvergne, and who brought him, together with the guardianship of her infant son, the government of the two Burgundies. The kingdom was suffering, but its bounds extended. The king had just bought Montpellier and Dauphiny. The king's grandson married the duke of Bourbon's daughter, and the count of Flanders the duke of Brabant's. Nuptials and fêtes thronged upon each other.

These fêtes derived a fantastic brilliancy from the new fashions which had been for some years introduced into France and England. The courtiers, perhaps for the sake of greater contrast to the *knights-at-arms*, the men of the long robe, had taken to close-fitting garments, often parti-coloured; and these, with their hair tied up *en queue*, their bushy beards, and shoes with long turned-up points, gave them a whimsical appearance, something like a devil or a scorpion. The women loaded their heads with an enormous mitre, from the summit of which ribbons floated in the air like the streamers from the head of a mast. They disdained the use of a palfrey, and must be mounted on spirited chargers. They wore two daggers at their girdle.—The church vainly denounced these prideful and immodest fashions. The severe chronicler denounces them in rough terms: "They (the men) began," he says, "to wear a long beard, and short robes, so short as

* . . . "But what is beyond all marvellous is, that the said children, born after the above-mentioned mortality, when they came to the age of teething, had in general only twenty or twenty-two teeth in their mouths, whereas previously, thirty-two and more were common." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 110.

† Matteo Villani, ap. Muratori, xiv. p. 15.

‡ Id. ibid. l. i. p. 85.

§ Hist. de Languedoc, l. xxx. c. 39. Hist. du Dauphiné, Preuves, c. 156, p. 346.

|| Chaucer, 198. Gaguin, apud Spond. 448. Lingard, vol. iii. p. 69, 460.

to show their breach. All this gave rise to no small derision among the people. As the event proved, they were in a much sadder state to race from the enemy*."

These changes announced others. The world was about to change actors as well as dress. These follies in the midst of miseries, these nuptials, hurried on the morrow of the plague, were to have their obsequies as well. The aged Philippe de Valois soon drooped away by the side of his young queen, and left the crown to his son (A.D. 1350).

CHAPTER II.

JOHN.—THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.—A.D. 1350-1356.

AMONG other celebrated personages, the plague of 1348 carried off the historian John Villani, and the beautiful Laura de Sades, she who, living and dead, was the object of Petrarch's song.

Laura, daughter of Messire Audibert, syndic of the burgh of Noves, near Avignon, had married Hugues de Sades, of an ancient burgess family of this city. She lived honourably at Avignon with her husband, by whom she had twelve children. It was, undoubtedly, this pure and faithful union, this beautiful family picture in a town so obnoxious to the charge of immorality as Avignon, which touched Petrarch's heart. She appeared to the young Florentine exile for the first time, on the 6th of April, 1327, or Good Friday, in church, and, most probably, with her husband and children by her side. From that moment, this noble image of youthful matronly grace was ever present to his eyes.

Let not the little I have to say of a Frenchwoman who made so lasting an impression on the greatest poet of the age, be objected to me as a digression. The history of *maerats*, is, above all, that of woman. We have spoken of Heloise and of Beatrice. Laura is not, like Heloise, a loving and self-sacrificing woman. She is not Dante's Beatrice, in whom the ideal prevails, and who is at last lost in eternal beauty. She does not die young; she has not the glorious transfiguration of death. She fulfils her destiny on earth. She is wife, mother—and aged; yet is still adored†. So faithful and disinterested a passion at this epoch of gross sensuality, was deserving of the perpetuity it has

gained among the most touching remembrances of the fourteenth century. We love to descry, in these deathly times, a living soul, a true and pure affection which inspired a passion that endured thirty years. We grow young again when contemplating this lovely and immortal youth of the soul.

He saw her for the last time, in September 1347. It was in the midst of a circle of females. She was serious and pensive, without pearl or chaplet. Dread of contagion reigned around. The poet withdrew, full of emotion, to restrain his tears. . . . In the course of the following year he heard of her death at Verona, and wrote the touching note which is still to be read in his Virgil, and in which he observes that she died in the same month, on the same day, and at the same hour on which he had first beheld her twenty years before*.

The poet had seen all the hopes and dreams of this life fade away within a few years†. In his youth, he had hoped that the nations of Christendom would forget their quarrels, become one, and find internal peace in a glorious war against the infidels. It was then he wrote the celebrated sonnet, "O aspettata in ciel, beata e bella." . . . But who was the pope that preached the crusade? John XXII., the son of a cordwainer at Cahors, a lawyer before he became pope, himself a *Cahorsin* and usurer, who amassed millions, and sent those who spoke of pure love and poverty to the stake.

Italy, on whom Petrarch next rested his hopes, equally failed him. Her princes flattered Petrarch

* "Laura, illustrious by her own virtues, and long the theme of my song, first appeared to my eyes, in my spring of life, the 6th of April, the first hour of the day (six in the morning), in St. Clara's church, Avignon, in the year 1327, and, in the same city, the same month of April, the same day of the month, and at the same hour of the year 1348, this light was removed from the world, when I was, alas! at Verona, ignorant of my hapless fate. The evil tidings reached me in a letter from my friend Louis, which found me at Parma, in the morning of May the 19th of the same year. That chaste and lovely body was deposited in the church of the Brothers-Minors (Minorites), the evening of the same day that she died. Her soul, I nothing doubt, is returned to heaven whence it came. To preserve the painful memory of this loss, I find a certain pleasure, mixed with bitterness, in writing this; and I write it, preferably, in this book, which often meets my eyes, in order that I may no longer find any pleasure in this life, and that my strongest bond to it being broken, I may be warned by the frequent sight of these words, and a just sense of a fleeting life, that it is time to quit Babylon. This, by the help of the divine grace, will become easy to me by manfully and courageously reviewing the superfluous cares, the vain hopes, and unexpected events which have agitated me during my sojourn upon earth."

† "What shall we now do, my brother? We have tried all, and rest is not to be found. When will it come; where seek it? Time is slipping from between our fingers; our old hopes sleep in the grave of our friends. The year 1348 has isolated us, has impoverished us—and not as regards such wealth as the Indian or Carpathian seas can renew. . . . There is one only consolation; we shall follow those who have gone before us. . . . Despair makes me more calm. What can he fear who has so often struggled with death—

"Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem."

(A giant despair is the only refuge of the conquered.)

You shall have me acting and speaking every day, with greater heart; and if a worthy subject is offered to my pen, my pen shall be the stronger." Petrarch, Epist. Fam. Pref. p. 379.

* Ad fugiendum coram inimicis magis apti. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 105.

† "It was not the form I so loved, as the mind: . . . the more she waxed in years . . . the devotee grew my worship; and if the spring flower visibly drooped as time went on, the graces of her mind improved." . . . At a later period, he seems to have recognised the vanity of his love. "How often hast thou not . . . in this city (which I will not term the cause, but the occasion of thy woes), after thinking thyself whole once more . . . walking through the well-known neighbourhoods, and reminded by the mute aspect of the well-known spots of former vain illusions, suddenly stopped, stupefied, and with difficulty refrained from tears. Then, the old wounds opening, thou hast fled, owing to thyself—I feel in my heart the workings of my ancient enemy: death hovers here." . . . De Cont. Mundi, p. 360, ed. Basilicæ, 1591.—See, also, among other works relative to Petrarch, the Memoirs of the Abbé de Sades, the *Vite* of Petrarch, and M. Foisset's excellent article in the *Biographie Universelle*.

and styled themselves his friends; but none of them listened to him. And what friends for the credulous poet were the ferocious and crafty Visconti of Milan! . . . Naples, seemingly, was better worth. Its learned king, Robert, had placed the crown on the poet's head when Petrarch was crowned in the capitol. But, on his repatriating to Naples, Robert was no more. Queen Joanna had succeeded him*; and scarcely had the poet arrived, before he saw the combats of the gladiators renewed in her court by a sanguinary nobility†. He foresaw the catastrophe that awaited Joanna's youthful husband; who shortly afterwards was strangled by his wife's lovers. . . . He writes from Naples—"Heu! fuge erudeles terras, fuge littus avarum!" (Alas! fly this cruel land, this greedy shore!)

Nevertheless, men talked of the restoration of Roman liberty by the tribune Rienzi. Petrarch entertained no doubt of the approaching union of Italy, of the whole world, under the good state, and sang beforehand the virtues of the liberator, and the glories of the new Rome. Meanwhile, Rienzi threatened death to the Colonna, Petrarch's friends. The poet long refused to credit this, and wrote a melancholy and anxious letter to the tribune, praying him to give the lie to these malicious reports‡.

The fall of the tribune depriving him of all hope that Italy could rise of herself, Petrarch transferred his facile enthusiasm to the emperor Charles IV., who was at the time making his entry into Italy. He met him on his road, presented him with golden medals of Trajan's and of Augustus's, and called upon him to bear in mind those great emperors. This Trajan and Augustus crossed the Alps with a retinue of two or three hundred horsemen. He had just sold the imperial rights in Italy, previously to sacrificing them in Germany in his golden bull. The pacific and thrifty emperor, with his badly-mounted attendants, was compared by the Italians to a travelling merchant going to a fair§.

The sorrowing Petrarch, so often deceived ||, took

* "Such is the alarm with which I am inspired by the extreme youth of the king and queen, and the age and disposition of the queen dowager, and the temper of the nobles, that I seem to see two horses entrusted to the keeping of a pack of wolves, and a kingdom without a king." . . . Ibid. p. 369. "I am at Naples, I have seen the queens, and been present at their councils. Oh, shame! oh, prodigy! May God avert this pest of this kind from our Italian skies." . . . Ibid. p. 640-1.

† "To walk by night here is like threading thick forests, doubtful and full of danger, armed young nobles at every turn . . . And how, wonder . . . when, in mid-day, in sight of prince and people, a fight of gladiators is infamously celebrated in an Italian city, with more than barbarian savageness." . . . Ibid. p. 645-6.

‡ "Beware, I beseech thee, of sullying with thy own hands the noble fame-wreath on thy brow. None but thyself, who hast laid them, can tear up the foundations of thy own laying. . . . Shall the world behold thee fall from the leader of the good, to be the satellite of the wicked. . . . Weigh well thyself, use no self-deceit, search who thou art, wast, whence camest . . . what part thou art playing, what name thou hast taken, the hopes thou hast held out, thy professions—and thou wilt see that thou art not the lord of the republic, but the servant." Ibid. p. 677-8.

§ He got some money out of the Italians, and returned quicker than he had come. The towns closed their gates; and he was hardly allowed to sleep one night in Cremona.

|| Most humiliating of all, the spiteful emperor had given the poetic crown to another.

refuge daily more and more in remote antiquity. Already old, he set about learning the language of Homer, and spelling the *Iliad*—look at his transport when he first handled the precious manuscript which he could not read*.

Thus he wandered about in his latter days, surviving, like Dante, all that he had loved. It was not Dante, but his shadow rather, paler and weaker, ever led by Virgil, and making an elysium for himself in the poetry of the ancient world. Towards his end, uneasy about the fate of the precious manuscripts which he bore about with him every where, he bequeathed them to the republic of Venice, and deposited his Homer and his Virgil in St. Mark's library, behind the famous horses of Corinth, where they were found three hundred years afterwards, half buried in dust. Venice, that inviolable asylum, begirt by the sea, was at the time the only spot to which the pious hand of the poet could with safety entrust, in his dying hour, the erring gods of antiquity.

This duty fulfilled, he went to warm his aged veins for a time in the sun of Arqua. Here he died in his library, his head resting on a book†.

These vain regrets, this obstinate fidelity to the past, which led the poet all his life in pursuit of shadows, and tempted him credulously to hope in tribune and in emperor, are not Petrarch's weakness alone, but that of the age. France herself, which seems to have so roughly repudiated the middle age by sacrificing the Templars and Boniface, turns back to it in her own despite, and hardens herself in her belief. The defeat of the feudal armies, and the great lesson taught by the battle of Crécy, which should have opened her eyes to the fact that another world had begun, only serve to awaken her regrets for her mounted knights. She learns nothing from the English archers. She understands not the modern genius which dashed her to the ground at Crécy with Edward's artillery.

Philippe de Valois' son, king Jean, is the king of gentlemen. More chivalrous still, and more luckless than his father, he takes for his model the blind John of Bohemia who fought, fastened to his horse, at Crécy. Not less blind than his model, king Jean, at the battle of Poitiers, dismounted from his horse in order to receive the charge of horsemen. But he had not the happiness to be killed, like John of Bohemia.

On his accession, Jean, to please the barons, issued an ordinance, empowering them to defer the payment of their debts‡. He created a new order for them, that of the Star; which offered a place of retreat to its members, and might be styled the *Invalides* of chivalry. A sumptuous mansion, destined to this purpose, was begun in the plain of St. Denys, but was never finished§. The

* See Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 466.

† A few days before, Boccaccio had sent him his Decameron. The aged poet learnt the patient *Grissida* by heart—that beautiful tale which purifies the rest of the work.

‡ Ord. II. p. 391 (March the 30th, 1351), and p. 447 (September).

§ "At this time king John appointed a fine company after the manner of the Round Table, which was to consist of three hundred noble knights, and king John covenanted to build a fine large mansion for the companions, at his own cost, at St. Denys, and the companions were to repair thither at all the solemn festivals of the year . . . the house was

members of the order swore never to give ground four acres' length, except as dead or prisoners. And prisoners they became.

This chivalrous prince signalizes his accession by brutally slaying, on mere suspicion, the constable d'Eu, his father's chief adviser, and throws every thing into the hands of a favourite, a Southern, a cunning, grasping man, Charles d'Espagne, for whom he had "a dishonest affection."² This favourite is made constable, and procures, besides, a county belonging to the young king of Navarre, Charles, whom Jean had already stripped of Champagne†. Charles, descended from a daughter of Louis Hutin's, believed himself, like Edward III., wronged of the crown of France. He assassinated the favourite, and attempted Jean's life; who threw him into prison, and made him entreat pardon on his knees‡. This dishonoured man will be the demon, the evil genius, of France. His surname is, *the wicked*. Now Jean slays the constable, slays d'Harcourt, and others, besides; but he remains Jean *the good*.

By *good*, we must understand the confiding, giddy, and lavish. No prince had lavished his people's money with such rapidity. He went about, like the man in Rabelais, eating his grapes sour, and his corn in the blade. He turned all into money, eating up the present and pledging the future. One would have said that he foresaw he had but a short time to remain in France.

His chief resource was altering the currency §. Philippe-le-Bel, and his son, Philippe de Valois, had largely employed this form of bankruptcy; but their doings were forgotten in Jean's, who went beyond all possible royal or national bankruptcy. To read the abrupt and contradictory ordinances issued by this prince in so few years seems a dream. It is the law run mad. At his accession, the mark of silver was worth five livres, five sous; at the end of the year, eleven livres. In February, 1352, it had fallen to four livres, five sous; a year after, it was raised to twelve livres. In 1354, it was fixed at four livres, four sous; in 1355, it was worth eighteen livres. It was reduced to five livres, five sous; but the coin was so adulterated, that in 1359 it rose to the rate of a hundred and two livres ||.

nearly finished, and still stands near St. Denis; and if it should chance that any of the companies should in their old age need relief, be weak of body, and wanting in worldly goods, the expenses for himself and two knaves (*varlets*) were to be well and honourably defrayed in the mansion, if he chose to remain there." Froiss. iii. 53—58, ed. Buchon.

* Such, says Villani, was the common rumour, *liv. c. 95, p. 219*.

† Charles had also to complain of the insolence of the constable, who called him *bilionneur-monnoie* (false coiners).

‡ Froissart, *append. t. iii. c. 335, p. 427—489*, ed. Buchon; and Sécouase, *Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, l. p. 35*.

§ On many of these coins the king of England was represented under the figure of a lion or a dragon, trampled upon by the king of France. Leblanc, *Traité des Monnoies, p. 243, 244*.

|| *Ibid. p. 261*. At first, John endeavoured to keep those shameful falsifications secret. He charged the officers of the mint—"On your oath to the king, observe the profoundest secrecy as to this matter . . . so that neither the money-changers or others may entertain any suspicion of it through you; for if it escape through you, you shall be so punished as to be an example to all others" (24th March, 1356). . . . "Should you be asked the alloy of the silver

These royal bankruptcies are at bottom the spoliation of the burghesses by the nobles. The barons and noble knights lay siege to the good king, and take from him all that he takes from others. His queen Blanche obtained for her own single share the confiscation of the Lombards, and forced payment to herself of whatever was owing to them over the whole kingdom*.

The nobility, beginning to live at a distance from their castles, and sojourning at great expense at court, became daily more rapacious. They would no longer give their service; but required to be paid for defending their lands from the ravages of the English. These haughty barons descended with a good grace to the rank of mercenaries†, appeared under arms on occasion of the grand musters (*montres*, shows) and royal reviews, and held out their hands to the paymaster. Under Philippe de Valois, the knight contented himself with ten sous a day. Under Jean, he required twenty, and the knight-banneret had forty. The enormous expense thus entailed on him forced king Jean to assemble the States oftener than any of his predecessors. So the nobles contributed, indirectly and unwittingly, to raise the States, especially the third estate (*le tiers-état*), the State which found the money, to an importance unknown before.

As long previously as 1343, his wars had forced Philippe de Valois to ask the States to impose a duty of four deniers in the livre upon merchandise, to be paid each time of sale. This was not a duty merely, it was an intolerable tax and grievance; it was to declare war against trade. The collector pitched his tent in the market-place, played the spy on dealer and buyer, put his hand into every pocket, and demanded (as it happened in Charles the Sixth's reign) his share out of a halfpenny-worth of grass. It is this duty, which is no other than the Spanish *alcavala*, then recently imposed on occasion of the wars with the Moors, that has struck the death-blow of Spanish industry. By way of indemnification, Philippe de Valois promised to coin good money, as in the days of St. Louis‡.

With new wants come new promises. In the crisis of 1346, the king promised the States of the

coin, pretend that it is six deniers." He enjoined them to imitate the older coins scrupulously, "So that the merchants may not detect the depreciation, under pain of your being proclaimed traitors." Before this, Philippe de Valois had used similar precautions, but, subsequently, he became bolder, and proclaimed as a right that which he had at first concealed as a fraud. John could not be less daring than his father. "Be it known," are his words, "that to us alone, and of our royal right, it belongs to make such money as we please throughout our kingdom, and to give it currency." Ord. iii. p. 555.—And as if it were not the people who suffered, he used this resource as a private revenue, which he applied to the public expenses, "which we could not well discharge without oppressing the people of the said kingdom, were it not for the domain and revenue arising from the profit of our mint." Préf. Ord. iii.

* The States of 1355 required these prosecutions to be suspended. Ord. iii. p. 30.

† In 1338, the nobles of Languedoc complained that the wages which they had been paid during the wars of Gascony, were not proportioned to those which they had received in the other wars waged there. This was just at the period the war was resumed with the English. The king granted the prayer of the petition. *Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 226*.

‡ *Id. l. xxi. c. 1, p. 249*.

North to restrict the right of *prisage*, "to what would suffice for the maintenance of his hotel, of his dear companion the queen, and of his children." He suppressed some sergeant's places, abolished contradictory jurisdictions, and called in the letters allowing the barons to adjourn the payment of their debts*. The States of the South granted him ten sous on each hearth or family, on the faith of his promise to suppress the gabelle, and the duty on sales†.

In 1351, Jean, on seeking from the States the customary gratification on a new king's mounting the throne (*son droit de joyeux avènement*), received their reclamations, no matter how clashing and contradictory, with the utmost graciousness. He promised the nobles of Picardy to tolerate private wars‡; the Norman burgesses, to interdict them §. They both granted him six deniers on all sales. He gave the manufacturers of Troyes a monopoly of narrow cloths or *couvre-chefs* ||; and fixed the salaries which the Paris masters were to pay their workmen, and which had risen to an extravagant height through the decrease of the population and the plague ¶. The burgesses of Paris, who were consulted in person, and not through the medium of their deputies, granted in their assembly, held at their common hall (*parloir aux bourgeois*) the duty on sales**. They are summoned by the king to the *parloir*; they will soon find their way there without him.

In 1346, the king had promised reforms; and the States, believing him, had voted with the utmost docility. They got through their business in one day. In 1351, the Picard nobles refuse to allow their vassals to pay taxes, except they themselves enjoy an exemption, and except the king's vassals and those of the princes are made liable as well as their own.

In 1355, the English lay waste the South, and it behoved to ask for more money. The States of the North, or of the *langue d'Oïl*††, convened on the 30th of November of the same year, showed little docility. It was necessary to promise them the abolition of the direct robbery called *prisage* (*droit le prise*), and of the indirect robbery committed by tampering with the currency‡‡. The king declared that the new tax should extend to all, both clerks and nobles, and that he would himself pay it, as should the queen and the princes.

The States had no confidence in these fair words. They would neither trust the king's promise, nor his receivers. They chose to receive themselves through receivers of their own appointing, have the accounts brought before themselves, meet again on the 1st of March, and then a year after on St. Andrew's day§§.

* Ord. ii. p. 239. 241.

† Hist. de Languedoc, l. xxxi. c. 17, p. 258.

‡ Ord. ii. p. 395, 15*, and 547, 448.

§ Ibid. p. 408, 27*.

¶ Ibid. p. 844.

¶ Ibid. p. 880.

** Ibid. p. 422. 432. 434.—"Letters in which the king forbids his domestics carrying off the mattresses and cushions from the houses in Paris where he shall stay." Autre Ordon. p. 435—457.

†† (Or of the *Langue d'Oïl*, or French proper, as distinguished from the *Langue d'Oc*, or Romance tongue). TRANSLATOR.

‡‡ Ord. iii. p. 26—29.

§§ Ibid. p. 22, et seqq.—Froiss. iii. c. 340, p. 450, ed. Buchon.

To vote taxes and to receive them, is to reign. None of that day were conscious of the whole bearing of this bold demand of the States; not even Marcel, the celebrated provost of the merchants, whom we see at the head of the deputies from the towns*.

The assembly purchased this sovereignty by the enormous grant of six millions of *lires Paris*, to go to the pay of thirty thousand men-at-arms. This sum was to be raised by two taxes; the one on salt, the other on sales: bad taxes, doubtless, and pressing on the poor; but how devise any other in a time of urgent need, and with the South a prey to the spoiler!

Normandy, Artois, and Picardy, sent no representatives to these States. The Normans were encouraged by the king of Navarre, the count d'Harcourt, and others, who declared that the gabelle should not be levied on their lands, saying—"That no man shall be found bold enough to enforce it in the name of the king of France, or sergeant to levy fines in default, but shall pay for his temerity with his body†."

The States gave way. They repealed the two taxes, and substituted in their stead an income tax of five per cent. on the poorest, four on those of moderate means, and two per cent. on the wealthy. The richer one was, the less one paid.

The king, mortally offended by the opposition of the king of Navarre and his friends, had said, "that he should never know happiness as long as they were alive." He started from Orleans with a few knights, rode thirty hours without drawing bridle, and surprised them in the castle of Rouen as they were sitting down to table. They were the dauphin's guests. Jean beheaded d'Harcourt and three others. The king of Navarre was thrown into prison, and threatened with death. A report was spread that they had tempted the dauphin to escape to the emperor, and make war on his father‡.

The opposition to the taxes voted by the States laid the kingdom at the mercy of the English. The prince of Wales overran our southern provinces at his ease, with a small army, consisting this time mostly of men-at-arms and knights. The war was not carried on in a more knightly manner for it; for they burned and destroyed like brigands, who leave the track they never mean to retrace a desert. First, they traversed Languedoc, an untouched country which had not yet suffered §, and which they sacked and harried just as Normandy had been in 1346. They brought back to Bordeaux five thousand waggon-loads of spoil ||. Then, after

* "The citizens answered by Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for the king." Froissart, b. i, c. 154, who gives a minute account of the assessment made by the States.

† Froiss. iii. p. 125, ed. Buchon.

‡ Id. Ibid. Addit. p. 131, and c. 341, p. 457.—Sécouasse, Freuven de l'Hist. de Charles-le-Mauvais, ii. p. 47.

§ "Know that this country of Carcassonne, the Narbonne, and the Toulouse, where the English were at this time, was one of the very richest countries in the world, inhabited by good and simple people who knew not what war was, for they had never been warred upon before the prince of Wales turned his steps thither." Froiss. iii. p. 104, ed. Buchon.

|| "Nor did the English set any store on velvet, or on any thing save silver plate and good furs." Id. t. iii.

depositing their booty in safety, they methodically resumed their cruel expedition through Rouergue, Auvergne, and the Limousin, entering every where without a blow being struck, burning and pillaging, loaded like pedlars, and glutted with the fruits and wines of France. They next made a descent upon Berry, and traversed the banks of the Loire. However, three knights, who had thrown themselves into Romorantin with a few men, sufficed to check their progress. They were thunderstruck at such resistance; and the prince of Wales swore he would force the place, and lost many days there *.

King Jean, who had begun the campaign by seizing on those strongholds belonging to the king of Navarre, into which the latter might have introduced the English, at last made his appearance with a large army, as numerous as any France has lost. The whole face of the country was covered by his foragers; so that food failed the English. Each, too, was ignorant of the exact position of his enemy. Jean believing the English to be before him hurried after them, whilst he was in reality leaving them behind. Equally well informed, the prince of Wales believed the French to be behind him †. It was the second time, and not for the last time either, that the English had blindly entangled themselves in the midst of the enemy's country. Without a miracle they were lost; and Jean's thoughtlessness served them for one.

The prince of Wales's army, half English, half Gascon, was composed of two thousand men-at-arms, four thousand archers, and two thousand brigands, hired in the South, light troops. Jean was at the head of the great feudal mass of the ban and arrière-ban, which made up full fifty thousand men. He had with him his four sons, twenty-six dukes or counts, and a hundred and forty knights-bannerets, with their banners given to the wind—a magnificent spectacle; but the army was not worth the more for all this.

Two cardinal legates, one of whom was named *Talleyrand*, interfered in order to hinder the effusion of Christian blood ‡. The prince of Wales offered to surrender all he had taken, places and men, and to take an oath not to carry arms against France for seven years. Jean refused, as was natural. It would have been disgraceful to suffer these plunderers to escape. He demanded the surrender of the prince of Wales, together with a hundred knights.

The English had intrenched themselves on the hill of Maupertuis, near Poitiers; a stiff hill, planted with vines, and enclosed by hedges and thickets of thorn. Its side bristled with English archers. There was no need to attack them. To keep them there was all that was wanted. Hunger and thirst would have tamed them down in two days' time. Jean thought it more chivalrous to force his enemy.

There was only one narrow path by which the hill could be scaled. The French king employed his knights on this service. The scene was almost that of the battle of Morgarten. The archers rained down their arrows, riddled the horses, terrified them, and forced them back one over the other *. The English seized the moment to sweep down †. A panic seized the vast army; and three of the king's sons withdrew from the field of battle by their father's orders ‡, taking with them for escort a body of eight hundred lances.

The king, however, kept his ground. He had employed knights to force the mountain; with the same good sense, he ordered his men-at-arms to dismount, to receive the charge of the English on horseback §. Jean's resistance was as fatal to his kingdom as the retreat of his sons. His companions of the order of the Star were, like him, faithful to their vows. They did not yield one step backwards. "They fought in troops and companies, just as they came together." But the multitude fled towards Poitiers, which closed its gates against them; "upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway before the gate, where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they spied an Englishman."

The day, however, was still disputed:—"King Jean did wondrous deeds of arms with his own hand, and with his axe defended himself, and fought only too well." By his side, his youngest son, who deserved his surname of *Hardi*, (the

* "The engagement now began on both sides: and the battalion of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had entered the lane where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers; who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses, smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and, by their unwilliness, threw their masters, who could not manage them; nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion." *Id. b. i. c. 161.* "To say the truth, the English archers were of infinite service to their army; for they shot so thickly and so well, that the French did not know which way to turn themselves, to avoid their arrows." *Id. ibid.*

† "Sir John Chandos said to the prince, 'Sir, Sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the king of France; for where he is will lie the main stress of the business: I well know that his valour will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it pleases God and St. George: but he must be well fought with; and you have before said that you would show yourself this day a good knight.' The prince replied: 'John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost.' He then said to sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, 'Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George.'" *Id. ibid.*

‡ I here follow the continuator of *Guyllaume de Nangis*, in preference to *Froissart*. See the important letter written by the count of Armagnac, published by M. Lacabanne, in his excellent life of Charles V., *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*.

§ *Froissart* only looks at the chivalrous side:—"And showed no appearance of flight, or of giving ground when he said to his men, 'On foot, on foot!' And he made all those alight who were on horseback, and putting himself at the head of his knights, a battle-axe in his hand, he ordered the banners to advance in the name of God and of St. Denys." *Froiss. c. 360, p. 211, ed. Buchon.*

p. 163, 16th edit. "So was it burnt and destroyed by the English, that there scarcely remained a place to stable a horse in; nor could the heirs, or the bourgeois, fix or say to a certainty, 'This is my property.' So was it treated." *Id. t. III. p. 120, ed. Buchon.*

* He was compelled to bring up against these three knights all the apparatus of a siege,--cannons, carreaux, bombards, and Greek fire. *Id. c. 346, p. 168, ed. Buchon.*

† *Id. c. 353, p. 174, ed. Buchon.*

‡ *Froissart, b. I. c. 158.*

hardy or bold), directed his blind courage, crying out to him on each fresh assault, "Father, guard your right, guard your left." But their assailants thickened around them, eager for so rich a prey. "The English and Gascons poured so fast on the king's division, that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men-at-arms attacking one gentleman." The press was greatest around the king, "through eagerness to take him; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, 'Surrender yourself! Surrender yourself! or you are a dead man.' In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the king of England; his name was Denys de Morbeque, who for five years had attached himself to the English, on account of having been banished in his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French, 'Sire, sire, surrender yourself.' The king, who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, 'To whom shall I surrender myself? to whom? Where is my cousin the prince of Wales? if I could see him, I would speak to him.' 'Sire,' replied Sir Denys, 'he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him.' 'Who are you?' said the king. 'Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque, a knight from Artois; but I serve the king of England, because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there.' The king then gave him his right-hand glove, and said, 'I surrender myself to you.' There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, 'I have taken him.' Neither the king nor his youngest son Philippe were able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng*.

The prince of Wales did honour to the unheard-of fortune which had placed such a hostage in his hands. He took good care not to treat his captive as if he himself not Jean were king; to treat him not as "John of Valois," as the English were in the habit of styling him, but as the true king of France. It was of too much consequence to him that John should be really king, in order that the kingdom might appear captured in the person of its monarch, and might ruin itself to pay his ransom, to act otherwise. He waited on John, at table, after the battle. On making his public entry into London, he mounted him on a large white horse (the sign of suzerainty), whilst he himself followed on a small black hackney†.

The English were no less courteous to the other prisoners, who were twice as numerous as the men they had to guard them. For the most part, they set them free on parole, requiring them to pledge their words to be in England by the festival of Christmas, with the enormous ransoms which they

were held to pay. The French were too good knights to forfeit their pledge. In this war between gentlemen, the worst that could befall the conquered was to take a share in the fêtes of the conquerors, to partake the amusement of the chase or tourney, and to enjoy in good faith the ostentatious hospitality (*l'insolente courtoisie*) of the English*,—a noble war, no doubt, which immolated the villain alone.

Great was the consternation at Paris when the fugitives from Poitiers, with the dauphin at their head, came with the news that France had no longer king or barons, that all were either taken or slain. The English, who had withdrawn for a moment in order to ensure the safety of their prize, would be sure to return. And when they did, it was to be expected that they would take possession not of Calais only, but of Paris and the whole kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER.—THE STATES-GENERAL.—PARIS.—THE JACQUERIE.—THE PLAGUE.—A.D. 1356-64.

THERE was not much to be hoped for from the dauphin, or from his brothers. The prince was feeble, pale, diminutive. He was but nineteen years of age. All that was known of him was his having invited the friends of the king of Navarre to the fatal dinner at Rouen, and given at Poitiers the signal for flight.

But the city did not need the dauphin. It proceeded to put itself at once in a state of defence. Stephen Marcel, the provost of the merchants, made every arrangement. First, to prevent surprise by night, chains were forged and stretched across the streets. Next, the walls were raised by parapets, and ballistæ and other engines put upon them with whatever cannon could be got. But the old walls of Philippe-Auguste no longer contained Paris: it had overflowed on every side. Other walls had been built, which protected the university; and which, on the opposite side, extended from the church of Ave Maria to the gate of St. Denys, and thence to the Louvre. The island even was fortified; and seven hundred and fifty sentry-boxes placed on the ramparts. All these vast preparations were completed in three years†.

I cannot explain the revolution which is about to follow, and the part which Paris played in it, without explaining what Paris is.

The arms of Paris are a ship. Primitively, Paris is itself a ship, an island, which floats between the Seine and the Marne, already united, but not conformed‡.

* "Shortly afterward, the king of France and all his household were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windsor castle, where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in the neighbourhood." &c. *Id. ibid.*

† To complete these fortifications it was necessary to pull down many large and fine houses, both within and without the city. Charles V. had the fosses widened and deepened, and added fosses behind the walls, as well as walls flanked with towers. Pélissier, *Hist. de Paris*, p. 635.

‡ By the island of Louviers, the two rivers are often distinctly marked by the different colour of their waters.

* Froissart, b. i. c. 163.

† "The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London, thus accompanied," &c. *Id. ibid.* b. i. c. 172.

On the south is the learned, on the north the commercial town*; in the centre, the City, the cathedral, the palace,—authority.

The beautiful harmony produced by a city thus floating between two different towns which gracefully close it in, would alone make Paris unique, and render it the most lovely of all cities, ancient and modern. Rome and London present nothing like it; they are cast on one side of their rivers alone†. Not only is the form of Paris beautiful, but it is truly organic. The city is the primitive rudiment, the individual germ, round which the two universalities of commerce and science have grouped themselves—the whole constituting the true capital of human sociability.

The ruling power, the City, was the island. But on the two banks were two asylums opened to independence. The University had its jurisdiction for scholars; the Temple its jurisdiction for artisans‡.

When Guillaume de Champeaux, worsted by Abelard in the schools of Notre Dame, took refuge in the abbey of St. Victor, the conquering logician pursued him thither, and pitched his tent at St. G  n  vi  re§. This war, this *secessio* to another Aventine, was the origin of the schools of the Mountain. Abelard, whose word sufficed to create a city in the desert||, was thus one of the founders of our southern Paris. The eristic town had its birth in dispute.

Westwards, it could not extend itself. On this side it hurled against the immovable wall of St. Germain-des-Pr  s. The old abbey, which had remembered the town in its infancy, and had at first assisted it in its growth, was surrounded and besieged by it. But the abbey held out. Born of the Seine, this town extended itself on the other bank at least. There, were its markets, its slaughter-houses, its burial-place,—Innocents' cemetery (cimet  re des Innocents). But once hemmed in on this side between the Louvre and the Temple¶, it belled out, being prevented from stretching itself lengthwise, and acquired that paunch which fills the space between the Ch  telet and the gate St. Denis.

The ecclesiastical jurisdictions, those of Notre Dame and St. Germain, found rude adversaries in our kings. It is known that queen Blanche herself forced the prisons of the canons, in order to release their debtors**. The first royal provost (A.D. 1302), a Stephen, had also wished to force St. Germain's; but for the purpose of taking out of it, to meet a pressing want of the king's, Childbert's valuable cross††. These provosts would seem to have reserved their devotion for the king only. Another Stephen (Etienne Boileau), obtained St. Louis's permission to hang a robber on a Good Friday. Our fifth Charles's provost was persecuted by the clergy, as being friendly to the Jews.

The university was often at war with Notre

Dame and St. Germain-des-Pr  s. The monarch abetted it. He almost invariably sided with the scholars against the burgesses, and even against his provost, who had commonly to make reparation for having done justice*. The king had need of the university, and was pleased to rely on this formidable instrument, without entertaining a suspicion that it might turn against him. Philippe-le-Bel summoned to the Temple the masters of the university, in order to have read to them the charge against the Templars. Philippe-le-Long, for the support of his disputed succession, invited their presence on the occasion of his barons taking the oath which he required of them, and obtained their approbation. Thus the daughter of kings bears herself as judge of kings. Philippe de Valois makes her judge the pope; and the pope who has so long supported the university against the bishop of Paris, is threatened by her with condemnation†. Soon the pride of the university will be swelled to the utmost by the occurrence of schism: it will choose between popes, govern Paris, and lord it over the king.

The university constituted a people of itself. When the rector, at the head of the faculties of the nations, led the university to the fair of Landit, between St. Denys and La Chapelle, when he repaired with the parchment-makers of the university to sit in despotic judgment on the parchments for sale within the city liberties (la banlieue), the burgesses would remark with pride that the rector had reached the plain of St. Denys, whilst the tail of the procession was at the Mathurins-Saint-Jacques.

But northern Paris was still more populous, as may be judged by two grand reviews which were held in Paris in the course of the fourteenth century, and in which the university, which was composed of priests, scholars and foreigners, bore no part. In the first review (A.D. 1313), commanded by Philippe-le-Bel, in honour of his son-in-law, the king of England, the numbers present were estimated at twenty thousand horsemen and thirty thousand foot soldiers‡. The English were thunderstruck. In 1383, the Parisians marched out by way of Montmartre and ranged themselves in battle array, in order to welcome Charles VI. on his return from Flanders. They mustered in several divisions, one of crossbow-men, one of bucklermen (paveschiens), and another, armed with mallets or maces, which alone consisted of twenty thousand men§.

The population of Paris was not only very large, but very intelligent, and much superior to the France at large of that day. Not to dwell upon its connexion with so great a university; commerce, banking, and the Lombards, must have extended their ideas. The parliament, whither were brought appeals from all the courts of justice, baronial or others, in the kingdom, attracted a host of counsellors to Paris. The Chamber of Accounts, that great financial tribunal, the *Empire of Galilee*, as it was termed||, could not fail to attract numbers at this fiscal epoch. Burgesses filled the most im-

* On this side, as early as Charles the Bald's time, we meet with the fair of Landit, between St. Denys and La Chapelle. F  libien, p. 97.

† They have only a suburb on the other side.

‡ Five centuries after the fall of the Templars, the precinct of the Temple, greatly circumscribed it is true, still afforded the lesser tradesmen refuge against the rules of the corporations.

§ F  libien, p. 144, sqq.

|| See, above, p. 182.

¶ Luparam prope Parisios. Philippe-Auguste completed its erection about the year 1204.

** F  libien, p. 335.

†† Ibid. p. 132.

* Ibid. p. 220.

† Rayn. Annal. Eccles., ann. 1331, par. 43.

‡ Chron. de St. Victor, p. 460.

§ Froissart, t. viii. p. 377, ed. Buchon. See, further on, b. vii. c. 1.

|| An allusion to the street of Galilee, near which the Chamber was situated.

portant offices. Barbet, master of the mint under Philippe-le-Bel, and Poilvilain, king Jean's treasurer, were burgesses of Paris. The king made a show of confidence in the good city. Notwithstanding the revolt on account of the coinage in 1306, he himself summoned the townsmen to his royal garden, at the time of the prosecution of the Templars*.

The natural head of this large population was, not the royal provost, a police magistrate and almost always unpopular, but the provost of the merchants, the natural president of the aldermen (échevins) of Paris. In the deserted condition of the kingdom, after the battle of Poitiers, Paris took the initiative; and, in Paris, the provost of the merchants.

Four hundred deputies from the good cities, and, at their head, Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants, met and constituted the States of the north on the 17th of October, a month after the battle. As the barons were mostly prisoners, they could only appear there by proxy, and so with the bishops. All the power rested with the deputies from the towns, and especially with those from Paris. In the memorable result of the meeting of these States,—the ordinance of the year 1357,—the revolutionary spirit, and, at the same time, the administrative genius of the great commune, are striking. The clearness and unity of the views which characterize this act, are susceptible of no other explanation: France would have done nothing without Paris.

The States, who at first assembled in the parliament-house, and then, at the Franciscan convent, nominated a committee of fifty deputies to inquire into the state of the kingdom. They desired "to have further information as to what had become of the immense sums levied on the kingdom in time past, by tenths, maltoltes, subsidies, and minting of coin, and extortions of every kind, with which their folk had been vexed and harassed, and the soldiers ill-paid, and the kingdom badly guarded and defended,—but no one could render an account of it†."

All that was known was, that there had been monstrous prodigality, malversation, and shock to general credit. When the public distress was at its height, the king had given fifty thousand crowns to one of his knights‡. Not one of the royal officers had clean hands. The committee gave the dauphin to understand that in full assembly they would demand of him to prosecute his officers, to set the king of Navarre at liberty, and to associate with himself thirty-six deputies of the States, twelve from each order, in the government of the kingdom§.

The dauphin, who was not king, could hardly place the kingly power in the hands of the States on this fashion. He adjourned the sitting of the States, alleging letters that he had received from the king and emperor, and then recommended the deputies to return and consult their fellow-townsmen, whilst he would advise with his father||.

* See, above, p. 319.

† Froiss. iii. c. 372, p. 254, ed. Buchon.

‡ Sismondi, t. x. p. 430.

§ Sécouisse, Préf. p. 50, 51.

|| In dismissing them to their respective provinces, he relied, no doubt, on the innumerable divisions that must arise among so many different interests, on the jealousy felt

The States of the south, assembled at Toulouse, close to the seat of danger, were more tractable, and readily voted money and troops. The provincial States, those of Auvergne for instance, voted grants as well, but still reserving to themselves the right of checking the expenditure*. All this time the dauphin was at Metz, in order to receive his uncle, the emperor, Charles IV.; a poor dauphin, and a poor emperor, who could do nothing the one for another. On her side, the queen had gone to Dijon to marry her little duke of Burgundy, her son by her first marriage, to the little Margaret of Flanders; an expensive journey, which had the distant advantage of approximating Flanders and France. What was to become of Paris, thus abandoned, and without king, queen, or dauphin? The peasants, with their families, and scanty goods, crowded into it through every gate; and, then, in long and mournful files, the monks and nuns of the environs. All these fugitives had fearful tales to tell of the scenes that were taking place in the country, where the barons, taken prisoners at Poitiers, and released on parole, had hastened to raise their ransom-money, and ruined the peasantry on their domains. To complete the general ruin came the disbanded soldiers, who, pillaged, ravished, murdered; and who had been known to put to the torture those who had no longer any thing, in order to force them still to give†. They were the terror of the country, like the *vermines* (chauffeurs‡) of the Revolution.

The States being again assembled on the 6th of February, 1357, Marcel and Robert le Coq, archbishop of Laon, laid before them a schedule of grievances, and it was resolved that each deputy should communicate the same to the province which sent him; and this communication, which was made with exceeding rapidity for that age, especially taking into account the season of the year, occupied no longer than a month. The schedule was handed in to the dauphin on the 3d of March, by Robert le Coq, formerly a lawyer of Paris, and who, having filled the offices of councillor to Philippe de Valois, and president of the parliament, had become bishop-duke of Laon, and enjoyed the independence of the great dignitaries of the church. Le Coq, at once the king's man and the commons' man, mediated between the two, and was counselor to both parties. He was likened to the carpenter's twybill (besague), *bis-acuta*, which cuts at both ends§. After he has spoken—the lord of Pequigny, on behalf of the nobles, a lawyer of Bâville on behalf of the commons, and Marcel on behalf of

by the nobles of the towns, and by the towns of Paris—whose influence had brought about the last revolution.

* Sécouisse, Préf. p. 57.

† Duce Normannicus, qui Regnum jure hereditario . . . defendere . . . regere tenebatur, nulla remedia apponente, magna pars populi rusticani . . . ad civitatem Parisiensem . . . cum uxoriis et liberis . . . accurrere. . . . Nec parcebat in hoc Religiosis quibuscunque. Propter quod monachi et moniales . . . sorores de Polasiaco, de Longo Campo, &c. Contin. G. de Nang. p. 116.—"Another band plundered the whole country between the Seine and the Loire, so that no one durst travel from Paris to Vendôme, Orléans, or Montargis; and no one durst remain there, but all the inhabitants of the flat country fled to Paris or to Orléans." Froiss. iii. p. 284—286, ed. Buchon.

‡ (A description of these ruffians will be found in Vidocq's Mémoires.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Sécouisse, i. 111.

the burgesses of Paris, declared their concurrence in all ~~the~~ had just said.

This remonstrance of the States was at once an harangue and a sermon. They began with exhorting the dauphin to fear God, to honour him and his ministers, and to keep his commandments. He was to dismiss evil counsellors, and to transact nothing through the medium of the young, simple, and ignorant. He could not, he was told, possibly entertain any doubt as to the States expressing the sentiments of the people at large, since the deputies were nearly eight hundred in number, and had advised with the provinces which had sent them. As to what he had been told of the plot of the deputies to make away with his counsellors, it was, they assured him, a calumnious falsehood*.

They required him to take to assist him in the government of the kingdom, during the intervals of the sitting of the States, thirty-six deputies chosen by the States, twelve from each order; and others were to be sent into the provinces with almost illimitable powers, empowered to condemn without the formality of trial†, to borrow, to constrain, to decree, to pay, to chastise the king's officers, to assemble provincial states, &c.

The States voted an aid for the equipment of thirty thousand men-at-arms. But they made the dauphin promise not to levy or expend the aid by his own officers, but by good, prudent, loyal, solvent men, appointed by the three States‡. A new coinage was to be issued, after the pattern and models in the hands of the provost of the merchants of Paris§. No change was to be made in the coin, without the consent of the States.

Truces were not to be entered into or the arrière-ban called out, without their authorization.

Every man in France is to provide himself with arms.

The nobles are not to quit the kingdom on any pretext. They are to suspend all private war: "In case of infringement of this regulation, the authorities of the place, or, if need be, the good people of the country, do arrest such peace-breakers . . . and compel them, by imprisonment and fines, to make peace, and cease to carry on war." Here are the

* MS. de la Bibliothèque Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646, and Brienne, No. 276.

† "Sans figure de jugement." Commission des trois Élus des États pour les diocèses de Clermont et de St. Flour (Commission of the three deputies appointed by the States to the dioceses of Clermont and of St. Flour). March 3, 1356-57. Ordonn. iv. p. 181.

‡ "They will swear on God's holy gospels not to give or distribute the said money to our lord the king, or to us, or to any one, save to the soldiery. . . . And if any of our officers seek to take, we will the said receivers to resist them; and, if they have not force at hand, to call upon their neighbours of the good towns" (art. 2).§—The aid is granted for a year only. The States, whether summoned or not, are to assemble the Sunday next after Easter: on which day, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Flanders, and other nobles or deputies of the towns, who did not come to the States, are required to be present, with an intimation that in case of absence, they will be held to whatever ordinances shall be passed by those who attend (art. 5). Ord. iii. p. 126-7.

§ "A l'instruction et aux patrons qui sont entre les mains du prévôt des marchands de Paris."

¶ "Que si aucun fait le contraire, la justice du lieu, ou s'il est besoin, ces bonnes gens du pays, prennent tels guerriers . . . et les contraignent sans délai par retenue de

härens subjected to the supervision of the communes—

The right of prisage is to cease. The collectors may be resisted, and the people assemble against them by summons or by tolling the bell*.

No more gifts out of the royal demesnes; and all such gifts from the days of Philippe-le-Bel to the present time are to be revoked. The dauphin promises to put a stop to all superfluous and voluptuous outlay in his own expenses. He is to exact an oath from his officers that they will ask him for no grants, save in presence of the grand council.

One office is to content one individual. The number of officers of justice is to be reduced. Provostships and viscountships are no longer to be farmed out. Provosts, &c. are not to be appointed to the districts in which they were born.

No more commissions are to be issued for trials. Criminals are not to be allowed to make composition, but "full justice is to be done."

Although one of the principal framers of the ordinance, Le Coq, had been an advocate and president of the parliament, it deals severely with magistrates. They are prohibited from carrying on trade†, from entering into understandings with each other, and from encroaching on each others' jurisdiction. They are upbraided with their idleness. In some cases their salaries are reduced. These reforms are just; but the language in which they are couched is rude, and its tone bitter and hostile. It is evident that the parliament refused to abet the States and the communes.

The presidents, and other members of the parliament, who sit on courts of inquiry, are to take only forty sous a-day. "Many have been wont to take too large a salary, and to use four or five horses, whereas, had it been at their own expense, they would have been contented with two or three‡."

The grand council, the parliament, and the chamber of accounts are accused of negligence. Decrees, which ought to have been pronounced twenty years ago, are still to pronounce§. The councillors assemble late, their dinners are long, their afternoons (après-dîners) unprofitable¶. The officers of the chamber of accounts are to swear on God's holy gospels, that they will expedite the causes of the good people well, loyally, and in due order, without keeping them waiting (sans eux faire muser). The grand council, the parliament, and chamber of accounts, are to meet at sun-rise||. Those mem-

corps et exploitation de leurs biens, à faire paix, et à cesser de guerroyer."

* " . . . s'assembler contre eux par cri, ou par son de cloche."—Only when the king, queen, or dauphin travel, their *maîtres d'hôtels* may, except in the towns, order the peace-officers of the district, to take tables, cushions, straw, and carriages for their use, paying for the same, and only for a day. Ordon. iii.

† Défense aux conseillers et officiers de faire marchandise:—"By their evil practices the price of provisions is often greatly raised; and, what is worse, through their greed (gouttesse) there are few who dare to price those provisions which they, or their factors for them, desire to buy." Art. 31. Ibidem.

‡ "Plusieurs ont accoustumé de prendre salaire trop excessif, et d'aller à quatre ou cinq chevaux, quoique s'ils alloient à leurs dépens, il leur suffiroit bien d'aller à deux chevaux ou à trois."

§ Ord. iii.

|| This is not in the ordinance, but in the remonstrance referred to above; in which it was also stated, "That they

bers of the grand council also who shall not be present *betimes in the morning* (bien matin), shall lose their day's salary. Notwithstanding their high office, these members are treated unceremoniously by the Burgess legislators.

This great ordinance of 1357, which the dauphin was compelled to sign, was much more than a reform. It effected a sudden change of government. It placed the administrative power in the hands of the States, and substituted a republic for the monarchy. It gave the supreme authority to the people, whilst there was as yet no people. To construct a new government in the midst of such a war, was as singularly perilous an operation, as for an army to change its order of battle in the presence of an enemy. The odds were that France would perish in thus putting about.*

The ordinance destroyed abuses. But it was on abuses the crown lived. To destroy them was to destroy authority, to dissolve the state, to disarm France.

Did France really enjoy a political personality; could one attribute one common will to it? All that can be affirmed is, that authority seemed to it wholly vested in the crown. It desired only partial reforms. In all probability the ordinance approved by the States was only the work of one commune, of one great and intelligent commune, which spoke in the name of the kingdom at large, but which would be abandoned by the kingdom in the hour of action.

The dauphin's noble counsellors, full of baronial contempt for the burgesses, and of provincial jealousy of Paris, instigated their master to resistance. It was March when he signed the ordinance presented to the States; and, by the 6th of April, he forbade payment of the aid which the States had voted. On the 8th, on the representations of the provost of the merchants, he revoked this prohibition†. Thus the young prince fluctuated between two impulses, following the one to-day, the other the day after; and both, perhaps, sincerely at the time. There was large room for doubt at this obscure crisis. All doubted; none paid. The dauphin was left disarmed; the States as well. Public authority was defunct: there was no king, nor dauphin, nor States.

Without strength, expiring as it were, and losing all self-consciousness, the kingdom lay prone like a corpse. Gangrene had set in, the worms swarmed—worms, I mean brigands, English and Navarrese. In this general decay and corruption, the members of the poor body fell away from each other. The kingdom was talked of: but there were no longer any States that could be truly termed general: there was nothing general; no communication, and no roads to carry it on. The roads were cut throats; the country, a battle-field, the combat raging in every direction, and no possibility of distinguishing friend from foe.

In the midst of this dissolution of the kingdom, the commune remained living. But how could the

commune live alone, unassisted by the surrounding country? Paris, not knowing where to lay the blame of her distress, accused the States. The dauphin, taking courage, declared that he would govern, and would henceforward dispense with a guardian. The commissioners of the States took their leave. But he was only the more embarrassed. He endeavoured to raise a little money by selling offices*; but the money did not come. He quitted Paris; the country was in flames. There was no town in which he would not risk being carried off by brigands. He returned to hide himself in Paris, and throw himself into the hands of the States, which he summoned to meet on the 7th of November†.

During the night between the following 8th and 9th, a Picard, a friend of Marcel's, the lord of Pecquigny, rescued Charles-le-Mauvais from the fortress in which he was imprisoned, by a sudden and successful dash. Marcel, who saw the dauphin always surrounded by a threatening crowd of nobles, had need of a sword to oppose to these men of the sword, of a prince of the blood to oppose to the dauphin. The burgesses, in their boldest attempts for liberty, loved to follow a prince. It seemed becoming, too, and chivalrous, when chivalry had behaved so ill, for burgesses to take it on themselves to repair so great an act of injustice, and to redress the injury done by kings. The populace, ever open to generous emotions, welcomed the prisoner with tears of joy. The restoration of this bad, but unfortunate man, seemed to the people that of justice to herself. He came to Paris, escorted by the commons of Amiens, and was received at St. Denys by a crowd of citizens who had gone forth to meet him‡. He stopped outside the walls, at St. Germain-des-Prés. The second day after his arrival, he preached to the people from a pulpit or tribune, reared against the abbey wall, and where the judges sat who presided at the judicial combats in the Pré-aux-Clercs—the limit of the two jurisdictions. The dauphin, whose permission he had asked to enter the city, and who dared not refuse it, went to hear him; in the hope, perhaps, that his presence would be a check on his tongue. But his harangue was all the bolder. He began in Latin, then digressed into the vulgar tongue§. He spoke to the admiration of all. He was, say contemporary writers, little, lively, and of a subtle wit.

The text of his harangue, taken, according to the usage of the time, from Scripture, afforded room for launching out into the pathetic:—*Iustus Dominus et dilexit iustitiam; vidit equitatem cultus ejus*¶. The king of Navarre, addressing with insidious gentleness the dauphin himself, took him to witness to the injuries he had sustained. How wrong to mistrust him: was he not French both on father's and mother's side? Was he not nearer the crown than the king of England, who claimed

* Ord. iii. p. 180.

† Sécousses, *Préf. des Ord.* iii. p. 70.

‡ "And even the duke of Normandy feasted him sumptuously. But it behoved; for the provost of the merchants and those of his party, recommended him so to do." Froiss. iii. p. 290, ed. Buchon.

§ Froissart, iii. p. 291, ed. Buchon.—In Latino valde pulchro. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 116.

¶ "The Lord is just, and a lover of justice; his countenance regardeth equity."

who chose to govern being only two or three, great delays were incurred, and that suitors—knights, squires, and burgesses—were such sufferers from these delays, as to be obliged to sell their horses and depart without any answer, dissatisfied, &c." *MS. de la Bibl. Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646, and Brienne, No. 276.*

* (Que la France périrait dans ce retirement. The metaphor is a nautical one.) TRANSLATOR.

† Chron. de Saint-Denis, f. 232, verso, col. 2, and f. 233.

it! All his wish was to live and die in defence of the kingdom of France . . . His harangue was so long, that *supper was over in Paris when he stopped* *. But although the citizen liketh not to have his hours changed †, there was not the less favour shown to the orator. All were eager to press money on him ‡.

From Paris he repaired to Rouen: where he descanted on his misfortunes with equal eloquence §. He took down from the gibbet the bodies of his friends, executed after the terrible dinner at Rouen ||, and followed them to the cathedral, bells tolling, and with lighted tapers. It was Innocent's day (the 28th of December); and he spoke on the text, "The innocent, and the just held by me, because I clung to you, O Lord ¶."

The dauphin, too, preached at Paris **. He harangued at the hall, and Marcel at St. Jacques'. But the populace did not go with the first. The people loved not the mean appearance of the prince. Wise and sensible as he might be, he was a cold declaimer by the side of the king of Navarre.

The infatuation of Paris for the latter was strange. What did this popular prince require? That the kingdom should be still further weakened, that whole provinces should be placed in his hands, and those the most vital to the monarchy—all Champagne, part of Normandy, the English frontier, the Limousin, and numerous places of strength and fortresses. To place our best provinces in such suspicious hands would have been to lose, by one dash of the pen, as much as had been lost by the battle of Poitiers.

The Parisians imagined that if the king of Navarre had his way, he would at once deliver them from the bands of brigands who starved their

town, and called themselves Navarrese. In reality, they were neither the king of Navarre's subjects, nor any one's else. Had he wished to call in these plunderers, he would have been unable.

Meanwhile, citizens, provosts, and university, surrounded and besieged the dauphin. They called on him to do justice to the poor king of Navarre. A Jacobin, speaking in the name of the university, declared to him that it was settled that the king of Navarre, having once put in all his demands, the dauphin should restore him his fortresses; that the town and the university would take the rest into consideration. A monk of St. Denys followed—"You have not said all, master," he exclaimed. "Say that whether it be my lord the duke, or the king of Navarre, who does not hold by our decision, we will declare against that one *."

A negative was impossible, and the dauphin gave a gracious promise. He then instructed the commandants and captains to reply, that having received their charges from the king, they could not give them up on the dauphin's orders.

Living in a city indisposed to him, he had no other means of raising money than by tampering with the coin (ordinances of the 22nd and 23rd of January, and 7th of February †). The States, which met on the 11th of February, conferred the title of regent of the kingdom upon him ‡, no doubt in order to stamp with authority whatever ordinances they should pass in his name. Perhaps, too, the committee of thirty-six, chosen by the influence of Marcel, but presenting a majority of nobles and ecclesiastics, desired to strengthen the dauphin against the citizens of Paris.

The ill-will of the bourgeois had been inflamed to the utmost by the following perrin occurrence. A money-changer, named Perrin 'Macé, having sold two horses to the dauphin, and being unable to procure payment, arrested in the street Neuve-Saint-Merry the treasurer, Jean Baillet. The latter refused to pay; no doubt advancing in excuse the right of prisage. A dispute arose. Perrin slew Baillet, and sought refuge in the church of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie. The dauphin's men, Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, Jean de Châlons, and Guillaume Staise, provost of Paris, hastened to the spot, forced the asylum, dragged Perrin to the Châtelet, cut off his hand, and hanged him. The bishop loudly complained of this violation of the right of sanctuary, had Perrin's body delivered up, and gave it honourable burial in the church of St. Merry. Marcel was present; whilst the dauphin followed Baillet to the grave §.

Collision was imminent. To encourage the citizens by the sight of their numbers, Marcel made them wear blue and red hoods; these were the city colours ||. He wrote to the good cities to beg them to mount these distinctive signs. Amiens and Laon did not fail him. Few of the other towns complied so far.

* Chronique de St. Denys, folio 238, verso, col. 2.

† So says cardinal de Retz.

‡ Gaudens ad partes Rothomagenses accessit, donis tamen et pecuniis multis à civibus receptis. Contin. G. de Nan-
gis, p. 117.

§ Miserias suas exposuit . . . eleganter. Ibid.

|| The count d'Harcourt's body had been removed long before. The other three bodies were buried by three lay-brothers of St. Magdalen's, Rouen. These bodies were placed in separate coffins, and there was an empty one to answer for the count d'Harcourt's—the latter was carried in a ladies' car (char à dames). Sécouse, p. 165.

¶ Campanis pulsatis . . . sermone per ipsum regem prius facto, ubi assumpsit thema istud: "Innocentes et recti adhaeruerunt mihi" (Ps. xxiv. 21)? Ibid.

** His wish, he said, was to live and die with them. The soldiery he was raising, was for the defence of the kingdom against enemies who were ravaging it with impunity, through the fault of those who had usurped the administration of affairs. He would already have driven them out of the kingdom, had he been entrusted with the care of the finance, but he had not touched a denier or half a denier of all the money raised by the States.—Marcel, apprized of the effect produced by this discourse, assembled the people, in his turn, at St. Jacques de l'Hôpital. The duke attended, but could not get a hearing. Consac, a partisan of the provost's, spoke against the officers: there were, he said, so many weeds that the good seed could not spring up. Jean de Saint-Onde, a lawyer, one of the receivers-general (un des généraux des aides) declared that part of the money had been diverted from its proper destination, and that several knights, whom he named, had received, by order of the duke of Normandy, from 40,000 to 50,000 gold pieces—"As the register bore witness." Sécouse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, p. 170.

* Chron. de St. Denys, li. folio 243.

† Ord. iii. p. 193, seq.

‡ Ibid. p. 212.

§ Matt. Villani, l. viii. c. 29, p. 484.

|| "In the first week of January, those of Paris ordered them all to wear hoods, one-half red, the other blue." MS. Besides these hoods, the provost's partizans wore silver clasps, of red and blue enamel, with the motto '*à bonne fin*' (to a happy issue), in sign of agreement to live and die with the said provost against all men. Lettres d'Abolition du 10 Août, 1358. Sécouse, *ibid.* p. 163.

Meanwhile, from the ravages committed in the country the peasantry crowded into Paris in such numbers as sensibly to diminish the supply of food and raise its price. The citizens, who had their little properties in the Isle of France, from which they drew their eggs, butter, cheese, poultry, and a thousand agreeabilities, found this source of comforts fail; and thought it exceedingly hard. On the 22nd of February, the dauphin issued a new ordinance for a fresh alteration of the coin.

On the next day, the provost of the merchants mustered all the trades in arms at St. Eloi's. About nine o'clock, this armed mob recognized in the street one of the dauphin's counsellors, advocate to the parliament, master Regnault Dacy, who was returning from the palace to his own house, near Saint-Landry's. They began running after him. He fled into a pastry-cook's, and was there killed outright before he had time to utter a cry. However, the provost, followed by a crowd of red and blue hoods, entered the dauphin's hotel, ascended to his very chamber, and sharply told him that he ought to put the affairs of the kingdom into order; that as, after all, this kingdom would be his, it was his business to secure it from the bands which laid waste the country. The dauphin, whose usual advisers, the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy, were on either side of him, answered more boldly than was his custom. "I would cheerfully do so, had I the means; but he who enjoys the taxes and profits, ought to take upon himself the defence of the kingdom as well." Some sharp words passed, and the provost burst out. "My lord," he said, "be not surprised at what you are about to witness; the thing must be done." Then, turning to the men in red hoods, he said, "Do quickly what you are come for." On the word, they threw themselves on the marshal of Champagne, and slew him close to the dauphin's bed. The marshal of Normandy they followed into a closet, into which he had betaken himself, and put to death as well. The dauphin considered himself lost; the blood had spirted out upon his robe. All his officers had fled. "Save my life!" he cried to the provost. **Marcel told him to fear nothing.** He changed hoods with him, thus covering him with the city's colours, and all the day he wore boldly the dauphin's hood. The people expected him at the Grève, and here he harangued them from a window, maintaining that those who had been put to death were traitors, and asking the people whether they would support him. Numbers cried out, that they avouched all he had done, and pledged themselves to him for life and for death.

Marcel returned to the palace with a crowd of armed men, whom he left in the court-yard. He

found the dauphin, grief and terror struck. "Distress not yourself, my lord," said the provost to him; "that which has been done, has been done to avoid greater danger, and by the will of the people." And he besought him to give his approval to the whole.

The dauphin had, perforce, to approve of the whole, in default of being able to do better. He found himself compelled also to give a gracious reception to the king of Navarre, who returned four days afterwards. Marcel and Lecoq reconciled them, will ye, will ye, and made them dine together every day.

This monarch's return, only four days after the murder of the dauphin's counsellors, gave but too clear a clue to the whole tragedy. He could return: Marcel had made room for him by the death of his enemies, and had given him a fearful pledge which bound him to him for ever. It was evident that all was over between Marcel and the dauphin. The crime had probably been forced on the provost by Charles-le-Mauvais, who was no stranger to murders. Marcel thus in his power, it was for Charles to calculate what he would do with him, and whether it would be more to his interest to abet or to sell him.

Marcel supposed that he had gained the king of Navarre for ever; and he lost the States. That is to say, the law, which he had violated by a crime, was no longer with him. Those deputies of the nobility who still remained in Paris, quitted it without waiting for the closing of the session. Several, even of the commissioners of the States, associated with the dauphin in the government during the intervals of the sessions, left their posts and abandoned Marcel. Not discouraged, he appointed burgesses of Paris to the vacant places. Paris took upon herself the government of France; but France would not endure it.

Picardy, which had entered so heartily into the release of the king of Navarre, took the lead in refusing to send up the produce of the taxes to Paris. The States of Champagne met, and Marcel was unable to hinder the dauphin from attending. From this time, his doom was sealed. The royal authority only wanted a hold, to resume every thing. Marcel's agents accompanied the dauphin, and, at first, he dared not say a word against what had taken place at Paris. But the nobles of Champagne did not fail to raise their voices. The count of Braine put the question to him, whether the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy had deserved death. The dauphin replied, that they had ever served him well and loyally. This scene was repeated at Compiègne (at the meeting of the States of the Vermandois);

* "Grieved and marvelling hereat, because the evil was not remedied by the regent and the barons about him, the provost of the merchants and the citizens often besought the dauphin. . . . Who gave them fair words, but . . . Nay, both then and afterwards, the barons appeared to delight in the increasing woes and afflictions of the people." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 116.

† Froiss. iii. p. 288, ed. Buchon.

‡ Tunc dirigens verba illis sic capuciatu dicit: "Eia, breviter facite hoc propter quod huc venistis." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 117.

§ Froiss. iii. p. 288, ed. Buchon.

|| "They gave him a hood to wear, and covenanted that he would pardon the slaying of his three knights." Ibid.

* Chronique de Saint-Denis, ii. fol. 244.

† "Would it had never been done—and this the provost himself owned in his hearings—and that of many others." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 116.

‡ "Now I tell you that the nobles of the kingdom of France, and the prelates of the Holy Church, began to tire of attending to the three estates, and left the provost of the merchants and some of the Paris burgesses to meet by themselves." Froiss. iii. c. 382, p. 287, ed. Buchon. Conf. Matt. Villani, i. viii. c. 38, p. 492.

§ Sécousses, i. p. 140-1.

|| "Requiring him to put the principals in the business to death, or if he could not . . . manfully to attack the state, and so long called city of Paris (expugnare viriliter

to which city the dauphin, altogether reassured, took it on himself to transfer the meeting of the States of the Langue d'Oïl, which had been summoned to assemble the 1st of May at Paris*. Few deputies attended: however, as far as it went, it was a manifestation of the kingdom against Paris.

The States did homage to the reforms of the great reforming ordinance, by adopting the greater number of its articles. The aid which they voted was to be collected by the respective deputies. Marcel was alarmed at this affectation of popularity; and got the university to implore the dauphin to spare the good city: but peace was no longer possible. The prince insisted on ten or twelve of the chief offenders being given up to him; then, lowered his demands to five or six, pledging himself that he would not put them to death†.

Marcel would not trust to this. He at once completed the walls of Paris, without sparing the houses of the monks which stood in the way‡. He took possession of the tower of the Louvre, and sent to Avignon to hire troops of *brigands*§.

The battle was about to begin between the nobles and the commons, and both parties were already eyeing each other, when a third arose which no one had dreamed of. The sufferings of the peasant had exceeded endurance: all had rained blows upon him, as on a brute that has fallen down under its load. The brute, maddened, recovered its legs, and bit.

THE JACQUERIE.

In this chivalrous war, which the French and English barons waged on each other in all courtesy||, there was, as we have already observed, in reality but one enemy, but one victim of the cala-

civitem et tam diu dictam urbem Parisiensem) . . . and to distress it by cutting off its supplies." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 117.

* Sécouisse, *Préf.* Ord. iii. p. 79.

† Non intendens eorum mortem. Contin. G. de N. p. 117.

‡ Ibidem. p. 117, 118. On continuing these labours, the foundations of towers were met with, which were considered to have been the work of the Saracens. Here, according to ancient chronicles, there had formerly been a camp, named *Altum-Folium* (rue *Haute-Feuille*—"High Leaf-street,"—rue *Pierre Sarrazin*—"Peter Moor-street"). Ibid.

§ Jean Donati left on the 8th of May, 1358, for Avignon, the bearer of 2000 gold agnuses from Marcel to Pierre Maloisi, whom Marcel instructed to buy *brigands*, and purchase arms.—Marcel, according to Froissart, maintained in Paris a great number of men-at-arms, of Navarrese and English soldiers, archers and other companions. Sécouisse, p. 224-8.

(The agnus, or *mouton d'or*, was a coin on which was impressed the figure of a lamb, with this inscription, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis"—"Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us." On the reverse was a cross, with these words, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat"—"Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands."—From the impression of the lamb, which the vulgar took for a sheep, the coin was commonly called *moutons*, in Latin *muttones*—"muttons." See Ducange.) TRANSLATOR.

|| "The knights and squires ransomed them with all courtesy, either for money, couriers, or hackneys; or, if a poor gentleman had no means, they would take his services for a quarter of a year, or for two or three." Froissart, iii. p. 335, ed. Buchon.

mities of war—the peasant. Before the war, he had been drained to equip the barons magnificently, to pay for those beautiful arms, those embroidered escutcheons, those rich banners which were after all taken at Crécy and Poitiers. And then, who paid the ransom!—still the peasant.

The prisoners, released on parole, came to their domains, and quickly raised the monstrous sums which they had promised, without any bargaining, on the field of battle. It did not take long to make an inventory of the peasant's property—meagre cattle, wretched harness, plough, cart, and some iron tools. Household goods, he had none. He had no stock, save a small quantity of seed-corn. These things taken and sold, what remained for the lord to lay his hands upon—the poor devil's body, his skin. Something more was tried to be squeezed out of him. The boor must have some secret store in a hiding-place. To make him discover it, they did not spare his carcass: his feet were warmed for him. At any rate, they had no mercy on the fire and iron.

Few castles remain. Richelieu's edicts and the destroyers of the Revolution did their work too well. Even still, however, as we pass under the walls of Taillebourg or of Tancarville, when in the heart of the Ardennes, in the defile of Montcunet, we look up and see hanging over our heads the small, sinister casement which seems to eye our steps, our heart is conscious of a pang, and we feel a reflex of the sufferings of those who, for so many ages, languished at the feet of those towers. No need to have read old histories to feel this. The souls of our fathers still vibrate within us for forgotten griefs, almost as the maimed feels the throbbing of the limb which he has lost.

When ruined by his lord, the peasant was not yet done with. Such was the atrocious character of these wars of the English: whilst they held the kingdom at large to ransom, they plundered it in detail. Free companions sprang up in every direction, styled English or Navarrese. Griffith, a Welshman, laid waste the whole country between the Seine and the Loire: Knolles, an Englishman, ravaged Normandy. The first sacked to his own share Montargis, Étampes, Arpajon, Monthléry, in all more than fifteen cities or large burghs. In another direction, Audley, an Englishman, or the Germans Albrecht and Frank Hennekin, carried on the work of spoliation. One of these leaders of free companies, Arnaud de Cervoles, surnamed the archpriest, because, though a layman, he really owned an archpriesthood, turned his back on the despoiled provinces, traversed the whole of France, and pushed on to Provence, sacking Salon and St. Maximin, by way of making Avignon fear her turn was next. The trembling pope invited the brigand, received him as if he were a son of France*, made him dine with him, and gave him forty thousand crowns, and absolution into the bargain. This did not prevent Cervoles, on quitting Avignon, from pillaging Aix; whence he proceeded into Burgundy, to do the same†.

The leaders of these bands were not, as might be supposed, upstarts, mere men-at-arms, but of

* Froissart, b. i. c. 176.

† Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, called him his "gossip." Froissart styles him, "My lord." iv. c. 495, p. 222, ed. Buchon.

noble birth, and often great barons. The king of Navarre's brother went about plundering, just like the rest. In the passes which they sold to the merchants who supplied the towns, they expressly excepted military equipments, and other things considered the exclusive use of the nobles—"beaver hats, ostrich feathers, and sword blades *."

The knights of the fourteenth century felt a very different call from that of the knights of romance—their vocation was to crush the weak. The sire d'Aubréicourt robbed and killed at random to *deserve well of his lady*, Isabelle de Juliers, niece of the king of England, "for he was young, and desperately in love." He made up his mind to become, at the least, count of Champagne †. The fallen condition of the monarchy awoke the most extravagant hopes in these plunderers. Their only thought was to take, by force or stratagem, some well-guarded castle. The governors of the strongholds conceived themselves freed from their oaths. No more king, no more faith. They sold or exchanged their fortresses and garrisons ‡.

After so many years' submission to their kings, the barons delighted in this life of misrule and adventure. They were like schoolboys on a holiday, who go to play as if it were the business of life. Their historian, Froissart, is never tired of telling their marvellous haps. His feelings go with these marauders, and he bounds with joy at their good fortune:—"And the poor brigands were ever gaining §," &c. No where does he seem to doubt of their honour and good faith; nay, scarcely to have a doubt of their salvation ||.

So great was the alarm at Paris, that the citizens had vowed to our Lady a taper as long, it was

* Froissart, *lib.* c. 396, p. 354, ed. Buchon.

† *Id.* *ibid.* c. 411, p. 387. ‡ *Id.* *ibid.* c. 418, p. 399.

§ "Poor rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands of thieves: there were among them those worthy forty thousand crowns. Their method was, to mark out particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from each other; they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through by-roads in the night-time, entered the town or castle they had fixed upon about day-break, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could. The town of Donzere was treated in this manner; and many other towns and castles were taken, and afterwards ransomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the strong castle of Cobourne in Limousin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and destroyed it. He seized also the lord of Cobourne, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he ransomed himself for twenty-four thousand crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and its dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, shortly afterwards, was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle of him for twenty thousand crowns, appointed him his usher-at-arms, and heaped on him many other honours. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handsome horses of a deep roan colour, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived." Froissart, *b. i. c.* 147.

|| "Croquant's horse stumbled, and broke his master's neck. I know not what became of his money, or who had his soul; but I know that such was the end of Croquant." Froissart, *lib. iii. p.* 483, ed. Buchon.

said, as the city tower was high *. They left off ringing the church bells, except at curfew time, for fear the sentinels on the walls should suppose the enemy was upon them. What must not the terror have been in the country! The peasants no longer slept. They who lived on the banks of the Loire passed whole nights in the islands, or in boats moored in the centre of the stream. In Picardy, the affrighted inhabitants dug hiding-places for themselves in the ground. Between Peronne and the mouth of the Somme, thirty of these caves might still be seen in the last century †. Enter them, and you understood the horror of those days. They were long, arched passages, from seven to eight feet wide, with from twenty to thirty recesses or rooms at the sides, and a well in the centre, for the sake of both air and water. Round the well, were large recesses for the cattle. The care and solidity observable in the construction of these caves, prove them to have been the ordinary dwelling-places of the wretched population of that day. Here, families huddled together on the approach of the enemy; and here the women and children wasted away for whole weeks and months, whilst the men timidly stole to the steeple to see if the men of war had left the country.

But they did not always leave it soon enough for the poor inhabitants to sow, or gather in the harvest. In vain did they hide themselves under ground. Famine reached them there. In the Brie and the Beauvoisis, above all, the whole land was left bare ‡. Every thing was spoiled, or destroyed. Provisions were to be had in the castles alone. The peasants, maddened with hunger and misery, forced them, and cut the throats of the barons. The latter had never dreamed of such a height of daring. How often had they laughed when seeking to arm these simple and docile folk, and forcing them to the wars. The peasant was called in mockery, *Jacques Bonhomme* (Jack Goodman); just as we call our conscripts, *Jeanjean* §. Who

* Chroniques de Saint-Denis, 237, V, col. 2.

† These caves appear to have been dug at the time of the Norman invasions. They were probably enlarged from age to age. Part of the territory of Santerre, in which there were three of these caves, was called *Territorium Sanctæ Liberationis* (The Territory of Holy Refuge). Paper by the abbé Lebœuf in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* t. xxvii. p. 179.

‡ "The kingdom was so full of the Navarrese, they were masters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This caused such a scarcity of provisions in France, that a small cask of herrings was sold for thirty golden crowns, and every thing else in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine lasted more than four years." Froissart, *b. i. c.* 190.

The churchmen themselves were great sufferers: "Numbers of abbots, monks, and abbesses, reduced to poverty, were compelled to repair to Paris and other places away from home. Then might you see those who had been accustomed to travel with a troop of well-mounted men-at-arms, content themselves now with a single servant on foot, and sparing diet." Contin. G. de Nangis, *li.* 122.—Want, and the insults of the marauders, often inspired the churchmen with extraordinary courage. On one occasion, we find the canon de Robesart bearing down three Navarrese on his first charge with his lance. After this, he did wonders with his axe. The bishop of Noyon kept up a fierce war on these brigands. Froissart, *lib. ii. p.* 355, ed. Buchon. Sécouesse, *i. p.* 340, 341.

§ Contin. G. de Nangis. The other etymologies given are ridiculous. See Baluze, *Pap. Aven. i.* 333, &c.

could fear ill-treating men who handled arms so clumsily! The barons had a saying—"Stroke the clown, he'll pummel you; pummel him, he'll stroke you."

Jacques Bonhomme will pay off his lord centuries of arrears. His vengeance was that of the despairing, of the damned. God seemed to have sickened him of this world. . . . Not only did the peasants butcher their lords, but they tried to exterminate the families of their lords, murdering their heirs, and slaying their honour, by violating their ladies*. And then would these savages trick out themselves and their wives in rich habiliments, and bedeck themselves with glittering, but bloody spoils.

Yet were they not so savage as not to march with a kind of order, under banners, and led by a captain chosen from among themselves, a crafty peasant, called Guillaume Callet†. "These bands consisted mostly of the meaner sort, with a few rich burgesses, and others‡."—"When they were asked," says Froissart, "for what reason they acted so wickedly, they replied, they knew not, but they did so because they saw others do it; and they thought by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world§."

Therefore, the great and the noble all declared against them, without distinction of party. Charles-le-Mauvais flattered them, invited their principal leaders||; and whilst pretending to treat with them, put them to the sword. Their king, Jacques, he crowned with an iron tripod, heated red-hot¶. He afterwards surprised them near Montdidier, and slaughtered great numbers of them. The barons took heart, armed themselves, and began killing and burning throughout the country, right and left**.

The Jacquerie was a favourable diversion, drawing off attention from the war against Paris, and Marcel was interested in keeping it up. But it was a hideous alliance to seek support from wild beasts. The commons hesitated. Senlis and Meaux welcomed them. Amiens sent them a few

men; who were soon recalled*. Marcel, who had taken advantage of their rising up to dismantle several fortresses round Paris, ventured to send them assistance to take the Marché de Meaux. He sent them, first, five hundred men under the provost of the mint; and, then, a reinforcement of three hundred under a grocer of Paris.

The duchess of Orléans, the duchess of Normandy, and numbers of noble dames, demoiselles, and children, had taken refuge in the Marché de Meaux, which is surrounded by the Marne, and from which they saw and heard the "Jacks," who filled the town. They were half dead with fear; momentarily apprehending outrage and murder. Happily, unexpected succour was at hand. The count of Foix and the capital of Buch† (the latter served with the English) were on their return from the crusade in Prussia, with a body of knights. Learning at Châlons the danger of these ladies, they put spurs to their horses, and entering the Marché (market-place), "having opened the gate, they posted themselves in front of these clowns, dirty, little, and badly armed, and fell upon them with their lances and their swords. Those who were foremost, feeling the weight of their blows, turned about so fast in their fright (*hider*), they fell one over the other. The men-at-arms then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, slaying so many that they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In short, they killed upwards of seven thousand. . . . On their return, they set fire to the disorderly town of Meaux‡. . . ."

In all directions the nobles massacred the peasantry, without inquiring whether or not they had taken any share in the Jacquerie. "And," says a contemporary, "they wrought so much harm to the country, that there was no need of the English coming to destroy the kingdom. They never could have done the mischief which the barons did§."

They endeavoured to treat Senlis as they had done Meaux. Having got its gates opened, by giving out that they came from the regent, they raised shouts of "The town is taken—the town is won!" But they found the burgesses under arms, and, with them other nobles who had come to defend the town. Waggoners were rolled down the steep high-street, which threw them into disorder, and boiling water rained upon them from the windows. "Some fled to Meaux to bear the news of their defeat, and got laughed at; the rest, who

* Querentes nobiles et eorum maneria cum uxorbis et liberis extirpare. . . . Dominas nobiles suas villi libidine opprimebant. Cont. G. de Nangis, 119.

† Or Callet, in the *Chroniques de France*; Karle, in the *Continuator of Nangis*; Jacques Bonhomme, according both to Froissart and the anonymous writer of the first Life of Innocent VI.—"Et l'éurent le pire des mauvais, et ce roi on appelloit Jacques Bonhomme." (And they elected the worst of the wicked, and called this king *Jack Goodman*.) Froiss. iii. p. 294, ed. Buchon.

‡ Chron. de St. Denys, ii. fol. 249.

§ Froissart, b. i. c. 183.

|| Blanditiis advocavit (invited them with flattering words). Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 119.

¶ Vita Prima Innoc. VI. ap. Baluze, Pap. Avén. i. 334.

** Chateaubriand, *Études Historiques*, edit. 1831, t. iv. p. 170. "The complaints in Latin which were sung on the miseries of this period are still extant. This stanza, too, has been preserved:—

" Jacques Bonhomme,
Cessex, cessex, gens d'armes et piteons,
De piller et manger le Bonhomme,
Qui de longtems, Jacques Bonhomme,
Se nomme.

(*Jack Goodman*—Cease, cease, men-at-arms and footmen, plundering and eating up the good man, who has long been called *Jack Goodman*.)

Is this stanza of any antiquity? For the complaints in Latin, See *Mém. collection Petitot*, t. v. p. 181.

* Chronicle, published by Sauvage in his edition of Froissart, p. 196-7.

† ("The title of *capital*," says Mr. Johnes in his translation of Froissart, "had anciently been affected by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It seems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a superiority, as the word *capitalis* announces principal chief. This dignity, at first personal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the estates, of which they were possessed. In the time of the first duke of Aquitaine, there were several capitals; but this title, perhaps by neglect, was replaced by others, so that, towards the fourteenth century, there were no more than two capitals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of France.—See Ducange, at the word *Capitalis*.)"

TRANSLATION.

‡ Froissart, b. i. c. 184.

§ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 119

remained in the high-street, will do no more harm to the people of Senlis *.

It is wonderful that in the midst of this devastation of the country, Paris should not have perished of famine; and the fact reflects high credit on the ability of the provost of the merchants. But he could not keep this large, omnivorous city supplied without the good-will of the country; and hence the seeming inconsistency of his conduct. He allied himself with the "Jacks," and then, with the king of Navarre, the destroyer of the "Jacks." This prince's cavalry was indispensable to him, to enable him to keep open some of the roads, whilst the dauphin kept possession of the river. At his instigation, the title of captain of Paris was conferred on Charles (15th of June); who, however, was no longer a free agent. He was deserted by many of his gentlemen, who would not assist the mob against the higher orders, and the citizens themselves turned against him, hating him for his carnage of the "Jacks," and suspecting that they had no great friend in him.

Meanwhile, provisions rose in price. The dauphin, with three thousand lances, was at Charenton, and intercepted all supplies by the Seine and the Marne. The bourgeois called on the king of Navarre to defend them, to sally forth, to do something. Forti he went; but it was to betray them. The two princes had a long and secret interview; and parted good friends. Venturing to return to Paris, Charles's most determined partizans and Marcel joined in depriving him of his title of captain of the city. He was loud in his complaints, the Navarrese and the citizens quarrelled; and some fell on both sides.

Marcel's position became dangerous. The dauphin had possession of the upper Seine, Charenton, and St. Maur; the king of Navarre occupied the lower Seine and St. Denys. They scoured the country, and all supply was cut off. Paris was at the last gasp. Charles, who knew this, allowed both parties to try to buy him. The dauphiness, and numbers of good people (*beaucoup de bonnes gens*), that is to say, of lords and of bishops, mediated, and went to and fro between the dauphin and the king. They offered Charles four hundred thousand florins to give up Paris and Marcel †. The treaty was already signed, and a mass ordered to be said, at which the two princes were to partake of the same host; but the king of Navarre excused himself, on pretext of not having fasted ‡.

The dauphin promised; Marcel gave him money. He sent Charles two loads of silver every week, to pay his troops. He had no hope but in him. He visited him at St. Denys, conjured him to remember that it was the Parisians who had released him from prison, and who, too, had put his enemies out of the way. The king of Navarre gave him fair words, and exhorted him, "to provide himself with plenty of gold and silver, and send it boldly to St. Denys—he would give a good account of it §."

This king of the brigands, could not, and, no doubt, would not hinder them from pillaging. The bourgeois saw their money take its departure to the plunderers, but that provisions came in none

the more plentifully. The provost was ever going over to St. Denys, ever negotiating. Suspicion awoke of the sums raised by Marcel; did he not keep a good share! Satires were already rife on the salaries which the commissioners of the States had liberally allotted themselves *.

Most of the Navarrese, English, and other mercenaries had followed Charles to St. Denys. Some had stopped at Paris, to get rid of their money. The citizens were ill inclined to them. Scuffles took place, and more than sixty were killed. Marcel, who dreaded nothing so much as a rupture with the king of Navarre, saved the rest by throwing them into prison; and, that same evening, sent them back to St. Denys †. The bourgeois never forgave him this.

Meanwhile, the Navarrese foraged up to the very gates; so that the citizens were afraid to stir out of the town. The Parisians began to chafe, and told the provost plainly, that they would chastise these brigands. He was obliged to give way, and allow them to sally forth in search of the Navarrese. Having rode about the whole day in the direction of St. Cloud, they were returning exceedingly wearied (this was the 22nd of July), trailing their swords, and with their banners off ‡, full of complaints at having encountered no one, when, on a turn of the road, four hundred men spring up, and fall upon them. They fled as fast as their legs could carry them, but, before reaching the gates, seven hundred of them lost their lives; and more were slain the next day when the citizens went to look after the dead bodies. This mishap completed their discontent with Marcel. It was his fault, they said; he had got into the city before them, he had not supported them; perhaps it was he who had given the enemy warning.

The provost was a lost man. His only resource was to hand over himself, and Paris, and the kingdom, if he could, to the king of Navarre. Charles-le-Mauvais touched the very summit of his ambition. The gravest of the contemporary historians, an eye-witness of the whole of this revolution, and, moreover, favourable to Marcel, confesses that he had promised the king of Navarre the keys of Paris, to enable him to seize the city, and put to death all who were opposed to him. Their doors were even marked before-hand ||.

It was on the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August, that Etienne Marcel undertook to betray the city which he had put in a state of defence, the walls which he had built. Up to this time, he appears always to have consulted the aldermen, and even with regard to the murder of the two marshals. But, now, he saw the rest were bent on saving themselves by his ruin. The alderman on whom he most relied, who was the most deeply pledged to him, his gossip, Jean Maillart, had picked a quarrel with him that very day. Mail-

* Ordonn. iii. p. 522. See, also, Villan.

† Chroniques de France, c. 88.

‡ "They came back in crowds quite fatigued; some carried their helmets in their hands, others along them round their necks; some dragged their swords after them on the ground, while others hung them on their shoulders."

Froissart, b. i. c. 186.

§ Ad hoc totis viribus anhelabat. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

|| Quorum ostia signata reperiret. Id. ibid.

* Qui vero mortui remanserunt, genti Silvanectensi amplius non nocebunt. Idem, ibid.

† Froiss. iii. p. 306, ed. Buchon.

‡ Sécoussé, i. p. 276.

§ Froiss. iii. p. 309, ed. Buchon.

lart had come to an understanding with the leaders of the dauphin's party, Pepin des Essarts and Jean de Charry, and all three, with their men, stationed themselves at the bastille St. Denys, which Marcel was about to deliver up. "They all came properly armed, a little before midnight . . . and found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand. Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name; 'Stephen, what do you here at this time of night?' The provost replied, 'John, why do you ask it? I am here to take care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government.' 'By God,' answered John, 'things shall not go on so: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now show you,' addressing himself to those near him; 'for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city.' The provost said, 'John, you lie.' John replied, 'It is you, traitor, who lie,' and, rushing on him, cried to his people, 'Kill them, kill them: now strike home, for they are all traitors.' There was a very great bustle; and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others, who were present, were also killed: the remainder were carried to prison*."

According to a more probable account, it was not Maillart, but Jean de Charry who struck the first blow†.

The murderers at once put themselves in motion, giving the alarm and awakening the people. In the morning, all the citizens flocked to the market-place, where Maillart harangued them. He told them how, that night, the city was to have been sacked (*courue*) and destroyed, had not God been pleased to awaken him and his friends, and reveal the treacherous plot to them. The crowd learned with emotion the peril it had been in, without knowing it, and all joined hands in thanks to God.

Such was the first feelings. Let it not, however, be believed that the people were ungrateful to him who had done so much for them. Marcel's party, which counted many able and eloquent men‡, survived its chief; and some months afterwards a conspiracy was entered into to avenge him§. The dauphin ordered all the provost's moveables, which had not been given away or lost in the confusion following his death, to be restored to his widow||.

This man's career was short and terrible; cruelly intersected with good and evil. In 1356 he saves Paris, and puts it in a state of defence. In concert with Robert le Coq, he dictates to the dauphin the famous ordinance of 1357; and such a reform of the kingdom by the influence of a commune, can only be accomplished by violent means. Marcel is plucked, deeper and deeper, into a multitude of irregular and fatal acts. He takes Charles-le-Mauvais out of prison, in order to oppose him to the dauphin, but finds that he has

given the bandits a leader. He lays hand on the dauphin, and slays his counsellors, the king of Navarre's enemies.

Deserted by the States, he kills the States by fashioning them according to his will; by creating deputies; by replacing the deputies of the nobles by Paris bourgeois. Paris could not yet lead France after it. Marcel had not yet the resources of the Reign of Terror: he could neither besiege Lyons, nor guillotine the Gironde. By the necessity of keeping Paris supplied with provisions, he was rendered dependent on the country. Hence his alliance with the "Jacks;" and, on their downfall, with the king of Navarre, to whom, having first given himself to him by a crime, he next endeavoured to give the throne: in which attempt he failed, as he deserved.

The classical doctrine of the *Salus populi*—of the right to kill tyrants, had been maintained at the beginning of the century by the king against the pope*. Half a century has scarcely passed, and Marcel turns it against the crown and the servants of the crown. Vain and brutal empiricism—which knows no other than *heroic* remedies, and thinks to cure every thing by shedding blood. . . . Were the remedy efficacious, yet woe to him who has recourse to it. The good of the majority, the *safety of the people*, is no excuse. Could you consult the people, they would exclaim with that divine instinct which is present in the multitude, "Perish the people, rather than humanity and justice!"—I know not whether blood is a fertilizing dew; but, though the tree watered with blood should grow stronger and more beautiful, and spread its branches far and wide, though it should hide the world with them, it will not hide murder. . . .

This bloody stain which sullies the memory of Etienne Marcel, must not make us forget that our old charter was partly his work. His doom met him as the friend of the Navarrese, whose success would have dismembered France—as the representative of Paris in opposition to the kingdom, as the last embodiment of narrow, communal patriotism—as such, he is dead; but, in the ordinance of 1357, he lives and will live for ever.

This ordinance is the first political act of France, as the Jacquerie is the first outburst of the peasantry. Our kings carried out almost all the reforms indicated in the ordinance: the Jacquerie, commenced against the nobles, was continued against the English. By degrees, nationality and a military spirit were awakened. The first manifestation given of this spirit occurs, perhaps, in a circumstance narrated by the continuator of Nangis, as happening in the year 1359. This grave witness of passing events, who notes from day to day all that he sees and hears, forgets his ordinary dryness as he narrates at length one of those encounters in which the peasantry, left to themselves, began to pluck up courage against the English. He dwells on it complacently—"because," he naively remarks, "the thing happened near my own country, and was bravely performed by the peasants, by *Jacques Bonhomme*†."

"There is a tolerably strong place in the little village near Compiègne, which holds of the monas-

* Froissart, b. i. c. 167.

† See note by Mr. Johnes, ibid.

‡ Multum solennes, et eloquentes quam plurimum, et docti. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

§ Trésor des Chartes, reg. 90, p. 382. Sécoussé, i. 403.

|| Sécoussé, i. 304.

* See, above, p. 325.

† Per rusticos, seu *Jacques Bon Homme*, strenue expeditum. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 123, col. 2.

tery of Saint-Corneille. The inhabitants, seeing that they would be in danger should the English seize this fortress, with the regent's and the abbot's permission, occupied it, collected arms and provisions, and were joined by others, who sought its shelter, from the neighbouring villages. They all pledged themselves to their captain, to defend the post until death. This captain, whom they had chosen with the regent's consent from among themselves, was a tall, fine man*, named Guillaume-aux-Allouettes†. He had with him another peasant, of incredible bodily strength, enormously huge and tall, vigorous and full of daring, but, notwithstanding his vast size, having a mean and humble opinion of himself. His name was Le Grand Ferré‡. The captain kept him near his person, *retained in as it were*, to give him head at the fitting time§. Into this place, then, two hundred labourers, or handicraftsmen||, had thrown themselves. The English, who were encamped at Creil, thought little of them, and soon began to say—'Let us drive out these clowns; it is a strong place, and we ought to occupy it.' They made their approach unperceived, and, finding the gates open, entered boldly. Those within are astonished when they look out of the windows, to see these armed men there. The captain is soon surrounded, and mortally wounded. Then Le Grand Ferré and the rest say, 'Let us go down; let us sell our lives dearly; we can expect no mercy.' So they go down, sally out by several doors, and begin striking at the English as if they were threshing their wheat on the threshing-floor¶. Up went their arms, then down—and each blow was mortal. Le Grand, seeing his master and captain** lying mortally wounded, heaved a deep groan, then threw himself between the English and his comrades, whom he equally overtopped by the head and shoulders, handling a heavy axe, and redoubling stroke upon stroke with such effect that the place was soon clear—not a blow fell without riving helm or beating down arm. Hereupon the English take to flight, and many leap into the fosse and are drowned. Le Grand slays their standard-bearer, and tells one of his comrades to bear the English banner to the fosse. On his pointing out that there was still a crowd of enemies between them and the fosse, 'Follow me, then,' exclaimed Le Grand, and he went straight forward, smiting with his axe right and left, until he flung the banner into the water. . . . He killed on this day more than forty men††. . . . As for the captain, Guillaume-aux-Allouettes, he died of his wounds, and they buried him with many tears, for he was good and wise‡‡. . . . The English were defeated another

time by Le Grand, and outside of the walls too*. Several English of noble birth were made prisoners, who would have given good ransoms, had they held them to ransom as the nobles do†; but they were put to death, that they might do no more mischief. This time, Le Grand, heated by this work (*cette besogne*), drank freely of cold water, and was attacked by a fever. He went off to his own village, gained his cot, and took to his bed, not, however, without keeping by his side his iron axe‡, which an ordinary mortal could hardly lift. The English, hearing that he was ill, one day sent a dozen men to kill him. His wife, seeing them coming, began to cry out, 'Oh! my poor Le Grand, here are the English, what shall we do! . . . Instantly, forgetting his sickness, he springs up, seizes his axe, and sallies out into the small yard—'Ah! brigands, you think to take me in bed; you have not caught me yet§.' . . . Then, placing his back against a wall, he slays five off hand; the rest take to their heels. Le Grand returns to his bed; but he was heated, and again drank cold water. His fever returned more violently than before, and, in a few days, after receiving the sacraments of the church, he departed this life, and was buried in the village churchyard. He was wept by all his comrades, by the whole district; for, had he lived, the English would never have come there||.

It is impossible not to be touched by this simple narrative. These peasants, who only undertake to defend themselves by permission of their superiors, this strong and humble man, this good giant, who yields cheerful obedience, like the St. Christopher of the legend—in all this, we see a fine image of the people. They are evidently simple and brutelike still, impetuous, blind, half-man, half-bull. . . . They neither know how to keep their own doors, nor to keep themselves from their appetites. When they have thrashed the enemy, like corn in a barn, when they have wrought a good day's work with their axe, and got heated with their work, worthy workmen as they are, they quaff cold water, take to their bed, and die. Patience; disciplined by the rude education of the wars, and the rod of the English, the brute will become man. Grasped closer hourly, held as if in a vice, they will slip away, will cease to be themselves, will be transfigured. Jacques will become Jeanne; Jeanne, the virgin—the Pucelle.

The common expression—a good Frenchman, dates from the epoch of the "Jacks" and of Marshal¶. It will not be long before the Pucelle will exclaim, "*My heart bleeds, when I see the blood of a Frenchman*."

A saying like this is enough to mark in history the true beginning of France. Henceforward, we are Frenchmen. They are Frenchmen, these peasants—blush not, they are already the French people, they are you, O France. Whether you see them in history glorious or foul, under Marshal's hood, or the jacket of Jacques, you must not fail

* Petita licentia a domino regente, et etiam ab abbate monasterii. Id. ibid.

† Unum magnum elegantem nomine Guillelmum dictum Alaudum. Id. ibid.

‡ Ex iuxta ejus corporis magnitudinem, habebat in se humilitatem et reputationis intrinsecæ parvitatem; nomine Magnus Ferratus. Id. ibid.

§ Secum habuit . . . quasi ad frenum suum. Id. ibid.

¶ Vitam suam humilem sustentantes. Id. ibid.

|| Super Anglicos ita se habebant ac si blada in horreis more suo solito flagellarent. Id. ibid.

** Magistrum et capitaneum. Id. ibid.

†† Ultra quadraginta viros prostravit et occidit. Id. ibid.

‡‡ Fleeat multum, quia sapiens fuerat et benignus. Id. ibid.

* Exierunt ad prælium. Id. ibid.

† Sicut nobiles viri faciunt. Id. ibid.

‡ Non tamen sine hacha ferrea. Id. ibid.

§ Veniens in curtinacula. . . . Olatrones . . . adhuc me non habetis. Id. ibid.

¶ Migravit de sæculo . . . Quamdiu vixisset, ad locum illum Anglici non venissent. Id. ibid.

¶ Volo esse bonus Gallicus. Contin. G. de Nangis. p. 123, col. 1, anno 1359.

to own them. For my part, I will trace these humble ones, in the midst of the rencounters of barons and good strokes of the lance, in which the heedless Froissart delights; will follow them in this grand mēlay, under the spur of the gentleman, under the belly of his horse. Sullied, disfigured as they may be, I will bring them forward into the full light of justice and of history, in order that I may be able to say to this ancient *people* of the fourteenth century, "You are my father and my mother. You have conceived me in tears. You have sweated sweat and blood to make me a France. Blest be you in your tomb. God keep me from ever denying you!"

When the dauphin re-entered Paris, leaning on the murdered, he was received with the shouts and acclamations usual on such occasions. They who in the morning had taken up arms for Marcel, hid their red hoods, and shouted louder than the rest*.

With all this clamour, however, few had confidence in the dauphin. His long lanky figure, pale complexion, and lengthened countenance (*visage longuet* †), had never taken with the people. They looked for neither great good nor great harm at his hands: however, prosecutions were instituted in his name against some of Marcel's party. For his own part, he neither loved nor hated any one. It was not easy to move him. As he made his entry, a burghess boldly stepped forward and exclaimed, "By God, sir, if I had been listened to, you should never have come in here; but you won't get much by it." As the count de Tancarville was about to cut down the *villain*, the prince held him back, and only answered, "I can't believe you, fair sir."

The situation of Paris was not improved. The dauphin could do nothing for it. The king of Navarre took possession of the Seine above and below. Burgundy sent up no more wood; all supplies were stopped from Rouen. The fruit trees round about were cut down for firing ‡. The sower of wheat, usually sold for twelve sols, says the chronicler, now fetches more than thirty livres §.—The spring was mild and genial: a new source of grief to the numbers of poor country-folk shut up in Paris, and who could neither till their fields, nor prune their vines ||.

* *Illa rubes capacia, quæ antea pompose gèrebantur, abscandita.* . . . Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

† De corsage estoit hault et bien formé, droit et lé par les espauls, et haingne par les flans; gros bras et beauls membres, visage un peu longuet, grant front et large; la chièrte ot assez pale, et croy que ce, et oe qu'il estoit moult maigre, luy estoit venu par accident de maladie; chault, furieux en nul cas n'estoit trouvé. (He was of tall stature and well-made, straight and broad shouldered; his arms large, limbs shapely, face rather longish, forehead high and wide; his countenance was very pale; and I believe that this, and his excessive meagreness, had been the result of sickness; hot and passionate he never was on any occasion.) *Christ. de Pisan*, t. v. part i. c. 17, p. 280.

‡ Unde arbores per itinera et vineas incidebantur. The chronicler goes on to state, that "a cord of wood which used to be sold for two soldi, now fetches a florin." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 121.

§ "A quart of good wine . . . twenty-four soldi." Id. p. 125, conf. p. 129.

|| "The vines which supply that desired fluid, which makes glad the heart of man . . . were left neglected." Id. p. 124.

To move out was impossible. The English and Navarrese scoured the country. The first had taken up their position at Creil, and so commanded the Oise. They seized the forts in every direction, without troubling themselves about truce or treaty. The Picards offered some resistance; but the men of Touraine, Anjou, and of Poitou bought safe-conducts of them, and paid them tribute*.

On seeing the English thus establish themselves in the heart of the kingdom, the king of Navarre at last becomes more alarmed by it than the dauphin himself, makes peace with him, without stipulating for any advantage, and promises to be a good Frenchman †. Nevertheless, the Navarrese went on taxing the boats on the upper Seine. The reconciliation, however, of the dauphin and the king of Navarre made the English reflect. At the same time, Normans, Picards, and Flemings made a joint expedition to deliver, so they said, king Jean ‡. They contented themselves with burning an English town. At any rate, the English received a personal lesson in the miseries of war.

The conditions which they at first sought to impose on France were monstrous, impossible. They demanded not only all that faces them—Calais, Montreuil, Boulogne, the Ponthieu, not only Aquitaine (Guyenne, Bigorre, Agénois, Quercy, Périgord, Limousin, Poitou, Saintagne, Aunis), but Touraine, Anjou, and Normandy to boot; that is to say, it was not enough for them to occupy the straits and close the Garonne, but they also wished to close the Loire and the Seine, to block up the slightest glimpse we catch of the ocean, to pluck her eyes out of France.

King Jean had signed all, and promised in addition four millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The dauphin, who could not consent so to despoil himself, caused the treaty to be refused by an assembly of some deputies from the provinces, which he dignified by the title of States-General. Their answer was, "That king Jean must remain in England, and God would provide a remedy in his own good time §."

The English king took the field; but with the view, this time, of conquering France. He repaired first to Reims, to be crowned there ||. He was attended on this expedition by the whole nobility of England. Another army, on which he had not reckoned, waited for him at Calais. A swarm of men-at-arms, and of German and Low Country barons, having heard the rumour of the intended conquest, and hoping for a share of the spoil, such as William the Conqueror distributed amongst his followers, sought to assist at this "high day and holy day." They were already in imagination "possessors of so much wealth that they would never be poor ¶." They waited for Edward until the 28th of October, and he had great difficulty in getting rid of them. He was obliged to

* Nullus salvus, nisi ab eis saluum conductum litteratorie obtinebat. Id. p. 122. . . . Se eis tributarios redderunt. p. 125.

† Volo esse bonus Gallicus de cetero. Id. p. 123.

‡ "They embarked with the design of crossing the straits and invading England." Id. p. 125.

§ *Froiss. c. 419, p. 404, ed. Buchon.*

|| Venit ante Remis, ut se ibi civitate expugnata, faceret coronari in regem Francie. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 125.

¶ *Froiss. c. 420, p. 406, ed. Buchon.*

help them to return home, and to lend them money which would never be repaid*.

Edward was followed by six thousand men-at-arms completely armed in mail, his son, his three brothers, his princes and great barons. The armament resembled an English emigration into France. To make war in all manner of comfort, they brought along with them six thousand waggon, ovens, mills, forges, and tools of all kinds. So far did they carry their forethought, as to provide themselves with packs of dogs for the chase, and with leather boats† for fishing in during Lent. Indeed, they could expect no supplies from a country which was a desert, and where, for three years, the land had never been sown‡. The towns, closely shut up, took care of themselves; they knew that they had no mercy to expect from the English.

From the 28th of October to the 30th of November, they made their way through mud and rain from Calais to Reims. They had reckoned on the vines; but the heavy rains had ruined the vintage§. They remained seven weeks cooling their heels before Reims, and laying waste the surrounding country; but Reims did not budge. Turning their backs on it they passed Châlons, Bar-le-Duc, and Troyes, and then entered the duchy of Burgundy. The duke compounded with them for two hundred thousand gold crowns||—a piece of luck for the English, who but for it would have derived no advantage from all this mighty expedition.

Edward encamped close to Paris, passed his Easter at Chanteloup, and then advanced to Bour-la-Reine. "From the Seine to Étampes," says the eye-witness, "not a living being can be found¶. All have sought shelter in the three faubourgs of Saint-Germain, Saint-Marcel, and Notre-Dame-des-Champs. . . . Monthéry and Longjumeau are on fire. . . . all around we see the smoke of burning villages rising to heaven. . . . On Easter day I saw the priests of ten communes officiate at the Carmelites. . . . the next day, orders were given to burn down the three faubourgs, and all were allowed to take away what they could, wood, iron, tiles, &c. There was no lack of hands to do this quickly. Some wept, others laughed. . . . Near Chanteloup, twelve hundred human beings, men, women, and children, had thrown themselves into a church. The captain, fearing that they would surrender, set fire to it. . . . The whole church was burnt to the ground, and not three hundred persons escaped. Those who leaped out of the windows found the English beneath, who

hatched them, and derided them for having burned themselves. I learnt this lamentable event from a man who had escaped, through our Lord's will, and who thanked God for it*."

The English monarch durst not attack Paris†, but drew off towards the Loire, without having been able to force an engagement, or to take any place. He reassured his men by promising to lead them back to Paris in vintage-time. But this long winter campaign had worn them out; and, near Chartres, they were exposed to a terrific storm which completely exhausted all their patience‡, and, during which, Edward is said to have made a vow that he would restore peace to both countries. The pope implored him so to do. The French nobles, unable to draw any revenue from their possessions, besought the regent to come to terms at any price. No doubt, king Jean, too, was importunate with his son. At the conferences, opened at Bretigny on the 1st of May, the English at first demanded the whole kingdom; next, all that had been owned by the Plantagenets—Aquitaine, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. At last, they gave way as regarded the four last provinces. But Aquitaine was made over to them in full possession, and not as a fief; and so was Calais, with the surrounding country, the counties of Ponthieu and of Guines, and the viscounty of Montreuil. The king was to pay the enormous ransom of three millions of gold crowns, six hundred thousand to be paid in four months, before he left Calais, and four hundred thousand yearly, for the six following years. After having killed and dismembered France, England continued to press upon her, so that if any life and marrow should be left, she might drain it.

Paris went wild with joy at this lamentable treaty. The English who came with it to procure the dauphin's oath to the terms, were welcomed as angels from heaven, and were presented with what the city esteemed its most precious possession—some thorns from the real crown of thorns preserved in the Sainte-Chapelle. The sage chronicler of the time gives in to the general enthusiasm:—"On the approach," he says, "of the Ascension, of the period at which the Saviour, having restored peace between his Father and mankind, soared to

* Ibid. p. 126, 127.

† "The English . . . drew nigh. . . . The barons, many of whom were in the city with the lord regent, posted themselves, well-armed, outside of the walls, not far from the fortalices and fosses. . . . However, there was no engagement." Ibid.

‡ "Most of the provision and baggage waggons were left on the road, converted into a slough by the rain." Ibid.

§ "Their route was covered with the dead bodies of men and horses, the victims of want and fatigue: and in the neighbourhood of Chartres, they found themselves exposed to one of the most dreadful storms recorded in history. The violence of the wind, the bulk of the hallstones, the incessant glare of the lightning, and the sight of the thousands perishing around him, awakened in the heart of the king a sense of the horrors occasioned by his ambition. In a fit of remorse he sprang from his saddle, and stretching his arms towards the cathedral of Chartres, vowed to God and the Virgin, that he would no longer object to proposals of peace, provided they were compatible with the preservation of his honour." Lingard's England, vol. iii. p. 88, ed. in 4to. He quotes Froissart, c. 200, and Knighton, p. 2624. Knighton says that 6000 horses perished on that day.)

TRANSLATOR.

* "They could obtain nothing except some small sums lent them to carry them home again" Froiss. b. i. c. 206.

† "These boats," says Froissart, "were made surprisingly well of boiled leather: they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size. . . . the king had, besides, thirty falcons on horseback, laden with hawks; sixty couple of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds; so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing, either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king." Froiss. b. i. c. 210.

‡ Id. iv. c. 431, p. 10, ed. Buchon. § Id. Ibid. p. 11.

§ "As I was told at Paris, where I was, when describing these incidents." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 125.

¶ "A flumine Secane usque ad Estampas non remansit vir nec mulier." Ibid. p. 126.

heaven in triumphant joy, he would not allow the people of France to remain afflicted. . . . The conferences began on the Sunday, on which the hymn *Cantate* is sung at church. On the Sunday for the hymn *Vocem jucunditatis*, the regent and the English repaired to Notre-Dame, to swear to the treaty. The transports of the people were beyond all words. The bells of this, and of the other churches in Paris, set ringing, murmured in pious harmony, and the clergy sang, in all joy and devotion, *Te Deum laudamus*. . . . All rejoiced, save, perhaps, such as made large gain by the wars, as the armourers for instance . . . false traitors and brigands feared the gibbet. But let us leave off speaking of them *.

This joy was of short duration. This peace, so much wished for, made all France weep. The ceded provinces would not become English. Whether the government of the English were better or worse, their insupportable pride made them every where detested. The counts of Perigord, of Comminges, Armagnac, the sire d'Albret, and many others, maintained with reason that the lord had no right to give away his vassals. Rochelle, the more French that Bordeaux was English, besought the king, in God's name, not to desert her. The Rochellers declared that they would rather be taxed every year in half of their worldly substance, and still further—"We may submit to the English with our lips, but with our hearts, never +."

They who remained French were but the more wretched for it. France had degenerated into a farm of England's, where one only worked in order to liquidate the enormous amount of the king's ransom. We have still, in the Trésor des Chartes, the receipts given on this account. It makes one ill to look at these parchments—the sweat, groans, and tears each of these bits of rag has cost, can never be known. The first (dated Oct. 24, 1360) is the receipt for the charge for king Jean's keep; at the rate of ten thousand reals a month †. The noble hospitality, so vaunted by historians, Edward enforced payment for—the gaoler, before ransoming, had his fee counted out to him. Then comes a fearful receipt for four hundred thousand gold crowns, of the same date. Then, a receipt for two hundred thousand (December). Another, for one hundred thousand (on All Saints' day, 1361); another, for two hundred thousand, and for fifty-seven thousand gold agnuses, besides, to make up the two hundred thousand promised by Burgundy (February 21).—In 1362, are receipts for the several sums of one hundred and ninety-eight thousand; thirty thousand; sixty thousand; and two hundred thousand gold crowns §. The payments continue down to the year 1368, though many of the receipts are missing. The

ransoms of the nobles amounted, it is probable, to as considerable a sum.

The first payment could not have been made, had not the king hit upon a disgraceful resource. Whilst he was giving provinces, he gave away one of his own children. The Visconti, the wealthy tyrants of Milan, coveted a marriage with a daughter of France, imagining that the alliance would gain them consideration in Italy. The ferocious Galeazzo, who hunted down men in the streets, and had cast priests, alive, into an oven, asked in marriage for his son, who was ten years of age, a daughter of Jean's, who was eleven. Instead of receiving a dowry, he gave one—three hundred thousand florins in free gift, and as much for a county in Champagne. The king of France, says Villani, sold his own flesh and blood *. The little Isabella was exchanged, in Savoy, for florins. The child did not suffer herself to be given up to the Italians with any better grace, than Rochelle did to the English.

By aid of this unfortunate Italian money, the king was enabled to leave Calais—which he did, poor and bare. On the 5th of December (A.D. 1360), he was obliged to impose a new aid on his ruined people. The terms in which the ordinance runs are remarkable. The king, in a manner, asks pardon of his people for speaking to them of money. He recalls, tracing back as far as Philippe de Valois, all the ills which he and his people have suffered; he has abandoned to the chance of battle his own body and his children; he has treated at Breigny, not so much for his own deliverance only, as to avoid the perdition of his kingdom and of his good people. He asserts that he will do good and loyal justice, that he will suppress all new tolls, that he will coin good and strong gold and silver money, and black money for the convenience of giving alms to the poor. "We have ordained, and do ordain, that we must take from the said people of the Langue d'Oïl what is needful to us, and which will not aggrrieve our people so much as would altering the value of our coin, to wit—twelve deniers the pound on merchandise, to be paid by the seller, an aid of a fifth on salt, and of a thirteenth on wine and other drinks. With which aid, for the great compassion we entertain for our people, we will content ourselves; and it shall be levied only until the completion and verification (entérinement) of peace +."

However mild and paternal the mode of the demand, the people were no longer in a condition to pay: all money had disappeared. It behoved to apply to the usurers, to the Jews, and this time, to grant them a fixed settlement, and guarantee them liberty of residence for twenty years. A prince of the blood was appointed guardian of their privileges—which were excessive, as we shall show elsewhere—and took on himself a special obligation, to see that they were paid their debts. For these privileges they were to pay twenty florins each on re-entering the kingdom, and seven yearly. One Manasses, who farmed all the Jewry, was to have for his trouble the enormous per centage of two florins out of the twenty, and one per annum out of the seven ‡.

* Mat. Villani, xiv. 617. "The French king, who saw himself in danger, in order to have the money sooner ready, lightly lent himself to the business." Froiss. iv. c. 449, p. 79, ed. Buchon.

† Ord. iii. p. 433.

‡ Ibid. p. 467.

* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 127, 128.

† Et disoient bien les Anglais notables de la ville, "Nous souerons les Anglois des lèures, mais les euers ne s'en mouvront ja." Froiss. c. 441, p. 229, 230, ed. Buchon.—The regrets of the inhabitants of Cahors are not less touching:—"They answered with weeping and lamentations . . . that it was not they who acknowledged the king of England, but our lord the king of France who left them orphans." Communicated to me by M. Lacabane, on the authority of the Archives de Cahors, and the M.S. de la Bibl. Royale.

‡ Archives, Section Historique, J. 630, 640.

§ Id. Ibid. J. 641.

The sad and empty years that follow, 1361, 1362, and 1363, present externally only the receipts of the English, and internally, only high prices of provisions, ravages of brigands, dread of a comet, and a great and fearful mortality. This time, the malady attacked adult men and children, more than old men and women, and struck down preferentially the strength and hope of generations. Everywhere were mothers in tears, widows, and women in black*.

Want of nourishment had much to do with this epidemic. Hardly any thing was brought into the towns. There was no going from Paris to Orléans or to Chartres; the country was infested by Gascons and Bretons†.

The nobles who returned from England, and who felt that they must be despised, were not less cruel than the brigands. Jean d'Artois quarrelled with the city of Peronne, which had bravely defended itself, and there followed almost a crusade of the barons against the people. Supported by the king's brother, and by the nobility, Jean d'Artois took English into his pay, laid siege to Peronne, took it, and burnt it‡. Chauny sur Oise, and other towns, were similarly treated.—In Burgundy, the nobles even acted as guides to the bands which pillaged the country§; and as these brigands universally called themselves English, the king forbade them to be attacked. He prayed Edward to write to his lieutenants on the subject||.

These plunderers styled themselves the *Late-Venus* (the Late-Comers); arriving after the war, they yet wanted their share of the spoil. The principal band began operations in Champagne and in Lorraine, then passed into Burgundy. Their leader was a Gascon, who, like the archpriest, was for leading them to see the pope at Avignon¶, taking Forez and the Lyonnais in his way. Jacques de Bourbon, who happened to be in the South at the time, was interested in protecting Forez, a territory belonging to his nephews and his sister**. This prince, who was generally beloved††, soon collected a number of the barons. He was accompanied by the famous archpriest, who had given up the command of the free companies; and had he followed this man's counsels, he would have destroyed them. Coming into presence at Brignais, near Lyons, he fell into a gross snare; believing the enemy weaker than was the case, he attacked them on a hill on which they were

posted, and was slain, together with his son, nephew, and numbers of his followers (April 2nd, 1362*). His death, however, was a glorious one. The first title of the Capets to the love of their country is the death of Robert-le-Fort at Brisserte; that of the Bourbons, the death of Jacques at Brignais—both slain in defending the kingdom against brigands.

The free companies, having no longer any thing to fear, scoured the two banks of the Rhone. One of their leaders styled himself—The friend of God, the enemy of all the world†. The pope, trembling in Avignon, preached a crusade against them. But the crusaders preferred joining the companies‡. Happily for Avignon, the marquis of Montferrat, a member of the Tuscan league against the Visconti, took part of them into his pay, and led them into Italy, where they carried the plague. To decide them to depart, the pope gave them 30,000 florins, and absolution§.

The mortality which depopulated the kingdom at least gave Jean a fair inheritance. The young duke of Burgundy dying, as well as his sister, the first house of Burgundy became extinct, leaving both Burgundies, Artois, the counties of Auvergne and of Boulogne, without a head. The nearest heir was the king of Navarre, who asked to be allowed to take possession of Burgundy, or, at least, of Champagne, which he had so long claimed. He got neither. It was impossible to suffer these provinces to pass to a foreign prince, and he so odious. Jean¶ proclaimed their perpetual annexation to his own domain||, and set out to take possession, "journeying by small stages, and at great expense, stopping at every town and city in the duchy of Burgundy¶¶."

Here he learned, without travelling any the quicker, the death of Jacques de Bourbon. About the end of the year, he went down to Avignon, where he spent six months in the midst of festivals, and where he hoped to make a fresh conquest without the trouble of war. Joanna of Naples—she who had suffered her first husband to be murdered—was a widow a second time. Jean aspired to be her third bridegroom. He was himself a widower, and only forty-three years of age. Taken prisoner, but after a splendid resistance**, this soldier king

* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 129.

† The brigands had surprised a fort near Corbeil. A number of men-at-arms undertook to retake it, and did still more harm to the country, which suffered more from its defenders than its enemies. The dogs aided the wolves to devour the flock. The fable is told by the continuator of Nangis, p. 131.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 128.

§ "Some knights and squires of the country were of intelligence with them, and acted as their guides." Froiss. iv. c. 462, p. 123, ed. Buchon.

|| "But there were others who would not obey it, saying that they had made war in the name of the king of Navarre." Froissart, b. i. c. 214.

¶ "These free companies resolved that they would advance with their forces, about the middle of Lent, towards Avignon, and visit the pope and cardinals." Id. ibid.

** "This was very unpleasant news to the lord James, who had taken the management of the estates of the county of Forez for his nephews, as well as to all the other chiefs." Id. ibid. c. 215.

†† Id. ibid. c. 214.

* Froiss. iv. c. 465, p. 181—186, ed. Buchon.—M. Allier's fine work has unfortunately not come down to Jacques de Bourbon's death.—As regards the date, see M. Dacier's remarks. Froiss. iv. 135, ed. Dacier.

† Id. ibid. c. 466, p. 139, ed. Buchon.

‡ "He (the pope) retained all soldiers, and others, who were desirous of saving their souls, and of gaining the aforesaid pardons; but he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart . . . and some joined those wicked companies, which were daily increasing." Froissart, b. i. c. 215.

§ "King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced when they found themselves delivered from these people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy." Id. ibid.

¶ The king of Navarre was descended from an eldest sister, but in remoter degree (à un degré inférieur). John maintained, that according to the written law, descent goes no further in a right line than brothers' sons, but that the nearest of blood inherits. Sécouse, Preuves de l'Hist. de Charles-le-Mauvais, t. ii. p. 201.

¶ Froiss. iv. c. 471, p. 148, ed. Buchon.

** See the prose Chronicle of Duguesclin, edited by M. Francisque Michel, p. 105.

was an object of interest to Christendom, as Francis the First was after Pavia. The pope had no mind to make a king of France master of Naples and of Provence; and he gave this queen of thirty-six years of age to quite a youthful husband, not a son of France, but Jayme of Aragon, son of the dethroned king of Majorca.

To console Jean, the pope encouraged him in a project which seemed insensate at the first glance, but which would in reality have recruited his fortunes. The king of Cyprus had come to Avignon, to entreat succour and propose a crusade. Jean took the cross, and numbers of the great barons with him*. The king of Cyprus went to Germany to exhort to the crusade; Jean undertook a similar mission to England. One of his sons who had been a hostage there, had returned to France in contempt of treaties. Jean's return to London wore the most honourable appearance. He seemed to have come to repair his son's fault. Some asserted that the miseries of France had driven him thither in disgust: others, that he was attracted by the charms of some mistress†. However, the kings of Scotland and of Denmark were to meet him there. As king of France, he was the natural president in every assembly of kings. Humiliated by the new system of warfare which the English had introduced, the king of France would have resumed, through the medium of the crusade, under the old banner of the Middle Age, the first ^{rank} in Christendom. He would have borne off the free companies along with him, and delivered France from them‡. Even the English and the Gascons, notwithstanding the indisposition of the king of England to the enterprise, who alleged his age as a reason for not assuming the cross§, said aloud to the king of Cyprus—"That it was in truth an expedition in which all good and honourable men should act together, and that if it pleased God to open a way, he should not go on it alone||." Jean's death put an end to these hopes. After a winter in London of festivals and feasting¶, he fell ill, and died regretted, it is said, by the English, whom he himself loved, and to whom he had become attached, simple as he was, and without guile, during his long captivity. Edward buried him magnificently in St. Paul's. According to eye-witnesses, there were consumed at his funeral four thousand torches, each twelve feet high, and four thousand tapers, weighing ten pounds each**.

* "After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him." Froissart, b. i. c. 217.

† Causa jocul (for sport's sake), says the severe historian of the time. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 132.

‡ "... To draw out of his kingdom all those men-at-arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls." Froissart, b. i. c. 217.

§ "Yes," answered the king of England; "I will never oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee." The king of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from king Edward, in respect to this crusade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honourably feasted with a variety of grand suppers." Id. ibid. c. 218.

¶ Id. ibid. ¶ Id. ibid. c. 219.

** Quatuor millia torcia . . . quodlibet torcilium de duodecim pedibus in altitudine, &c. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 133.

France, mutilated and ruined as she was, still stood, by the avowal of her enemies, at the head of Christendom. It is this poor France's fate, to see from time to time envious Europe rise against her, and conspire her ruin. Each time they think they have slain her, and imagine that there is no longer a France: they draw lots for her spoils, and joyfully rend asunder her bleeding members. She clings to life; and flourishes again. She survived in 1361, ill defended, and betrayed by her nobility; she survived in 1709, when aged with the age of her king; and again did she survive in 1815, when attacked by the whole world. . . . This obstinate alliance of the world against France proves her superiority better than victories. He against whom all readily combine, is, there can be little doubt, first of all.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES V. A. D. 1364-1380.—EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH.

THE young king was born aged. He early saw much, and suffered much. In person, he was weak and sickly. As the kingdom, so was the king. It was said that Charles-le-Mauvais had given him poison—and hence his pallid countenance, and a swelling of the hand, which hindered him from holding lance. He seldom made excursions on horseback, but generally stayed quietly at Vincennes, or his hotel St. Paul, or his royal library of the Louvre. He read, listened to the counsel of the able, and took his time to deliberate. He was called the *sage*, that is, the lettered, the clerk, or, it might quite as well mean, the crafty, the astute. Behold the first modern king, a king—seated like the royal image on the seals. Up to this time, one had imagined that a king ought to be on horseback. Philippe-le-Bel himself, with his chancellor Pierre Flotte, had been present—and defeated—at Courtrai. Charles V. fought with more success in his chair. A conqueror in his chamber, surrounded by his lawyers, his Jews, and his astrologers, he defied renowned knights, and the still more formidable free companies. With the same pen, he signed the treaties that ruined the English, and minuted the pamphlets that were to ruin the pope and put the sovereign in possession of the goods of the church.

This sick physician of the kingdom had to cure it of three ailments, the least of which seemed mortal—of the Englishman, the Navarrese, and of the free companies. He got rid of the first, as we have seen, by glutting him with gold, by waiting patiently until he himself gained strength. The Navarrese was beaten, then taken into pay, and hopes given him of Montpellier. The free companies draughted themselves off to Spain.

At first, Charles V. strengthened himself by means of his brothers, entrusting to them the most excentric provinces,—Languedoc to the duke d'Anjou, Burgundy to Philippe-le-Hardi*. He directed his own attention to the centre. But he required an arm, a sword. Little warlike spirit at

* He confirmed his father's gift of Burgundy to Philip the Bold. Froissart, iv. c. 495, p. 221, ed. Buchon.

this time survived, except amongst the Bretons and Gascons. The fight of the thirty, in which the Bretons had defeated the English*, was in every

* A monument to perpetuate the remembrance of this event has been raised on the lande of Mi-Voie, near Plœrmel. See the poem published by M. de Fréminville, in 1819, and by M. Crapelet, in 1827. See, also, M. de Roujoux, *Hist. de Bretagne*, iii. 381.—Beaumanoir's grief, when he met the Breton peasants dragged into slavery by the English, is expressed with touching simplicity:—

"Il vit peiner chétifs, dont il eut grand pitié.

L'un estoit en un cep et li autre ferré

Comme vaches et bœufs que l'on mène au marché.

Quand Beaumanoir les vit, du cœur a soupiré !"

(He saw them dragged captive, and was filled with pity. One was hand cuffed, another in chains. . . . They were driven as one drives cows and oxen to market. When Beaumanoir saw them, he sighed from the bottom of his heart!)

Beaumanoir, complaining of this to Bemborough, an Englishman, receives the following answer:—

"Beaumaner, taisiez-vous; de ce n'est plus parlé,

Montfort si sera due de la noble duché,

De Nante à Pontorson, et même à Saint-Mahé.

Edouard sera roy de France, couronné."

(Beaumanoir, be silent; say no more of the matter, Montfort will be duke of the noble duchy from Nantes to Pontorson, and even to St. Mahé. Edward shall be king of France, crowned king.)

And, according to the poet, Beaumanoir humbly rejoins:—

"Songiez un autre songe, cestuy est mal songié;

Car jamais par tel voie n'en auez demi-pié"

(Dream another dream, this is badly dreamed; for never by such means shall you gain half a foot of the land.)

As the battle is beginning, the Englishman cries out to Beaumanoir:

"Rends-toi tôt, Beaumanoir, je ne t'occiray mie;

Mais je fery de toi biau présent a ma mie;

Car je luj ai promis et ne veux mentir mie,

Que ce soit te mettrai dans sa chambre jolie (honnête).

Et Beaumanoir répond: Je te le surnevie!

. . . . De sueur et de sang la terre roussa."

(Surrender at once, Beaumanoir, I will not slay you; but I will make a handsome present of you to my mistress. For I have promised her, and will not lie, to bring you this evening to her pretty (honourable) chamber. And Beaumanoir answers, I wish you joy of it! The earth was bedewed with blood and sweat.)

Beaumanoir, asking for drink, receives from Geoffrey Dubois the famous answer:—

"Bois ton sang, Beaumanoir, ta soif se passera!"

(Drink your blood, Beaumanoir, your thirst will pass away.)

The history of the battle, says the poet, was written and painted in tapestry (en tapichies):—

"Par tretois les états qui sont de ci la mer;

Et s'en est esbattu maint gentil chevalier,

Et mainte noble dame à la bouche jolle.

Or priez, et Jésus, et Michel, et Marie,

Que Dieu leur soit en aide et dites-en, Amen."

(Throughout all the states on this side of the sea; and many a gentle knight has been delighted with it, and many a noble dame with pretty lips. Now, pray to Jesus, and Michael, and Mary, that God be their aid: say Amen.)

("I have been very much surprised," says M. Johnes, "that Froissart, who in general is so very minute in relating every transaction, should have omitted an account of this extraordinary engagement. The relation of it which follows is taken from the *Histoire de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 280.

After the death of sir Thomas Daggeworth, the king appointed sir Walter Bently commander in Brittany. The English being much irritated at the death of Daggeworth, and not being able to revenge themselves on those who slew him, did so on the whole country by burning and destroying it. The marshal de Beaumanoir, desirous of putting a stop to this, sent to Bembro, who commanded in Plœrmel, for a passport to hold a conference with him. The marshal

one's mouth. Charles attached to himself a brave Breton of Dinan, the sire Bertrand Duguesclin*, whose prowess he had witnessed at the siege of

reprobated the conduct of the English, and high words passed between them; for Bembro had been the companion in arms to Daggeworth. At last one of them proposed a combat of thirty on each side; the place appointed for it was at the half-way oak-tree between Josselin and Plœrmel; and the day was fixed for the 27th of March, the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1351. Beaumanoir chose nine knights and twenty-one squires: the first were, the lord de Tinteniac, Guy de Rochefort, Yves Charruel, Robin Raguenel, Huon de St. Yvon, Caro de Bodegat, Olivier Arrel, Geoffroy du Bois, John Rouselet, &c. Bembro could not find a sufficient number of English in his garrison; there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were, sir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Hervé de Lxualen, John Plesanton, Richard and Hugh le Gaultier, Jannequin Taillart, Ressefort, Richard de la Lande, Thome-lin Billefort, Hugh Calverley, Robinet Melipars, Yfal or Isannai, John Russel, Dagorne, and a soldier, named Hulbitée, of a very large size, and of great strength, &c.

Bembro first entered the field of battle and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honour and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a sign to Beaumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently; for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beaumanoir replied he had been somewhat late in discovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return, without having proved by battle which had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar; for each was to choose such as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25 lbs. weight, and others with what arms they chose. The advantage at first was for the English; as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath; when each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Bembro was killed. On seeing this, Croquart cried out, "Companions, don't let us think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms; keep yourselves close together, be firm and fight as I do." Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst, when Geoffroy du Bois cried out, "Beaumanoir drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off." This made him ashamed and return to the battle. The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English; the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverley, and Croquart, were made prisoners, and carried to the castle of Josselin. Tinteniac, on the side of the Bretons, and Croquart, on the English, obtained the prize of valour. Such was the issue of this famous combat of thirty, so glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the possession of the duchy of Brittany. (Johnes's Froissart, b. i. c. 148, edition in 2 vols. 8vo.) TRANSLATOR.

* "At this time there armed himself, and kept always under arms François, a knight of Brittany, who was called Messire Bertrand Duguesclin." Froiss. iv. c. 481, p. 179, ed. Buchon.—Duguesclin is named in deeds, severally, Gilequin, Gléquin, Glasyquin, Glesquin, Gleyquin, Claklin, &c. This would make him out the true Breton race. He himself inclined to believe that he was descended from a Moorish king, Hakim, who had withdrawn into Brittany, and being driven out of the country by Charlemagne, left behind him in the tower of Glay a son whom Charles had baptized. After the Castilian war, the constable wished to cross into Africa and conquer Bugia. See the manuscript in the Royal Library (Bibliothèque du Roi), entitled, *Conquête des Bretons Armoriens, faite par le preux Charlemagne sur ung payen nommé Aquin, qu'il avoit usurpé*, &c. No. 3, 856 du P. LeLONG.

Melun*, and who had fought on the side of France since 1357.

The life of this famous leader of companies, who delivered France both from the companies and the English, has been sung, that is, spoiled and obscured, in a kind of chivalrous *épopée*, which was probably composed to reanimate the military spirit of the barons†. Our histories of Duguesclin are little more than translations of this *épopée* into prose; nor is it easy to disengage what is serious and truly historical from the poetical fgment. Wherever the poem and the romances are consistent with the well-known character of the Bretons, we willingly trust to them, as we may do whenever they candidly confess their hero's disadvantages. They confess, in the first place, that he was ugly,—"of moderate height, brown complexion, flat nose, green eyes, broad-shouldered, with long arms and small hands‡." They say that from childhood he was a wicked imp, "rough, full of tricks and hardy pranks," fond of getting his comrades together, forming them into troops, beating and hurting them. His father was obliged to confine him for a time. However, a man had early predicted that the child would turn out a renowned knight; and he was still further encouraged by the predictions of a certain damsel, hight Tiphaine, whom the Bretons looked upon as a witch, and whom he afterwards married. Nevertheless, this intractable battler was, as Bretons are wont to be, a keen companion, free of his money, now rich, now ruined, giving at times all he had to ransom his men, but, on the other hand, greedy of plunder, rude, and merciless in war. Like the other captains of his time, he preferred stratagem to all other means of conquest, and always avoided pledging his word and honour. Before battle, he was the tactician, the map of resources and subtle device. He could foresee and provide. But, once in the fight, his Breton head hurried him away, he plunged into the melley, and that so far that he could not always draw back again. He was twice taken, and had to pay ransom.

The king's first business was to throw open the Seine; and Mantes and Meulan being in the king of Navarre's hands, Boucicaut and Duguesclin

* Froiss. *ibid.* and *Vie de Duguesclin*, published by Mesnard, c. 8, p. 67, and c. 10, p. 83.

† "Cilz qui le mist en rime fust Cuveliers,

Et pour l'amour du prince qui de Dieu soit sauvé,
Afin qu'on n'eust pas les bons faits oubliés
Du vaillant comestable qui tant fut redoubtés.
En a fait les beaux vers noblement ordenez."

(He who put him in rhyme was Cuvelier, and for the king's love, whom God save, in order that the good deeds might not be forgotten of the so valiant and redoubted constable, he has composed a nobly ordered poem.) *MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7724.*

M. Maot, Professor of History, has given an interesting notice of this important manuscript in the *Annuaire for Dinan*, 1835.

‡ "Mais l'enfant dont je dis et dont je vois parlant,
Je crois qu'il n'est si laid de Rennes à Dinant.
Camus estoit et noir, malotru et massant (!).
Le père et la mère si le holoient tant . . ."

(But the child of whom I spoke, and am speaking, I think there was none so ugly from Rennes to Dinant. He was flat-nosed and black, miserable and . . . His father and mother hated him so much . . .) *MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7724.*

See also the chronicle in prose, reprinted by M. Francisque Michel.

seized on them by an egregious piece of treachery*. These towns had to pay for all the mischief which the Parisians had suffered from the Navarrese; and the citizens enjoyed the pleasure of seeing twenty-eight of their inhabitants hung at Paris†.

The Navarrese, strengthened by a body of English and Gascons under the capital de Buch, sought revenge, by endeavouring to hinder Charles V. from proceeding to Reims; but Duguesclin advanced to meet them with a large troop of French, of Bretons, and of Gascons as well‡. The capital fell back towards Evreux. He halted at Cocherel, on a gentle eminence; but Duguesclin manoeuvred so as to deprive him of the advantage of the ground, by sounding a retreat and feigning to fly. The capital could not hinder his English followers from rushing down; they were too haughty to attend to a Gascon general, although a great baron and of the house of Foix. He was obliged to succumb to his soldiers, and follow them to the plain. Here Duguesclin wheeled round: and thirty of his Gascons, as was planned beforehand, rushed on the capital and hurried him away prisoner from the midst of his troops§. The other Navarrese leaders were slain; the battle gained||.

Gained the 16th of May, it was known on the 18th at Reims, the evening before the coronation—a fine new year's gift (*étrenne*) to the new monarch. Charles V. bestowed on Duguesclin a reward such as king had never given—a princely establishment, even the county of Longueville, the heritage of the king of Navarre's brother¶. At the same time, he ordered the sire de Saquenille, one of the chief councillors of the said king, to be beheaded. He treated no better the French who were found in the free companies**. It began to be remembered that robbery was a crime.

The next year brought the war of Brittany to

* "In order the better to blind the inhabitants, sir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, 'St. Yves Guesclin! death to the Navarrese!' They entered, pillaged the houses of whatever they found, and made prisoners of whom they pleased: they also murdered several." Froissart, b. i. c. 230.

† Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 132, col. 2.

‡ "By the head of St. Antony, Gascon against Gascon will make mischief enough." Froiss. b. i. c. 221.—Lord Berners translates, "By Saint Antony's cap Gascon against Gascon!"

§ "I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers to do nothing but to follow and attack the capital . . . they may seize him and carry him off between them to some place of safety, where they will remain until the end of the battle." Froiss. b. ii. c. 222.

|| "When the French had drawn up their forces . . . their chiefs . . . long debated what war-cry they should use, and whose banner or pennon they should fix on as a rallying-point. They for a long time determined to cry, 'Notre Dame Auxerre!' and to make the earl of Auxerre their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it . . . 'This is the first pitched battle I was ever at . . . we have here many very able and enterprising knights, such as my lord Bertrand Duguesclin, my lord the archbishop,' &c. . . . It was therefore resolved they should cry, 'Notre Dame Guesclin.'" *Id. ibid.*

¶ The letters of gift bear date May 27, 1364.—Duchatelet, *Hist. de Duguesclin*, p. 297.—In 1365, the king paid part of Duguesclin's ransom, and took back the county. *Archives*, J. 381.

** "Quarter was given to all the foreign soldiers; but all brigands, French by birth, who had thrust themselves there, were put to death." Froiss. iv. c. 498, p. 230, ed. Buchon.

an end. Charles of Blois would have consented to a division of the province, but his wife would not*. The French king lent Charles, Duguesclin and a thousand lances. The prince of Wales sent to Montfort the brave Chandos, two hundred lances, and as many archers; and many English knights joined the party†.

Montfort and the English were on an eminence, just as the prince of Wales was at Poitiers. Charles of Blois did not disturb himself about the matter. This devout prince, who believed in miracles, and who performed them, had refused at the siege of Quimper to retreat before the tide. "If it be God's will," he said, "the tide will harm us not." He stopped no more before the hill of Auray, than he had done before the tide at Quimper.

Charles of Blois was the strongest. Many Bretons, even of *Bretagne bretonnante*, had joined him; doubtless, out of hate to the English‡. Duguesclin had drawn up his force in admirable order. Each man at arms carried his spear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, sharp, strong, and well-steeled, with a short handle, was at his side, or hung from his neck . . . "they advanced thus handsomely, a foot's pace . . . it was a very fine sight . . . for the French were in such close order, that one could scarcely throw a tennis-ball among them, without its falling on a helmet or a lance§." Sir John Chandos gazed long and intently on the order of their march, "and having well considered the dispositions of the French in his own mind, thought so highly of them, he could not remain silent, but said, 'As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honour of chivalry is there, most wisely and expertly drawn up!'"

Chandos had secured a body of reserve, to support each body as might be needed; and it was not without difficulty that he prevailed on one of his knights to remain behind in command of it. He was obliged to have recourse to prayers and even to tears¶, since the feudal prejudice esteemed the front rank the only honourable post. Duguesclin could not have carried the point with any of his knights.

The two aspirants fought at the head of their troops: the battle was a duel, without quarter. The Bretons were wearied of the war, and desired to bring it to a conclusion by the death of one or the other**. Chandos's reserve gave him the

advantage over Duguesclin, who was borne to the ground and taken. All fell back on Charles of Blois. His banner was seized, thrust into the dust, and himself slain. The noblest barons of Brittany persisted in the hopeless struggle, and fell with him*.

When the English hurried joyfully to show Montfort his enemy, of whom they had rid him, his French blood awoke within him—it might be the force of kindred—but tears gushed from his eyes†. Under the cuirass of the fallen Charles, it was found that he wore sackcloth. His piety and fine qualities were recalled to mind. He had only recommenced the war out of deference to his wife, as heiress of Brittany. But this saint‡ was a man as well. He made verses, and composed *lays* in the interval of battles. He had been given to love; and a natural son of his was slain by his side, seeking to avenge his death§.

In a few days the strongest places in the country surrendered to Montfort. Charles of Blois' children were prisoners in England. The king of France, who had carried no passion into the war, came to terms with the conqueror, and persuaded Charles's widow to be contented with the county of Penthievre, the viscounty of Limoges, and a revenue of ten thousand livres||. The king did wisely. The main point was to hinder Brittany from doing homage to the Englishman. It was a safe bet that, sooner or later, the province would grow weary of England's *protégé*.

To have brought to an end the war of Brittany, and that with the king of Navarre, was something; but it required time for France to recover. The bare enumeration of the ordinances of Charles V. is enough to unveil the deplorable wounds occasioned by the war. The majority are to verify the diminution of *hearth*s (*de feux*); and to recognize the impossibility of the depopulated communes any longer paying taxes¶. Others are protections issued by the king to towns, abbeys, hospitals, and chapters. So powerless was the public protection, that a special one was needful. Towns, corporations, and universities require their privileges to be secured them. Many cities are declared to be inseparable from the crown. The Italian merchants at Nîmes, the Castilians and Portuguese at Harfleur and at Caen, obtain specific privileges. Altogether we find no general law promulgated; all is special and individual. We are conscious how far the kingdom is still off from unity, how weak and suffering it still is.

The great curse of the kingdom was the robberies of the *free companies*. Dismissed by the English, and driven from the isle of France, from Normandy, Brittany, and from Aquitaine, the com-

* Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. II. l. iv. p. 122.

† Sir John Chandos "asked several knights and squires of Aquitaine to accompany him; but few went except the English." Froiss. b. i. c. 225.

‡ "The viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, de Kergoulay (Kergoulay), de Lohéac . . . and many others whom I cannot name." *Id. ibid.*

§ *Id. c. 226.* || *Id. ibid.*

¶ "This conduct nearly brought tears into the eyes of Sir John. He again addressed him, gently saying, 'Sir Hugh, it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command: now, consider which can be most spared.'" *Id. ibid.*

** "It appears to me, that orders had been given to the English army, that if they should gain the battle, and the lord Charles were found or made prisoner, no ransom should be taken for him, but that they should kill him. In a similar case, the French and Bretons had given the like orders respecting the lord John de Montfort; for in this day each party wished by battle to put an end to the war." *Id. c. 227.*

* *Id. ibid.*

† *Id. c. 228.*

‡ "And he was venerated as Saint-Charles." *Id. ibid.*—Urban V., a good Frenchman, ordered, it is true, an inquiry to be held, previously to canonizing Charles of Blois, but he died before it was concluded; and his successor, Gregory II., did not act upon the return made in favour of his canonization, for fear of offending the duke of Brittany. *Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 336, cited in a note by M. Dacler in Buchon's edition of Froissart.

§ "Un sien fils batar, qui s'appelloit messire Jean de Blois." Froiss. iv. c. 510, p. 264, ed. Buchon. He proved himself, says Froissart, a brave man at arms.

|| Froiss. c. 615, p. 275—286, ed. Buchon.

¶ *Ord. iv. 617, 651.*

panies fell back on the centre, and scoured Berry and the Limousin, &c. The brigands felt quite at home there. It was their barracks, was their insolent observation*. They were of all nations, but mostly English and Gascons, with a sprinkling of Bretons. The people called them all English, nor has any thing more contributed to exasperate France against England. Offers were made to the free companies to tempt them to the crusade. The emperors had secured them a passage through Hungary, and offered to defray their expenses in their route through Germany. But the majority had no desire for so distant an expedition†; and few of those who made up their minds to go, in the hope of plundering Germany by the way, arrived there. Led by the archpriest as far as Alsace, they found themselves opposed by a serried and hostile population, who fell upon them on all sides, and the greater number perished. Some made their way into Italy.

But they chiefly emigrated in the direction of Spain and Castile, seeking employment in the wars between Don Henriquez de Transtamare and his brother, Don Pedro the Cruel; a surname deserved by all the Spanish kings of the period. In Navarre there reigned Charles-le-Mauvais (Charles the Wicked), the murderer and poisoner; in Portugal, Don Pedro the Justicer, he who did such cruel justice on the death of Inez di Castro; in Aragon, Don Pedro the Ceremonious, who, without even the formality of a trial, hung up by the feet a legate charged with the office of excommunicating him. In like manner Don Pedro the Cruel had burnt alive a monk, who had foretold that his brother would put him to death. To learn what Spain was, after having less to fear from the Moors she yielded to their influence, and became Moresco, Jewish, and any thing rather than Christian, turn to the chronicle of Ayala. The unsparing wars carried on against the unbelievers had imparted to the Spaniard a tinge of ferocity, which assumed a darker shade when he was subjected to the severe fiscal yoke of the Jews‡.

This Pedro the Cruel was a sort of furious madman, in whom the two jarring elements of Spain contended for mastery, and made a monster of him. He piqued himself on his high sense of chivalry, as did every Castilian; and, at the same time, entrusted the whole administration of his kingdom to Jews, in whom alone, and the Moors, he placed any confidence§. He was said to be the son of a Jewess. But for this partiality to the Jews, the good-will of the communes would have been entirely his, on account of his cruelty towards the nobles.

However, this man of blood loved. His mistress

was Donna Maria de Padilla, described by a contemporary as being "*petite, handsome, and witty*.*" Out of complaisance to her, he imprisoned his wife Blanche, sister-in-law to Charles V., and at last poisoned her. He had already murdered heaven knows how many of his subjects. His brother, Don Henriquez de Transtamare, who had every thing to fear, fled to the king of France to solicit him to avenge his sister-in-law.

The king readily gave him the free companies which were ravaging France. They were offered a passage through his territories by the king of Aragon, and received authority from the pope to invade Castile. Among other acts of violence, Don Pedro had laid hands on the goods of the Church†.

Nominally, the young duke of Bourbon was the leader of this expedition: its real leader was to be Duguesclin‡, still a prisoner, and whom the English would not ransom for less than 100,000 francs§; so the king, the pope, and Don Henriquez, raised the sum between them.

Duguesclin took command of these adventurers, and led them into Spain, but by way of Avignon, in order to make further demands on the pope's coffers; and drew from him 100,000 francs in gold, besides a general absolution for his men. His army increased by the way||; for although the English king had prohibited his subjects from taking any part in the war, a crowd of English and Gascon adventurers, reckless of the prohibition, flocked to the Frenchman's standard, to the high displeasure of Edward¶.

* These men, whose first step had been holding

* "E formosa, e pequena de cuerpo, et de buen entendimiento" Id. c. vi.

† . . . "Whose loud and great complaints came daily to our holy father, the pope." Froiss. iv. c. 518, p. 295, ed. Buchon.

‡ There is a Languedocian ballad extant on this Spanish expedition—*Cançon ditta la bertat, fatta sur la guerra d'Espania, fatta pel generoso Guesclin assistat des nobles moundis de Tholosa. 1367.* Don Morice, i. p. 16, and Froiss. iv. p. 286, ed. Buchon.

§ Charles V. lent him this sum, on condition of his taking the free companies out of the kingdom—"To all whom these present letters may concern, I, Bertran du Guesclin, knight, count of Longueville, chamberlain of the king of France, my much-dreaded and sovereign lord, give greeting.—We will to know that in consideration of a certain sum of money (que parmit certaine somme de deniers) which the said king, my sovereign lord, some time since (pleps) gave us as a loan, as well to put out of his kingdom the companies which were in and about Brittany, Normandy, and Chartain, and elsewhere in the low marches, as to help us to pay part of our ransom to the noble messire Jehan de Champdor, viscount of St. Sauveur, and constable of Aquitaine, whose prisoners we are, We have promised, and promise to the said king, my sovereign lord, by our faith and oath, to put and to take out of his kingdom the said companies as quickly as we may be able, without fraud or subterfuge, and, likewise, without permitting them or suffering them to dwell or stay in any part of the said kingdom, except halting at their journey, and without making any claim on our own part, or on that of the said companies, from the said king, my sovereign lord, or his subjects, or good cities, for money or any aid whatever, &c." August 22nd, 1365. *Archives*, J. 481.

|| All the leaders of these companies were there: the lords Robert Briquet, Lamit, the petit Meschin, the bourg (bastard) Camas, &c. Froiss. b. i. c. 250.

¶ "Many knights who were attached to the prince . . . and several others were of the party." Id. *ibid.*

* Froiss. 517, p. 285, ed. Buchon.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 284, 285.

‡ The court had to give satisfaction to the people more than once. In 1329, the Jew, Joseph, was forced in order to appease the general discontent, to render an account of his administration of the Exchequer; and a law was passed, excluding all but Christians from employment in the finance department. In 1360, Don Pedro put to death Samuel Levi, whom Don Juan Alphonso had recommended to him as treasurer ten years before. He had amassed an enormous fortune. Ayala, c. xxii.

§ In 1355, desiring to attack the king of Aragon, "he sent to Mohammed, king of Grenada, for the aid of a few galleys." Id. c. xi.

the pope to ransom, nevertheless pretended to consider this Spanish war a crusade. When arrived in Aragon, they sent to request the king of Castile to give a passage and provisions "to God's pilgrims, who had undertaken through devotion an expedition into the kingdom of Grenada, to revenge the sufferings of our Lord and Saviour, to destroy the infidels, and exalt the cross. Don Pietro only laughed at their request, and sent for answer that he would never attend to such a beggarly crew *."

Their march, indeed, was like a pilgrimage. There was no enemy to fight. Don Pedro was abandoned, and could find no other asylum than among his friends the Moors of Andalusia. From thence he repaired to Portugal, thence to Galicia, and finally to Bordeaux, where he met with a favourable reception †. The English, driven furious by rage and spite, undertook to lead back Don Pedro in triumph, and restore the executioner of Spain. They were filled with that diabolical pride which has so often turned their head, sensible as they seem to be; that pride, which impelled them to burn the Maid of Orleans, and which, in Pitt's time, would have led them to burn France.

The prince of Wales was so infatuated with the notion of his irresistible power, that he was not content with undertaking to re-establish Don Pedro in Castile, but promised the despoiled king of Majorca to restore him to his lost crown of Aragon. The Gascon lords, who had little desire to go so far for English interests only, ventured to tell him that restoring Don Pedro was more difficult than expelling him. "My lord," they said, "you have often heard the old proverb of 'All covet, all lose.' . . . We wish to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not customary for men at arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country without receiving wages ‡." Don Pedro gave them every promise they required—he had left treasures concealed in spots known to himself alone; he would give them six hundred thousand florins §. To the prince of Wales he was to give up Biscay; that is to say, the gate of the Pyrenees, which would turn out to Spain a Calais ||.

All the English adventurers in the army of Don Henriquez were recalled into Guyenne. They left, well paid by him, in order to return and defeat him, and gain as much in Don Pedro's service ¶—such were the faith and honour of that day. In like manner the king of Navarre treated at one and the same time with both parties, taking money from the one to open, from the other to shut, the mountain-passes. So great was his apprehension of compromising himself in the interest of either, that, just as he was about to open the campaign

with the English, he contrived to get himself taken prisoner *.

The prince of Wales had more men at arms than he wanted †, more than he could feed. When he had advanced as far as the Ebro, into a country ruined by wind, rain, and snow, provisions failed, and a small loaf fetched a florin ‡. Don Henriquez was counselled to avoid an engagement, seize the passes, and starve out his enemy; but his Spanish pride forbade. He saw himself at the head of three thousand men completely clad in mail, six thousand light cavalry (according to Froissart §, twenty thousand men-at-arms), ten thousand crossbow men, and sixty thousand militia-men (*communes*), with lances, darts, and slings. After all, this army was little more than an undisciplined mass. The English bowmen were worth more than the Castilian slingers; the English lances carried further than the swords and daggers of which the French and Aragonese were so fond ||. The battle was ordered by that brave and cool John Chandos, who had already won for the English the battles of Poitiers and of Auray ¶. Notwithstanding the efforts of Don Henriquez, who rallied his men three times, the Spaniards

* "Some in the army thought it might have been done designedly . . . as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between king Henry and Don Pedro." Id. ibid.

† "The prince might have had foreign men-at-arms, such as Flemings, Germans, and Brabanters, if he had chosen it; but he sent away numbers, choosing to depend more on his own subjects and vassals than on strangers." Id. c. 235.

‡ Id. c. 240.

§ Id. ibid.

|| Id. ibid.

¶ (The following is so characteristic of the age, that I cannot refrain from giving it:—"Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions with his banner uncoiled in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying, 'My lord, here is my banner; I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold.' The prince Don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent: after having cut off the tail, to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said: 'Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honour to preserve it.'")

"Upon this, Sir John left the prince, went back to his men with his banner in his hand, and said to them: 'Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you.' His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that 'if it pleased God and St. George, they would defend it well, and act worthily of it, to the utmost of their abilities.' The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry, who bore it with honour that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service." Froiss. b. i. c. 241.

The editor of the edition of Johnes's *Froissart*, to which the above reference is given, remarks, "The ceremony gave Chandos the rank of knight banneret, which it is surprising that he, who had seen so many stricken fields, had not received before. This order of knighthood was the most honourable, being conferred only on the field of battle. All the treatises on heraldry say that it must be conferred after the battle, although in this case we see an instance of its being obtained before the fight; the strict rule being probably waived in consideration of the knight's former fields. . . . The last knight banneret created in England was Sir John Smith, who was advanced to the dignity after the battle of Edgehill, for recuing the royal standard; he was slain in battle at Alresford, in Hampshire." TRANSLATOR.

* Id. ibid.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Id. c. 522, p. 315, &c. ed. Buchon.

§ Id. c. 523, p. 322. See M. Buchon's note.

|| As the port of Passages will soon be. The English will seize on it sooner or later, if we are not on our guard.

(This note was written in 1836-7, at the time of the Carlist struggle, when the British legion was acting in Spain.)

TRANSLATOR.

* . . . "they immediately took leave of king Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous, and honourable, made them very handsome presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services. . . . they left Spain, and returned as speedily as possible." Froiss. b. i. c. 235.

Red. The free companions remained unsupported, offering useless resistance *. The whole army was either cut to pieces or taken; and Chaudos, for the second time, made Duguesclin prisoner.

This was a proud day for the prince of Wales. It was just twenty years since he had fought at Crécy, and ten since he had gained the battle of Poitiers. "He gave judgment concerning arms and all things thereunto belonging in the plain of Burgos, he there kept the field and the wager of battle, so that one may truly say that all Spain for a day belonged to him †."

The French king, much dejected at this news, durst not give Henry of Transtamare his support. On a letter from the princess of Wales, he hastened to forbid the fugitive prince to attack Guyenne, and even threw into prison the young count of Auxerre, who was taking up arms for Don Henriquez ‡.

The conquerors remained in Spain, waiting for Don Pedro to pay them out of his buried treasures. They grew exceedingly weary of their stay: the sombre hospitality of the Spaniards did not repay them for so long a sojourn. The heavy heats came on; they threw themselves on the fruits, and were carried off by dysentery in crowds. The prince of Wales was not one of the slightest sufferers. After having lost four-fifths, it is said, of their number, they determined on recrossing the mountains, out of humour, sickly, and ill-paid §.

The prince of Wales, who had passed his word for Don Pedro, being unable to meet their demands, they plundered Aquitaine. At last, he told them to seek their living elsewhere. Elsewhere, was France ||. Thither they betook themselves; and, as they plundered by the way, they failed not to give out that the prince of Wales, their debtor, had authorized them to take payment on this fashion ¶.

Through pride, the prince committed another fault. He set Duguesclin at liberty, which was giving the free companies a leader. The wise Chaudos, "who was his master," had said that he never should be ransomed **. "Now it happened that one day, when the prince was in great good humour, he called sir Bertrand Duguesclin, and asked him how he was. 'My lord,' replied sir Bertrand, 'I was never better: I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though in prison, the most honoured knight in the world.' 'How so?' rejoined the prince. 'They say in France,' answered sir Bertrand, 'as well as in other countries, that you are so much afraid of me, and have such a dread

of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not set me free; and this is my reason for thinking myself so much valued and honoured.'" The Englishman was piqued. "'What! sir Bertrand,' he answered; 'do you imagine that we keep you a prisoner for fear of your prowess! By St. George, it is not so; pay a hundred thousand francs, and you are free.'" Duguesclin took him at his word †.

Ayala says that the prince, in order to show how little he cared for Duguesclin, told him to fix his own ransom. Duguesclin's haughty reply was, "Not less than a hundred thousand francs"—above a million of our money. The prince was amazed: "Where will you get them, Bertrand!" On this, according to the chronicle, Bertrand made the following fine reply, which has nothing improbable about it:—"My lord, the king of Castile will pay one-half, the king of France the other; and if that be not enough, there is not a Frenchwoman who can spin, but will ply her distaff for my ransom ‡."

He did not presume beyond his value. War was imminent. Whilst Charles V. was giving an honourable reception at Paris to a son of the English king's, who was about to marry at Milan, the free companies dismissed by the English were laying waste Champagne, and scouring the country up to the neighbourhood of the capital §. It was too bad to pay and to be plundered.

The prince of Wales had returned from Spain, labouring under dropsy; and his army was little better. The Gascons, who had engaged in this English undertaking on the faith of Don Pedro's buried treasures, returned poor, in sorry plight, and in bad humour. Besides, they bore the prince more than one old grudge. He had forced the count of Foix to grant a passage to the free companies, had asked the lord of Albret for a thousand lances, and had left eight hundred on his hands §. The Southerners disliked the English, not only on account of their exactions, but because they were English; that is to say, tiresome, and disagreeable to live with. These lively, witty, and talkative races, writhed under their proud taciturnity, and constant complacent rumination on the battle of Poitiers ||.

The prince of Wales despised the Gascons. He

* Froissart continues—"Sir Bertrand was very anxious for his liberty, and now having heard upon what terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his word, replied, 'My lord, through God's will, I will never pay a less sum!' The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done." Id. *ibid.*

† "N'a flaireuse en France, qui sache fil fier, Qui ne gagnast ainçois ma finance à fier, Qu'elles ne me volissent hors de vos las geter."

MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7224, folio 86.

‡ Froiss. c. 563, 564, p. 437—440, ed. Buchon.

§ "Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, 'My lord, the prince of Wales, laughs at me.' . . . In his rage, he called for a secretary, and said to him, 'Write . . . my dear lord, have the goodness to understand I cannot separate myself from the rest . . . if any of them be dismissed, I am convinced they will all go their way. May God keep you in his holy protection!'" Froiss. b. l. c. 285.

|| "And the men of Poitou, Saintonge, Quercy, Limousin, and Rouergue, from their nature, cannot love the English, who, in their turn, being proud and presumptuous, cannot love them, nor have they ever loved them, and still less now than ever, but hold them in great despite and scorn." Id. *ibid.* c. 246.

* Froiss. c. 554, p. 408, 409, ed. Buchon.—The poor companions, hotly pursued, threw themselves into the Ebro, "into muddy, black, hideous water." *Ibid.* p. 411.

† Froiss. c. p. 242.

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 243.

§ Knyghton, vol. 2629; and Froissart, b. i. c. 243 . . . "the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himself was unwell, and in low spirits."—Walsingham says the rumour was, that the prince had had poison given him. Wals. p. 117.

|| "The prince had them spoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance . . . they entered France, which they called their home." Froiss. b. i. c. 244.

¶ . . . some of those who had been made prisoners by the French garrisons, said that the prince of Wales encouraged them underhand." Id. *ibid.*

** Id. *ibid.*

chose, with English tact, this moment of ill humour to lay on their lands a hearth-tax (*finage*) of ten sols the hearth*. Instead of paying them, he asked them for money—a hearth-rate from the poverty-struck population of the Landes, from poor mountain goatherds—a hearth-rate from those brave petty nobles, who were never rich, save in younger brothers and bastards. The prince had summoned the States to meet at Niort, in the hope of converting the Gascons by the good example of the Poitevins and Limousins: but they were insensible to it. He lost his labour in transferring the States to Angoulême, Poitiers, Bergerac—they had no more fancy to pay at Bergerac than at Niort.

And not only would they not pay, but they applied to the king of France—telling him, with the vivacity of their country, that they wanted justice; that his court was the justest in the world; and that if he would not entertain their appeal, they would seek out another lord†. The king, who was not prepared for war, endeavoured to restrain their impetuosity. He did not march in their defence, he did not dismiss them; but he kept them at Paris, feasted them, supported them‡: large fortunes were to be made out of this good king. The Englishman did not pay, even after service done; but he paid in advance. He gave, even to petty knights, not money only, but establishments, princely fortunes. He was a father to the Bretons and Gascons. He bore them no ill-will. The more you had drubbed his soldiers, the better he treated you. He welcomed with open arms the Vendean, Clisson; one of those to whom the defeat of the French at Auray was most owing. To the captal de Buch he offered the duchy of Nemours. He bestowed on the lord of Albret the hand of a daughter of France§. It greatly flattered the Gascons to see a countryman of theirs become a prince, and brother-in-law of the kings of France and Castile.

On the 25th of January, 1369, the prince of Wales received at Bordeaux a doctor of law and a knight, who bore him a summons from the king of France—a polite invitation to come to Paris, and to answer before the peers, touching certain griefs which, “through weak advice and wrong information, the prelates, barons, knights, and commons of the marches of Gascony on the frontiers of our kingdom, have suffered at your hands, to our utter amazement||.” The invalid, having looked at their credentials, haughtily replied in the words of William the Conqueror, “We shall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, since the king of France sends for us; but it will be helmet on head, and followed by sixty thousand men. . . . It shall cost a hundred thousand lives.” The prince was in such ill-humour, that, after allowing the messengers to depart, he had them pursued, arrested, and thrown into prison on a juggling pretext, “for fear they should go relate their

gibes and prattle to the duke of Anjou, who loves us little, and say how they have summoned us personally in our own palace*.”

The king of France, on the contrary, feigned to believe that this Gascon business did not affect the king of England, and sent him a present, at this very conjuncture, of fifty pipes of good wine; which, however, the Englishman would not accept. He had but recently discharged one of the payments on account of king Jean's ransom.

Charles could endure and wait; his affairs went on not the less prosperously. In the North, he gained over the men of the low countries. He tampered with Ponthieu and Abbeville. In the South, he had long before made the pope appoint creatures of his own to the bishoprics of all the English provinces. Beyond the Pyrenees, he despatched Duguesclin and some of the free companies to help the Castilians to free themselves from the king whom the English had imposed upon them. In return, Don Henriquez promised to equip against the English a fleet, twice as large as that of the French king.

Many of the communes sided with Don Pedro, for no other reason than his cruelty to the nobles. The Moors and Jews, in particular, were with him; bad auxiliaries, who were unable to defend him, and who gave his party an evil reputation. He had withdrawn into the least Christian part of Spain, Andalusia; whither Don Henriquez and Duguesclin rapidly following him with a small body of trusty men, did not leave him time to recognize the number of the assailants. The Jews, who, contrary to all their habits, had taken up arms, at once laid them down; and the Moorish arrows could not repel heavy-armed cavalry. Duguesclin ordered no quarter to be given to the unbelievers†. Don Pedro had but time to throw himself into the castle of Montiel. It is said that Duguesclin promised to allow him to escape, and betrayed him; that the two brothers, suddenly meeting in Don Henriquez' tent, flew at each other; that Don Pedro threw Henriquez down, and that Duguesclin seizing Don Pedro by the leg, and drawing him undermost, his brother ended him with a blow of his dagger‡. The romance of this story does not lessen its probability.

The battle of Montiel was fought on the 14th of March. By the end of April, Charles V. broke out, surprised Ponthieu, and challenged the English monarch. The challenge was borne to Westminster by a kitchen lackey§; a choice of messenger,

* *Id. ibid.* c. 248.

† *Id. ibid.* c. 245.

‡ Instead of Duguesclin, as stated by Ayala, Froissart ascribes this act to the viscount de Rocaberti.

(The passage is as follows:—“As soon as king Henry had entered the chamber where Don Pedro was, he said, ‘Where is this son of a Jewish whore, who calls himself king of Castile?’ Don Pedro, who was a bold as well as a cruel man, stepped forward, and said:—‘Why, thou art the son of a whore and I am the son of Alphonso.’ On saying this, he caught hold of king Henry in his arms, began to wrestle with him, and, being the strongest, threw him down under him upon a mattress with a silk covering: placing his hand on a poulard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who seizing Don Pedro by the legs, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poulard which he wore in his sash, and plunged it into his body.” Froiss. b. i. c. 245.) TRANSLATOR.

§ *Id. ibid.*

* And not of a franc, as Froissart states. See Letters of the prince of Wales, Jan. 26th, 1463. *M.S. de la Bibl. Royale.* I am indebted for this note to M. Lacabane.

† Froiss. b. i. c. 246.

‡ *Id. ibid.*—“And we will reconcile you with our dearest nephew the prince of Wales, who, perchance, is evil counselled.” Froiss. iv. c. 565, p. 444, ed. Buchon.

§ Froiss. *ibid.* c. 564, p. 440, ed. Buchon.

¶ Froiss. b. i. c. 217.

which, in a less serious matter, would have seemed a practical epigram. These conquering English, overcome in Spain by the fruits, in France by the wines, were worn out and aged by their excesses. Lionel, a son of Edward the Third's, died at Milan of indigestion. His countrymen averred that he was poisoned.

There were but too good reasons for breaking the peace. The English themselves had broken it, by letting loose the free companies on France. However, Charles V. neither spoke of this, nor of the reclamations of the Gascons at the treaty of Bretigni, and of their violated privileges. He preferred seeking some technical flaw in the treaty itself. The States-General, deferentially consulted by him, decided that his right was valid (May the 9th, 1369)*: he got the court of peers to pronounce in his favour the confiscation of Aquitaine; and boldly stated in his proclamation that the suzerainty and right of appeal had been reserved to him by the treaty of Bretigni†.

He might lie boldly: all the world was with him. The free companies declared themselves French. The bishops of Aquitaine, long gained over by the archbishop of Toulouse, put him in possession of their cities; and sixty towns, burghs, or castles, expelled the English—even Cahors and Limoges, whose bishops were apparently thoroughly English†. Charles V. deserved these miracles: invalid as he was, he was ever walking in some devout procession, bare-footed‡. The popular preachers advocated his cause from their pulpits. The king of England, too, made the bishop of London preach; but not with the same success§.

All the cities which gave themselves up to Charles V. obtained confirmation and increase of their privileges. The progress of his conquest may be traced from charter to charter: in February, 1370, their charters are confirmed to Rhodés, Figeac, and Montauban; that of Milhaud in Rouergue bears date May; in July follow those of Cahors and Sarlat||.

It is difficult to believe that so cool-headed and wise a prince ever seriously entertained the idea of invading England¶. He did his best to have it believed that such was his intention, no doubt to draw the English to the North, and so hinder them from crushing the movement in the South. In fact, they landed an army at Calais under the duke of Lancaster. The large overgrown army of the French, five times more numerous than that of the English, had express orders not to engage. It remained immovable, and then withdrew amidst

the hootings of the English*, who, nevertheless, lost both their time and money. The towns of the North were well affected, and they retook several strongholds in the South, but with a loss that far more than counterbalanced their gains, the irreparable loss of the captain to whom they owed the victories of Poitiers, of Auray, and of Najarra, the wise and able John Chandos†.

This brave man had foreseen all. Directly that the prince of Wales persisted, in opposition to his advice, in imposing the fatal hearth-tax, Chandos withdrew into Normandy. Then, on the rising of the South, he returned to repair the mischief, to save the thoughtless who would not listen to him; but he had little hopes from the wars. The historian of the time represents him as very sad and melancholy (*mélancolieux*), as if he had foreseen his approaching death, and the loss of the English provinces. After his death, the English monarch followed his advice, and revoked the tax. It was too late‡.

As it usually happens when misfortune befalls one, the English committed blunder after blunder, mistake after mistake. It was their policy to secure at any cost the king of Navarre, and employ him against France. According to all appearances, the bargain depended on the viscount of Limoges, which the Navarrese coveted; but the prince of Wales would not break into his kingdom of Aquitaine, feeling the necessity of retaining this gate of France§. Refusing, he lost every thing. The French monarch won back the king of Navarre by giving up to him Montpelier, in fulfilment of an old promise||. Shortly afterwards, he had the address to win over the new king of Scotland, the first of the house of Stuart¶. Castile, Navarre, Flanders, Scotland—he detached all from England. He isolated his enemy.

The pride of England was so deeply engaged in this war, that Edward still found means, despite his numerous losses, to send two armies into France. Whilst one of his sons, the duke of Lancaster, went to the relief of the prince of Wales, who was block-

* Id. c. 602, p. 110, ed. Buchon.

† Id. c. 615, p. 153—159, ed. Buchon.

(The closing scene of this "flower of knighthood" is thus beautifully given by Froissart:—

"These barons and knights of Poitou were struck with grief when they saw their seneschal, Sir John Chandos, lying in so dolorful a way, and not able to speak. They began grievously to lament his loss, saying, 'Flower of knighthood! oh, Sir John Chandos! cursed be the forging of that lance which wounded thee, and which has thus endangered thy life.' Those who were around the body most tenderly bewailed him; which he heard, and answered with groans, but could not articulate a word. They wrung their hands, and tore their hair, uttering cries and complaints, more especially those who belonged to his household.

"Sir John Chandos was disarmed very gently by his own servants, laid upon shields and targets, and carried at a foot's pace to Mortemer, the nearest fort to the place where they were. . . . That gallant knight only survived one day and night. God have mercy on his soul! for never since a hundred years did there exist among the English one more courteous, or fuller of every virtue and good quality than him." Froiss. b. i. c. 278.) TRANSLATOR.

‡ Froiss. c. 514, p. 146, ed. Buchon.

§ Sécouse, *Hist. de Charles le Mauvais*, p. 131, and Rymer, vi. p. 677.

|| Sécouse, *ibid.* p. 133.

¶ Rymer, vi. p. 696.

* Sécouse, *Préf. aux Ord.* vi. p. 1.

† Froiss. v. c. 587, p. 56, ed. Buchon.

‡ "the king of France, moved by devotion and humility, ordered frequent processions of the whole clergy; when he himself, as well as the queen, attended without stockings and barefooted. . . . The king ordered all the subjects of his realm to do the same, by the advice of the prelates and churchmen, in this time of tribulation." Froiss. b. i. c. 257.

§ "In truth, it was but proper, that both kings, since they were determined on war, should explain and make clear to their subjects the cause of the quarrel, that they might understand it, and have the better will to assist their kings: to which purpose they were all equally alert in the two kingdoms." Id. *ibid.*

¶ Ordonn. v. p. 291, 324, 333, 338. Siamondi, t. xi. p. 145.

¶ Froiss. b. i. c. 269.

aded in Bordeaux (the end of July, 1370), another army, under the leading of an old captain, Robert Knolles, entered Picardy (the same month). Neither encountered any resistance. Duguesclin, Clisson, &c., recommended the avoiding of a pitched battle, and to confine all operations to skirmishing and the defence of fortified places, leaving the open country to chance. These leaders of free companies knew no other criterion than success, and the bravest among them preferred to triumph by stratagem rather than by open means: as to the honour of the kingdom, they knew not what it meant. So the duke of Bourbon had to sit still and see his mother, the mother of the queen of France, borne prisoner by the English along the very front of his lines, insultingly paraded in the hopes of bringing on an engagement. He proposed a single combat, but declined battle*.

A more outrageous insult was offered at Noyon. Seyton, the Scot, leaped over the barriers of the town, hammered away an hour with the French, and returned safe and sound†. The English army penetrated to Champagne, to Reims, to Paris, destroying and burning all on its passage, and seeking in its wantonness to find some ravage cruel enough, some goad keen enough, to arouse the enemy's sense of honour. For one day and two nights, the king patiently beheld from his hôtel St. Paul the flames of burning villages on every side of Paris. A numerous and brilliant chivalry—the Tancarvilles, Coucys, and Clissons were in the city, but he held them back. Indeed Clisson, whose courage was well-known, encouraged this cruel prudence:—"Sire, why should you employ your men against these madmen? Let them go about their business. They cannot take your inheritance from you, nor drive you out of it by smoke‡."

As the army was drawing off, an English knight rode up to the barrier St. Jacques, which was open and thronged with knights, in order to fulfil a vow that he would strike the barrier of Paris with his lance. Our knights applauded him, and allowed him to depart§. This insult to the walls of the city, to the honour of the *pomerium*, so sacred to the ancients, did not touch their feudal minds; and the Englishman was slowly retiring, when a brave butcher steps out on the road, and, with a heavy long-handled axe, strikes him between the shoulders, then repeats the blow, but on his head, and unhorses him||. Three others came up, and the four

* . . . "since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve in the morning, you, my lord duke of Bourbon, will see your lady-mother placed on horseback, and carried away . . . you will bear this from me to your masters, that if they will draw out fifty men, we will draw out the same number, and let the victory fall where it may." Froiss. b. i. c. 281. . . . "But they did not budge or stir," c. 621, p. 175, ed. Buchon.

† "Gentlemen, I am come to see you; for as you do not vouchsafe to come out beyond your barriers, I condescend to visit you." Froiss. b. i. c. 285.

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 289.

§ "Get away! get away! thou hast well acquitted thyself." Id. *ibid.*

|| . . . "he met a butcher on the pavement in the suburbs, a very strong man, who had noticed him as he passed him. . . . As the knight was returning alone, and in a careless manner, the valiant butcher came on one side of him." &c. Id. *ibid.*

hammer on the Englishman "as on an anvil." The knights posted at the barriers recovered his body, and had him buried in holy ground.

The prince of Wales encountered no more opposition to laying siege to Limoges, than Knolles had to insulting Paris. Duguesclin himself had recommended disbanding the army of the South, and had retained only two hundred lances for scouring the country. The prince was the more embittered against its inhabitants from the fact, that their bishop, who had instigated them to their defection, had been his creature and gossip; and he had sworn by his father's soul that he would make the city dearly rue its treason. In their alarm, the citizens wished to surrender; but they were prevented by the French captains. However, the prince sprang a mine under the walls, and entered through the breach. He was too ill for horseback, and was conveyed in a car. His orders were to slay all,—men, women, and children; and he feasted his eyes with the sight of this butchery. "There was not that day in the city of Limoges any heart so hardened, or that thought on their God, who did not deeply bewail the unfortunate events passing before them*." The prince of Wales remembered not his Maker. This sick, cadaverous man, who was so near to his final audit, this dying man could not satiate himself with the sight of death. Women and children threw themselves on their knees before him, exclaiming, "Mercy, mercy, sweet sir!" He was deaf. He spared only the bishop, that is, the only guilty person, and three French knights whose desperate resistance won them his favourable regard†.

This massacre, which rendered the name of Englishman hateful throughout France, taught the cities the necessity of stern defence. It was the leave-taking of the enemy. He treated the country as if it belonged to another, as if he felt that he should not return. Shortly afterwards, becoming worse, the prince was persuaded by his physicians to try the effect of his native fogs, and embarked for London‡. No doubt, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, began to be odious in his sight. Hopeless of succeeding himself, he at least wished to secure the throne to his son.

To the joy of the whole kingdom, the king named Duguesclin constable§. Raised to this, the highest office in the kingdom, the petty Breton knight eat at the king's table; a distinction calculated to awaken some surprise, when we see in Christine de Pisan||, that the ceremonial of the French court was, that the king should be waited upon at table by his brothers.

The new constable was the only man who comprehended the kind of war that was to be waged with the English. Pitched battles were out of the question: Crécy and Poitiers awed men's minds. Strange—the French who, under Duguesclin, drove

* . . . "upwards of three thousand men, women, and children were put to death that day. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs." Id. *ibid.* c. 280.

† Id. *ibid.*; and Walsingham, p. 185.

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 294.

§ . . . "as the most valiant, the best-informed, the most virtuous and fortunate in conducting affairs," &c. Id. *ibid.* c. 291.

|| For some account of this authoress, see book viii. c. i. of this history.

the English out of many towns, feared to meet in the open field those whom they did not hesitate to attack, though under the cover of walls. "They required to be at least two to one for the undertaking. But they began to regain confidence when Duguesclin, harassing Knolles's army on its retreat, at the head of four hundred French contrived to cut off two hundred Englishmen*."

But what served Charles V. better than Duguesclin, or than any one or aught besides, was the madness of the English—the vertigo which drove them on from error to error. They got the duke of Brittany to declare for them, but Brittany itself was against them. They found that they had called down ruin on Montfort, whom they had restored with so much trouble. The Bretons expelled their duke†.

Up to this time, Charles V. had derived little benefit from his alliance with Castile. The English took upon them to draw it closer and render it effective. In his extravagant ambition, the duke of Lancaster married Don Pedro's eldest, and the earl of Cambridge his second daughter. Never was such unheard-of, incredible infatuation. England, who had not been able to conquer France, undertook, in addition, the conquest of Spain.

The end of this new imprudence was to supply the French with a fleet. The king of Castile, who felt himself threatened by this marriage, sent a naval armament to Charles's aid. The heavy Spanish ships, amply provided with cannon, sank before Rochelle the small barks of the English, manned with archers‡. Rochelle looked on approvingly, and drove out the conquered party. She opened her gates, but with favourable reservations and on cautious terms, so as to remain a republic, owning the royal authority§.

This great event decided the defection of all Poitou. Edward and the prince of Wales—the old, and the dying man—embarked, and attempted to take over reinforcements; but the sea would no more of them, and forced them back, in their own despite, on their own coasts. The city of Thouars surrendered. Duguesclin defeated the remaining English at Chizey. Brittany then threw off the yoke, and was Charles's after a siege or two||. The only captain who remained faithful to the English was a Gascon, the capitai de Buch; one of the best of the French captains was a Welshman¶,

* Id. *ibid.* c. 292.

† "All the barons, knights, and squires of that country were thoroughly good Frenchmen, and addressed the duke in these words: 'Dear lord, as soon as we shall clearly perceive that you take any part with the king of England against the king of France, we will all quit you and the country of Brittany.'" Id. *ibid.* c. 293.

‡ "The engagement was very severe, and the English had enough to do; for the Spaniards, who were in large vessels, had great bars of iron and huge stones, which they launched and flung from their ships in order to sink those of the English." Id. *ibid.* c. 293, 294.

§ "... that the town should be allowed a mint, with liberty to coin florins, and black and white money, with the same alloy and form as those of Paris." Id. *ibid.* c. 311.

|| Froiss. c. 678, p. 43, 44, ed. Buchon.

¶ ("Evan of Wales, was the son of a prince of Wales, whom king Edward, for some reason I am ignorant of, had put to death, and seized his territories and principality, which he had given to his son the prince of Wales." Froiss. b. i. c. 306.

On this, Mr. Johnes observes, "By every thing I can find,

a descendant of the ancient princes of Wales, who avenged his ancestors by serving France. The Welshman took the Gascon; and Charles V. kept carefully in the tower of the Temple this important prisoner, and would never allow him to ransom himself*."

Edward's second son, the duke of Lancaster, the founder of that ambitious house of Lancaster which was the glory and the misfortune of England in the fifteenth century, had assumed the title of king of Castile; and he got himself named captain-general of the king of England in France, and his lieutenant in Aquitaine, where the English had scarcely any thing. There is such force of pride in the English character, such obstinate passion, that after staking and losing so many men and so much money, they made a new venture to recover all, and furnished another large army for the use of their captain of Aquitaine. Disembarking at Calais, Lancaster traversed France without finding any thing to do, battle to fight, or town to take: all was close gates, and strict guard. He could only hold a few villages to ransom. As long as they were in the North, provisions were abundant: "they dined every day splendidly:" but as soon as they were in Auvergne, they could get neither provisions nor forage. Hunger and disease made dreadful havoc in the army. They had left Calais with thirty thousand horses; they arrived on foot in Guyenne†. They were an army of beggars; who begged from door to door their bread from the French‡.

• The arrival of this army at Bordeaux was attended with some result. The Gascons, who were no longer English, but who were in no hurry to become French, became emboldened, and told the constable of France that they would do homage to the conqueror. The day of battle was fixed for the 15th of April, at Moissac: it was adjourned by the English to the 15th of August; and then, they required that the ground should be shifted to Calais. The covenants in these transactions being lost, it is impossible to specify the arrangements agreed upon. However, on the 15th of August, the French repaired to Moissac, drew up in order of battle, waited, and no one came. On this, they compelled the Gascons to abide by their word. The only places left to the English in France, were Calais, Bayonne, and Bordeaux (A. D. 1374§).

This effort, which had ended in nothing,—this blow struck in air, did them much mischief. The exhaustion that followed was so great, that Edward

this Evan was an impostor. Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, was treacherously slain, near Builth, in Edward I.'s reign.' But the editor of the edition of Johnes's Froissart (2 vols. 8vo) says, "Llewellyn left only one legitimate child, a daughter, afterwards married to Malcolm, earl of Rife; he also, it is said, left an illegitimate son called Madoc, but nothing is known of his history or fate; it is not improbable that this Evan was the son of Madoc." TRANSLATOR.

• ("The king was so much pleased with this prize, that he gave to the squire that had taken him twelve hundred francs.") TRANSLATOR.

† "They had hardly forty horses remaining." Wals. p. 529.

‡ Milites famosos et nobiles, delicatos quondam et divites . . . ostiatium mendicando, panem petere. The chronicler adds, nec erat qui eis daret (and found none to give them any) Id. p. 187.

§ Id. *ibid.*—Froiss. c. 688, p. 78, ed. Buchon.

accepted the so oft rejected mediation of the pope. He began to fear his people's growl of discontent. The savage bull-dog, so long lured on by the temptation of a prey which was further off every day, turned as if about to fly at its master. There was great difficulty in making the English stomach the war: Lancaster had been tired of it with Crécy. When the chancellor asked the commons, in order to touch their honour—"What! would you have constant peace?" their naïve reply was, "Yes, we would *." They are then led to believe that all would be over with the taking of Calais. Next, came the triumph of Poitiers, which turned their head: they imagined that the ransom of the king of France would relieve them for ever from the burthen of taxes. Next, they were kept amused with Spain, and Don Pedro's famous hidden treasures. The Spanish money not making its appearance, they were made to believe that they should have Spain herself.

In 1376, they made up their books, and found that they had nothing—nor money, nor Spain, nor France. Their discontent was extreme. They threw the whole blame on the king, and on the duke of Lancaster, whose influence was then paramount. His elder brother, the prince of Wales, ill though he was, favoured the opposition. The parliament of 1376, called the *good parliament*, was not to be cajoled by high-sounding words; but inquired what had been done with all the money, the subsidies, the French and Scotch ransoms, and, attacking Edward in the most brutal manner, pitilessly tore off the veil from the royal weaknesses, and pursued him into the details of his domestic life, and even into his bed-room.

The aged monarch was governed by a young married woman, Alice Perrers, lady of the bed chamber to the queen—beautiful, bold, and impudent †. The poor queen, who saw all, had made her dying request to the king, "that he would be pleased to lie by her side at Westminster," hoping to have him to herself in death at least.

Alice had the queen's jewels. The favourite took or stole what was not given. She sold offices, and even verdicts; and would go to the King's Bench to recommend the causes she favoured. The clerical judges, the doctors of canon law, were exposed, whilst sitting, to the whispers of the fair Alice, who would come in person to pervert their judgments ‡. The parliament called on the king to remove this woman and other evil councillors.

The prince of Wales died, leaving an infant son; and, what between the infancy of this nephew and the years of his father, the duke of Lancaster found himself really king. The councillors were recalled. Parliament was forced to vote a heavy sum. The duke, who needed much greater means still to pursue his conquest of Spain, proposed to lay hands on the goods of the clergy. Already had he launched against the priests the famous preacher, Wickliffe, whom he supported, together with all the great barons, against the bishop of London. But

the Londoners, excited by an insolent speech of Lancaster's concerning their bishop, rose up, and were near tearing the duke in pieces *.

In the midst of this tumult, the aged Edward was dying at Eitham, left to the mercy of his Alice. She deceived him to the last, remaining by his bed-side, flattering him with the hopes of speedy recovery, and preventing him from thinking of ghostly concerns. No sooner did speech fail him than she tore the rings from his fingers †, and left him there.

Only a year had intervened between the death of son and father. Their names, to which such events as the foregoing are attached, are, perhaps, still, the dearest of England's remembrances. Although the prince was mainly indebted to John Chandos for his victories of Poitiers and Najarra, although his pride fired the Gascons to insurrection and armed Castile against England, few are better deserving of their country's gratitude. We even, to whom he did so much evil,—we cannot look without respect on the surcoat of the great enemy of France, in Canterbury cathedral. Its sorry, worm-eaten tatters shine out conspicuously from amongst the rich scutcheons that deck the walls. Five hundred years has it survived the noble heart it covered.

When the French king heard of Edward's death, he observed that his had been a glorious reign, and that such a prince deserved to have his name remembered among heroes. He called together a number of prelates and of barons, and had his obsequies performed in the Sainte-Chapelle ‡. In England, the mournful ceremony was disturbed. Four days after Edward's death the Castilian fleet, filled with French troops, ran down the whole coast, burning the seaports—Wight, Rye, Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Winchelsea §. Whilst Edward and the prince of Wales were alive, England had never known such a disaster.

On all sides, the king of France carried on a war of negotiations. For five years he had prevented a son of Edward's marrying the heiress of Flanders, by standing in the way of his obtaining the papal dispensation; which he readily procured for his brother, the duke of Burgundy, who stood in the same degree of consanguinity to the young countess. Her father was averse to this marriage, and so were the cities of Flanders; but her grandmother, countess of Artois and of Franche-Comté, sent word to her son, the count of Flanders, that she would disinherit him if he did not give his daughter to the French prince: and the marriage took place to the despair of the English king, who saw this immense inheritance on the eve of falling in to the house of France. Mutilated on the west, France shaped out for herself her vast girdle of the east and north.

This check, and those which the English further experienced near Bordeaux, determined them to do what they should have done at once—ally themselves with the king of Navarre. They proposed giving him Bayonne and the adjoining country: he would have been their lieutenant in Aquitaine. The Navarrese, more cunning than able, sent his

* Hallam's Europe in the Middle Ages.

† Milites parlamentales graviter conquesti sunt de quadam Alicia Peres appellata, femina procacissima. Wals. p. 189.

‡ Illa nunc juxta justitiariorum regis residendo, nunc in foro ecclesiastico juxta doctores se collocando . . . pro defensione causarum suarum ac etiam contra postulare minime verebatur. Id. *Ibid.*

* Id. p. 192.

† Inverecunda pellex detraxit annulos à suis digitis &c. recent. *Ibid.*

‡ Froiss. b. l. c. 327.

§ Id. *ibid.* c. 328.

son to Paris, the better to deceive the king, whilst he treated with the English. It happened to him, as to Louis XI. at Peronne—he fell through over-cunning into the trap. The king kept his son, resumed possession of Montpellier, and seized his county of Evreux. His lieutenant Dutertre, and his councillor, Du Rue, who were said to have come with intent to poison the king, were arrested. Charles-le-Mauvais had already been accused of poisoning the queen of France, the queen of Navarre, and others besides*. There was nothing improbable in the charge. Driven wild by a long succession of misfortunes, this petty prince might have endeavoured to get back by crime and stratagem what force had taken from him. He had reason to hate his countrymen, as much as he did the enemy. His wife wronged him with the brave Gasco-English captain, the capital de Buch †. All Du Rue confessed was, that Charles-le-Mauvais thought he might poison the king through the agency of a young physician of Cyprus, who would easily make his way with Charles V., "because he spoke Latin well, and was a good dialectician." Dutertre and Du Rue were executed. From this process, the French monarch derived the advantage of degrading and dishonouring the king of Navarre, fixing the stigma of poisoner upon him, and thus for ever barring his claims to the throne of France.

Charles-le-Mauvais lost every place in the North, except Cherbourg. On the South, he was threatened by the Castilians. He would even have lost Navarre, had not the English come to his assistance. Here the Gascons joined the English; who then endeavoured to take St. Malo, with no better success than the attempt of the French to take Cherbourg. All this great warlike movement again ended in nothing. The French king could neither be forced to fight nor to surrender: he remained with nine points of the law in his favour—possession ‡.

Charles's abilities, and the weakness of other states, had elevated France, at least in the opinion of the world. All Christendom once more looked up to her. The pope, Castille, Scotland, regarded her king as their protector; brother of the future count of Flanders, the ally of the Visconti, he saw the kings of Aragon and Hungary court his alliance. He received distant embassies from the king of Cyprus, and the sultan of Bagdad, who addressed him as the first prince among the Franks §. Even the emperor paid him a kind of homage, by visiting him at Paris; and, after having alienated the rights of the empire in Germany and Italy, he conferred on the dauphin the title to the kingdom of Arles ||.

The sudden restoration of the kingdom of France was a miracle, which all desired to see. From all parts, men came to admire this prince who had

endured so much, and who had conquered by dint of declining battle *—patient as Job, wise as Solomon. The fourteenth century had its eyes couched as to chivalry and heroic follies, to see and revere in Charles V. the hero of patience and of craft.

Naturally economical, this king of a ruined people astonished strangers by the number of his buildings. He reared around Paris the pleasure-houses—so they were styled—of Melun, Beauté, and St. Germain: but every house of that period was a fortress. He gave the town a new bridge—Pont-Neuf—walls, gates, and a good bastille. His trust was chiefly in walls †.

Near his bastille he had raised, added to, and furnished, with the luxury of a king and the curious care of an invalid, the vast hôtel St. Paul ‡. The magnificence of this palace, and the splendid hospitality which foreign princes and noblemen met with there, threw a deceptive veil over the state of the kingdom. The sire de la Rivière, the amiable and subtle counsellor of Charles, the finished gentleman of his day, did its honours §, and showed them over his master's noble residence, with its galleries, libraries, and sideboards laden with gold plate. They called him *the rich king* ||.

"He rose in the morning between six and seven. He gave audience, even to the meanest, who might boldly apply to him. Afterwards, when he had dressed his hair, and attired himself . . . his breviary was brought him; about eight o'clock, he went to mass; on leaving his chapel, all, of all ranks, might present him their petitions. After this, at the hour appointed, he attended the council, after which . . . about ten o'clock he sat down to table. . . . Like David, he was pleased to listen to gentle music after his meals.

"When he rose from table, at collation, strangers of all sorts had access to him. There were brought him news of all manner of countries, or reports of his wars . . . for the space of two hours; afterwards, he went to rest an hour. After his sleep,

* "King Charles was very sagacious and subtle, as his conduct showed; for though he never quitted his closet or his amusements, he re-conquered all that his predecessors had lost in the field, helmet on head and sword in hand." Froissart, b. ii. c. 30.

† "Showing how king Charles was a good artist and learned in the sciences, and the fine buildings that he constructed:—He founded St. Antony's church, Paris. He repaired and enlarged St. Paul's church, and founded many other churches and chapels, repairing the edifices and increasing the revenues. He enlarged his hôtel St. Paul; he rebuilt the castle of the Louvre at Paris; built the bastille St. Anthony, as we now see it, and erected some strong and beautiful buildings over many of the gates of Paris; also the new and fine walls, and large and lofty towers round Paris. He ordered the building of the Pont-Neuf. He built Beauté (the house of Beauty); the noble mansion, Plaisance; repaired the hôtel St. Oyn; added largely to the castle of St. Germain-en-Laye, to Creel, Montargis, the castle of Melun, and many other notable edifices." Christ. de Pisan, vi. 25.

‡ See Appendix.

§ Pour maintenir sa court en honneur, le roy avoit avec luy barons de son sang et autres chevaliers duls et apries en toutes honneurs . . . ainsi messire Burel de la Rivière, beau chevalier, et qui cestes très gracieusement, largement et joyeusement savoit accueillir ceux que le roy vouloit festoyer et honorer. Christ. de Pisan, vi. 65.

|| So Mathieu de Coucy called him. Observ. sur Christ. de Pisan, vi. 161, 163.

* Sécouse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, t. i. second part, p. 173.

† Labrousse, Hist. du Comte d'Evreux, p. 93.—See the original documents, *Archives du Royaume*, J. 618.

‡ "The French king so dreaded a reverse, that he would on no account hazard his people in battle, except they were as five to one." Froiss. vii. 115, ed. Buchon.

§ "Comme au solennel prince des chrétiens." He offered to make him governor of his provinces, and master of his horse. Christ. de Pisan, vi. p. 61.

|| Ibid. p. 97.

he whiled away a time with his most confidential intimates, looking at jewels or other costly things. Then he went to vespers. After this . . . in summer he walked in his gardens, where merchants would bring him velvets, cloth of gold, &c. In winter, he often employed himself in hearing read divers fine histories from Holy Scripture, or incidents from romances, or passages of morality from philosophers, or other points of knowledge, until supper-time, to which he sat down early, after which he trifled away an hour, and then withdrew. In order to prevent vain and empty words and thoughts, he had (at the queen's dinner) a learned man at the end of the table, who was ever recounting some virtuous act or other of the good of former days *."

The philosophers with whom the king loved to discourse, were his astrologers †. His official astrologer, an Italian, Thomas, of Pisano, who had been expressly invited from Bologna, received a salary of a hundred livres a month. These folk, whatever their means of foreknowledge, were never much out, being subtle and sagacious in the extreme. When Charles V. placed the constable's sword in Duguesclin's hand, he presented him at the same time with an astrologer ‡.

The little that we know of Charles, of his words, and of his judgments, indicates, as does the whole tenour of his reign, a cold, quiet wisdom, and, perhaps, some indifference as to the good or evil of the means employed §. "Taking into consideration," says his female historian, "human weakness, he never allowed husbands to *immure* their wives for infidelity, although repeatedly entreated to this end ||."—Three times he caught his barber in the act of picking his pocket, without anger, and without punishing him ¶.

Charles V. is, perhaps, the first king of this eminently volatile people, who could lay out plans of success in the remote perspective; the first who comprehended the slow, distant, but henceforward real influence of books on political affairs. The prior, Honoré Bonnor, wrote by his order the first essay on the law of peace and war: it bore the fantastic title of the Tree of Battles. His advocate-

general, Raoul de Presles, translated the bible into the vulgar tongue, all these years before Luther and Calvin. His ancient preceptor, Nicholas Oresme, translated that other bible of the day—Aristotle. Oresme, Raoul de Presles, and Philippe de Maizieres laboured, perhaps jointly, at those large books, the *Songe du Verger*, the *Songe du Vieux Pélerin*, a kind of encyclopedic romances, in which all the questions of the day were handled, and which paved the way for the abasement of the spiritual power, and the confiscation of the property of the Church. St., in the sixteenth century, Pithou, Passerat, and some others composed the *Ménippée* together.

Expenditure increased; the people were ruined; the Church alone had means of payment. This was the whole thought of the fourteenth century. In England, the duke of Lancaster, to hurry matters to a crisis, availed himself of Wickliffe and the Lollards, and was near throwing the whole kingdom into confusion. In France, Charles V. prepared for the change with skilful procrastination. Yet things pressed. The apparent restoration of France could not deceive the king. He was living on expedients only. He had been obliged to pay the judges with the very fines they had themselves imposed, to sell impunity to usurers, to throw himself into the hands of the Jews. In conformity with the monstrous privileges which king Jean had sold them for his ransom-money, they were exempt from taxes and from all jurisdiction, save that of a prince of the blood, named guardian of their privileges *. No royal letters had force against them †. They promised to exact an interest of only four deniers a week on the livre. But, at the same time, their oath was to be taken against those of all their debtors ‡.

The prince, their *protector*, was to assist them in the recovery of their debts; that is to say, the king turned bailiff to the Jews, for the sake of going halves with them. Money, extorted by such means, drained the people much more than it profited the king §.

If the priest could not be despoiled, there was no other resource than passing through the Jew's hands; for Jew and priest alone had money. Industry had not yet produced wealth, or commerce circulated it. Wealth consisted in hoards—the buried hoard of the Jew, noiselessly fed by usury; the hoard of the priest, only too plainly seen in the churches and the goods of the Church.

The temptation was strong, but the difficulty was great likewise. The priests had been his most zealous allies against the English. They had put him in possession of the greater part of Aquitaine, as they had formerly made Clovis its master.

* Ord. iii. p. 351, and 471. Compare iv. p. 532 (Feb. 4, 1364).

† Ord. iii. p. 478, art. 26.

‡ They were not to lend on auspicious pledges; but they had secured an outlet for themselves. Article 20 of the privileges of the Jews is as follows: "For fear of things being deposited in their houses, which should afterwards be said to be stolen, we enact, that they are not to be accountable for any thing found there, except it be in a coffer, the keys of which they carry about them." Ibid. p. 478.

§ Although Charles V. endeavoured to introduce some order into the public accounts, he did not see far into the matter. The use of Roman numerals, retained almost to our own time by the *Chambre des Comptes* (the exchequer), was enough to confuse all calculations.

* Id. p. 227.—282. 286.

† The great secular princes, according to a contemporary of Charles V., would not enter on any new undertaking unless authorized by it (astrology) and by its holy election; they durst not found castles, build churches, begin war, enter battle, put on a new dress, make a present of a jewel, undertake a journey, or quit their palace, without its sanction. Id. p. 208.

‡ Id. p. 209.

§ He did not condemn dissimulation unreservedly:—"To dissemble, said some one, is a sort of treason. Of a surety, observed the king, it is circumstance which makes a thing good or evil; for dissimulation may be so employed as to be virtuous at one time, vicious at another: for instance, to oppose the fury of the wicked by dissembling, in the hour of need, is a mark of sense; but to dissemble and hold back until you have an opportunity of doing any one a mischief, may be called vice." Id. vi. 63.

|| . . . "with great difficulty he was persuaded to allow the husband to keep her shut up in her room, if she were exceedingly irregular." Id. v. p. 307.

¶ He only dismissed him when he had made the attempt the fourth time. Ibid. p. 297. Yet he himself had justice at heart, and would see it executed. A good woman having complained to him of a man-at-arms who had violated her daughter, he caused the guilty individual to be hung up on a tree before her eyes. Ibid. p. 290.

There were two constant grounds of quarrel between the spiritual and the temporal powers—money and judicial authority: the last was an important element in the money question, for justice took care to pay herself*.

The first complaints against the clergy begin with the barons, and not with the kings (A. D. 1205)†. As founders and patrons of churches, the barons were much more directly interested in the question. In St. Louis's reign, they form a confederation against the clergy, fix a certain sum for each to contribute, in order to carry on the contest, and appoint representatives to help with the strong hand such of their body as should be struck by ecclesiastical sentence‡. In the famous pragmatic act of St. Louis (A. D. 1270), an act down to this time little understood, the king requires the election of bishops to be free, that is, to be left to royal and feudal influence§.

Philippe-le-Bel had the barons on his side in his struggle with the pope; and they formed a new confederation, which alarmed the bishops, and put the Gallican church into the king's hands. The church his; he managed, through it, to extend his influence over the papacy as well. Yet, at the beginning and at the end of his reign, Philippe-le-Bel ventured on two boldly impartial blows—the *malôte*, which struck the barons and priests as well as burgesses, and the suppression of the Temple, of the chivalry of the Church.

The crown, triumphant under Philippe-de-Valois, forced the pope to give it all it required, out of the revenues of the Gallican Church, and even aspired at levying the tenths for the crusade over all Christendom. By way of indemnification for the tenths, *régales*, &c., the churches sought to increase the profits of their own by encroaching on the lay jurisdictions, baronial or royal. This, the king seemed to wish to repress. On the 22nd of December, 1329, a solemn pleading, conducted by Pierre Cugnieres, advocate, on the part of the king and the barons||, and by Pierre du Roger, archbishop of Sens, on that of the clergy, took place before him in the castle of Vincennes. The latter spoke on the text, "Fear God, honour the king," and he resolved this precept into the four following: "Serve God devoutly; give to him largely;

honour his servants duly; render him his own wholly*."

I am inclined to think that the whole of this proceeding was got up by the king, simply by way of satisfaction to the barons; since he closed it by saying, that far from abridging the Church's privileges he would rather add to them†. All that followed, was his issuing an ordinance, establishing his right of *régale* to the fruits of vacant benefices (A. D. 1334). Of the two pleaders, he who acted on behalf of the Church became pope; the advocate for the king and barons was, says a grave historian, universally hissed; and his name became proverbial for a bad wrangler‡. Nor did he escape with this. There was in the cathedral of Notre-Dame a grotesque image of a damned person, just as we see elsewhere a representation of Dagobert pulled about by devils; and this foul-faced, flat-nosed image was called *M. Pierre du Coignet*; and all belonging to the cathedral—subdeacons, sacristans, beadles, choristers young and old—used to stick their tapers under the poor devil's nose, or, to put them out, would dash them in his face§. For four hundred years he had to endure this vestry vengeance.

The churches were betwixt hammer and anvil; betwixt the king and the pope. When a bishopric had paid the *régale* to the king for a year or more, the newly elected bishop had to pay to the pope the *annats*, or his first year's revenue||.

But what the barons, as patrons of churches, and the canons or monks who voted in the chapters, most complained of, was the *réserve*. By a word, the pope could stop an election: he would declare that he had reserved to himself the nomination to such or such a bishopric or abbey. These *réserve*s, by which a French or Italian pastor was often given to an English, German, or Spanish Church, were most odious. Nevertheless, they had often the advantage of withdrawing the great sees from the stupid feudal influences which would have placed in them worthless characters, younger brothers, or cousins of the barons; and the popes would sometimes draw out from the depths of a convent or the dust of universities, some learned and able clerk, to make him bishop, archbishop, or even primate of all Gaul, or of the Empire.

Generally speaking, the popes of Avignon did not entertain this lofty policy. Poor servants of the king of France, they left the papacy to chance, and only saw in the *réserve*s a means of selling places, and carrying on simony by wholesale. John XXII. had the effrontery to declare, that for the first year of his pontificate he reserved to himself all the vacant benefices in Christendom, out of

* The official defender of the clergy, in 1329, expressly states that justice, especially in France, brought in the clearest revenue to the Church.

† *Liberté de l'Eglise Gallicane*, i. iii. p. 4.

‡ *Ibid.* i. ii. p. 99.

§ He inveighs against the excesses of the court of Rome, the hindrances arising from separate jurisdictions, and the violation of the franchises of the kingdom, without specifying what those franchises are. *Ibid.* ii. p. 76.

|| Among other things, Pierre Cugnieres insisted that a vassal, guilty of any crime, should be punished by his lord and not by the Church, with the exception of the sentence that the Church might require; that a lord should not be excommunicated for faults committed by his vassals; that the ecclesiastical judge should not compel another's vassal, by threat of excommunication, to plead before him; that the Church should not allow an asylum to prisoners escaped from the royal prisons; he further insisted, that lands acquired by the priest should be subject to all taxes, and should revert to his family instead of remaining in mortmain; that priests who traded, or who lent money on usury, should pay the tallage; that if a plebeian had two children, he should not give more than half his land to such son as might be a priest, &c.

* Buleux, iv. 7.

† *Seque jura ecclesiarum aucta potius quam immunita esse velle.* *Ibid.* *ibid.* 222.

‡ *Abilité in proverbium, ut quem sciolum et argutulum et deformem videmus. M. Petrum de Cuneris, vel corruptum, M. Pierre du Coignet vocitamus.* *Ibid.* *ibid.* Thus it seems, *Pierre du Coignet* (Peter in the corner!) was a corruption of his true name, Pierre Cugnieres.

§ *Liberté de l'Eglise Gallicane. Traité, Lettres de Brunet, p. 4.*—Simulacrum ejus, simul et deforme . . . quod scholastici prætereuntes stylis suis scriptoris pugnique confodere et confundere solebant. Buleux, iv. 322.

|| The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne paid the pope, each, twenty-four thousand ducats for the *pallium*.

hatred to simony *. This son of a cobbler of Cahors left behind him a fortune of twenty-five millions of ducats. His contemporaries believed that he had discovered the philosopher's stone †.

Benedict XII. was so alarmed by the state in which he found the Church, and by the intrigues and corruption with which he was beset, that he preferred leaving the benefices vacant; he reserved the nominations to himself, and named no one ‡. On his death, the torrent resumed its course; and it is averred, that more than a hundred thousand clerks came to Avignon to purchase benefices, on the election of the prodigal and worldly Clement VI. §

To enter into all this, read Petrarch's dolorous lamentations on the state of the Church, his invectives against the western Babylon. He is at once Juvenal and Jeremiah. Avignon is to him as another labyrinth, but without its Ariadne or its liberating clue. He finds in it the cruelty of Minos, and infamy of the Minotaur ||. He paints with disgust the aged amours of the princes of the Church, those hoary-headed minions. . . . Scandalous stories circulated by thousands; and the absurd tale of pope Joan became probable ¶.

Some distrust might be entertained of Petrarch's erudite indignation. Judgments, calculated to have more weight with the people at large, were passed by St. Bridget, and by the two Saints Catherine. St. Bridget puts into Jesus' own mouth this address to the pope of Avignon:—"Murderer of souls, worse than Pilate and Judas! Judas sold me alone; but thou sellest me and the souls of my elect too *."

Clement the Sixth's successors were less sullied than he, but more ambitious. They made the Church a conqueror, and Italy a desert. Clement had purchased Avignon from queen Joanna, by giving her absolution for the murder of her husband. By the aid of the free companies, his successors regained all the patrimony of St. Peter. The exasperation of the Italians was wrought up to fury by this alliance of the pope's with English and Breton brigands. The war became atrocious with outrages and barbarities. To the legates who bore them the bull of excommunication, the Visconti gave the choice of being drowned, or of eating it,

At Milan, the priests were flung into heated ovens At Florence, the populace wanted to bury them alive. The popes felt that Italy would be lost, if they did not quit Avignon.

No doubt, they were the less inclined to stay there, since they had been held to ransom by the free companies. The degradation of France left them at liberty to choose their place of residence. Urban V., the best of these popes, endeavoured to establish himself at Rome, but could not. Gregory accomplished it; and died there.

On his death, the French had an assured majority in the conclave. However, this conclave was held at Rome. The cardinals heard furious cries rise around them of, "Romano lo volemo o almeno Italiano" (We will have a Roman, or, at least, an Italian for pope). Of the sixteen cardinals who composed the conclave, only four were Italians; one was a Spaniard; the eleven others were French *. The latter were divided among themselves. Two of the last popes, being from Limousin, had made several of their countrymen cardinals. These Limousins, finding the other Frenchmen desirous of barring them from the papacy, joined with the Italians to name an Italian, pope—thinking, at the same time, the individual fixed upon, the Calabrian Bartolomeo Prignano, a devoted adherent of France.

The result, just as at Clement the Fifth's election, proved the reverse of what had been anticipated; only, at this time, to the prejudice of French interests. Urban VI., a man of sixty years of age, and, till his election, considered a very moderate man, from that moment seems to have lost his head. He was anxious, he said, to reform the Church; but he began with the cardinals, and sought, among other things, to bring them down to but one dish at their table. They fled; declared the election a compulsory one; and chose another pope—a great baron, Robert of Geneva, son of the count of Geneva, who had displayed great audacity and ferocity in the wars of the Church. They named him Clement VII., no doubt after Clement VI., one of the most prodigal and worldly popes that ever dishonoured the Church. In concert with queen Joanna of Naples, against whom Urban had declared himself, Clement and his cardinals took into their pay a company of Bretons, who were prowling in Italy. But these Bretons were defeated by Barbiano, a brave condottiero, who collected against the foreign companies the first Italian free company ‡. Clement fled to France, to Avignon. So here are two popes, one at Avignon, the other at Rome, braving and excommunicating each other.

It was not to be expected that France, and the states under her influence (Scotland, Navarre, and Castile) would tamely suffer their hold on the papedom to be wrested from them. Charles V. recognized Clement. He thought, no doubt, that even if all Europe were on Urban's side, a French pope, a sort of patriarch whose motions he could govern, would be the best for him; and bitterly was he upbraided with this selfish policy. All the misfortunes that followed, Charles VI.'s insanity, and the triumphs of the English, were considered so many proofs of heavenly vengeance †.

* Baluze, Pap. Aven. i. p. 722. Omnia beneficia ecclesiastica quæ fuerunt—"and under whatever appellation they might go, and wherever they might fall vacant."

† See, above, p. 374.

‡ "Since he did not find any that came up to his ideas of fitness." Prima Vita Bened. XII. ap. Baluz. i. p. 264.

§ In Clemente clementia. . . . Tertia Vit. Clem. VI. libd. p. 284.

|| Petrarch. Ep. 10. de Tertia Babylone, et Quinto Labyrintho.

¶ The antipope, Nicholas V., had married Jeanne de Corbière, whom he divorced in order to turn Minorite. When he became pope, Jane, or Joan, pretended that the divorce was null. This gave rise to a thousand stories at Avignon, and hence the fable of—*Popeess Joan*. The tale has been referred to the year 848, and Marianus Festus and Sigebert de Gemblours been quoted in proof: but not a word of the kind is found in the old manuscripts of these authors. It was only at a later period that the gloss, which had been written in the margin, crept into the text. Buleus, iv. 240.

** Tu pejor Lucifero . . . tu injustior Pilato . . . tu immittor Juda, qui me solum vendidit; tu autem non solum me vendis, sed et animas electorum meorum. S. Brigittæ Revelationes, b. i. c. 41.

* Buleus, iv. p. 470.

† Siamondii, Rep. Ital. t. vii. p. 154.

‡ "Oh, what a scourge! what dolorous mischief, which

It is stated that the French cardinals at first entertained the idea of making Charles V. himself pope. He would have refused, as being half of one arm, and unable to celebrate mass*. A king of France, pope, would have had the whole world against him.

The king had some trouble to persuade the university to decide in Clement's favour. The faculties of law and of medicine readily declared for the king's pope: but that of arts, composed of the four nations, was divided in opinion. The French and Norman nations were for Clement VII.; the Picard and the English claimed to be neutral. As the university, being unable to come to a unanimous vote, required time†, the king took all upon himself. He wrote from Beauté-sur-Marne that he was clearly informed and satisfied that "Pope Clement VII. is the true pastor of the Church Universal . . . refusal or delay would be offensive to us‡."

On this occasion, Charles V. acted with a vigour which was unusual with him; as if he had been ashamed and angry at not having anticipated all.

He was anxious to gain Flanders over to his pope's side, and England through Flanders. He sent word to the count of Flanders that Urban abused the English, and had said that after their conduct to the holy see, he considered them heretics§. Nevertheless, Flanders and England both recognized the pope of Rome, out of hatred to him of Avignon. Italy was already Urban's. Germany, Hungary, and Aragon espoused his cause. The two popular saints, St. Catherine of Sienna and St. Catherine of Sweden recognized him, as well as the infant Pedro of Aragon, who was also looked upon as a saint. The opinion of the most celebrated jurisconsult of the day, a thing unheard-of before, was required on the pope's election. Baldus declared Urban's election to be good and valid, speciously putting it that if the election had been compulsory, the cardinals had recovered their self-possession after the popular clamour had subsided, and were perfectly uncontrolled when they enthroned Urban||.

An event, which it was impossible to foresee, had placed almost all Christendom in antagonism to France. Fortune had mocked wisdom. Queen Joanna of Naples, cousin and ally of the king, was soon afterwards deposed by Urban, dethroned by her adopted son, Charles of Durazzo, and strangled in punishment of a crime which had occurred thirty-five years before.

still endures," &c. Christ. de Pisan, vi. 116.—The following canticle was sung at the time:—

Plange, regni respublica;
Tua gens, ut schismatica,
Desolatur.
Nam pars ejus est iniqua,
Et altera sophistica,
Reputatur, &c.

Bibl. du Rot, coll. 7609. Coll. des Mém. v. 181.

(Mourn, people of this realm: you are visited with desolation, for you are schismatical. One moiety of you is set down as wicked, the other, as sophists, &c.)

* Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, p. 108.—Yet he yearly showed with his own hands the true cross to the people, in the Sainte-Chapelle, in imitation of St. Louis. Christ. de Pisan, p. 316.

† Bulgens, iv. p. 566.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 568.

§ Id. ibid. p. 521.

|| Id. ibid. p. 464.

All Europe was in commotion. The movement was universal; but the causes widely different. The English Lollards seemed to endanger the Church, the throne, and property itself. At Florence, the Ciompi were making their revolution a democratic one. France seemed about to slip out of Charles's hands. Three provinces, the most excentric but the most vital, perhaps, revolted.

Languedoc was the first to break out. Charles V., pre-occupied by the North, and ever turning his anxious looks towards England, had made one of his brothers a kind of king of Languedoc, entrusting the province to the duke of Anjou. Through his agency, he seemed on the point of attaining Aragon and Naples, whilst through that of his other brother, the duke of Burgundy, Flanders seemed to be within his grasp. But France, drained and ruined, was incapable of undertaking distant conquests. Taxation, so heavy at that time upon the whole kingdom, grew in Languedoc into atrocious tyranny. The rich municipalities of the South, which could prosper only by commerce and freedom, were subjected to as unpopularity *tallage* as a fief in the North. The feudal prince could not understand any thing of their privileges. He wanted, and quickly, money to enable him to invade Spain and Italy, in order to renew the famous conquests of Charles of Anjou.

Nîmes rose up (A. D. 1378); but finding herself alone, submitted*. The duke of Anjou heaped on heavier taxes: in March, 1379, a monstrous tax of five francs, ten gros, on each hearth; in October, a new tax of twelve gold francs yearly—a franc, a month†. The raising of the last was an impossibility. So devastated had the province been, that in the course of thirty years the population had fallen from a hundred thousand families, to thirty thousand. The consuls of Montpellier refused to levy this last tax; and the people rose up and massacred the duke's officers. They did the same at Clermont-Lodève. But the other cities remained quiet. In their dismay, the inhabitants of Montpellier received the duke on their knees, waiting for him to pronounce their fate. His sentence was frightful: two hundred citizens were to be burnt alive; two hundred, hung; two hundred, decapitated; and eighteen hundred branded as infamous, and their property confiscated. The rest were visited with ruinous fines‡.

The duke of Anjou was with difficulty prevailed upon to mitigate the sentence. Charles V. felt the necessity of removing him from Languedoc, and sent commissioners to reform all abuses. Still, in the instructions which he gives them, we do not find a trace of manly or of kingly sentiment. He is thinking only of his treasury, and of his demesne rights: "As we have in the said country many arable lands, vines, forests, mills, and other heritages, which used to bring in great revenue and profit to us, which lands have been left desert, because the population has been so reduced by mortality, wars, and other causes, that there are none who can or will till them, or undertake the ancient charges and dues, we order our councillors to set them at a new rate." They were likewise to

* Hist. du Languedoc, b. xxxii. c. 91, p. 365.

† Ibid. c. 95, p. 368.

‡ Ibid. c. 96, p. 369.

revoke all crown grants, and inquire into the conduct of the seneschals, captains, viguiers*, &c.

Through the same narrow policy, only too apparent in these instructions, the king committed a great fault, the greatest of his reign. He drove Brittany to take up arms against him. His best soldiers were Bretons; he had loaded them with gifts, and thought that through them he had their country at command. But these mercenaries were not Brittany. Besides, they themselves were not satisfied with the king. He had ordered his men at arms to pay henceforward, not to seize; and had created a marshalsea to repress their robberies, and provosts who scoured the country, judged, and hung.

He liked not Clisson. Although he appointed him constable on Duguesclin's death, he would have preferred the lord of Coucy†.

A cousin of Duguesclin's, a Breton, Sévestre Budes, who had acquired much reputation in the Italian wars, was arrested, on some suspicion, by the French pope, Clement VII., and delivered over by him to the bailiff of Mâcon, who executed him, to the great grief of Duguesclin‡. The relatives of the Breton, bearing their complaints and protestations of his innocence to the throne, the king coldly observed, "If he died innocent, so much the less grievous for you; so much the better for his soul and your honour§."

The Bretons were French when England was in question, but Bretons beyond all. On their duke's seeking to hand them over to the English, they expelled him. When the king sought to annex them to the crown, they drove out the king.

Montfort had undertaken to throw open the castle of Brest to the English, on the 5th of April, 1378. On the 20th of June, the king summoned him to appear in parliament, and then had sentence go against him by default||. The process was strange. Whilst in Flanders, he was cited to Rennes and to Nantes, but was given no safe-conduct. Many peers refused to sit in judgment. The king himself spoke against his vassal, and moved for confiscation. Should Montfort be disseised of the duchy, it was to revert to the house of Blois, in conformity with the treaty of Guérande, which the king had guaranteed.

To tell ancient Brittany that henceforward she was to sink into a province of France, to become an appanage of the crown, was bold, and was likewise ungrateful, after all the Bretons had done to expel the English. The cold and selfish prince evidently did not know the people with whom he had to do. He could not know them. There is an ignorance for which there is no cure—that of the heart.

The Bretons, both nobles and peasants, were already ill-affected. The constable Duguesclin, in his Breton wars, had not spared his countrymen. He had levied a hearth-tax of twenty sous upon them, and had prohibited enfranchisement, and restored the servitude of mortmain, which had been abolished by the duke¶. The first act of the royal government was the imposition of the gabelle. Brittany rose in arms.

Burgesses as well as nobles took up arms. The citizens of Rennes associated themselves with the barons in express terms, and swore to live and die in the common cause. The duke, returning from England, was welcomed with transport by the very men who had expelled him. No one cared to think whether he were Blois or Montfort—he was duke of Brittany. On his landing near St. Malo, the barons and all the people hastened down to the shore to meet them; many rushed into the water, and fell on their knees there. Jane of Blois herself, the widow of Charles of Blois, of him whom he had slain, came to Dinan to offer him her felicitations*.

The best captains whom the king had to send against Brittany, were themselves Bretons. Clisson appeared before Nantes: but he could not refrain from telling the townsmen, that they would do well not to let any one stronger than themselves into the town. Duguesclin and Clisson went to join the army which the duke of Anjou was assembling. But, at the first approach of a Breton force, this army melted away†; and the duke was reduced to solicit a truce.

One after the other, the king saw his Bretons pass over to the enemy. Those who were unwilling to quit him, except with his licence, readily obtained it; but they were arrested on the frontier for execution as traitors. Duguesclin himself, a prey to the king's suspicions, returned him the sword of constable, saying, that he was leaving for Spain, that he was constable of Castile as well. Charles, aware that his assistance was indispensable, sent the dukes of Anjou and of Bourbon to appease him. But the old captain was too wise to run his head against maddened Brittany. It was more to his interest to remain at variance with the king, and gain time. Apparently, he refused to take back the constable's sword. It was in the capacity of a friend of the duke of Bourbon's, and as a personal favour, that he went to besiege in the castle of Randon, near Puy-en-Velay, a free company that was laying waste the country. Here he

* Sismondi, Hist. des Franc. t. xi. p. 285. Lobineau, l. xii. c. 108, p. 423.

† Chronique en Vers de 1341 à 1381, par maître Guill. de St. André, licencié en décret, scolastique de Dol, notaire Apostolique et Impérial, ambassadeur, conseiller et secrétaire du duc Jean IV. :—

"Les François estoient testonnés,
Et leurs airs tout effeminés;
Avoient beaucoup de perleries,
Et de nouvelles broderies.
Ils estoient friskies et mignotz,
Chantoient comme des syrenotz;
En saulles d'herbetes jonchées,
Dansoient, portoitent barbes fourchées;
... Les vieux ressembloient aux jeunes;
Et tous prenoient terrible nom,
Pour faire paour aux Bretons."

(Chronicle in verse from the year 1341 to the year 1381, by master William de St. André, licentiate at law, graduate of Dol, Apostolic and Imperial notary, ambassador, councillor and secretary to duke John IV. :—"The French were all befrizzed and full of effeminate airs; pearl ornaments they abounded in, and new embroidery. Sprightly were they and finical, and sang like your syren. They danced in halls strewn with rushes, wore peaked beards. . . . You could not tell the old from the young; and all took a terrible name, to strike the Bretons with dread.")

* Ord. vi. p. 465 and 467. † Froissart, b. li. c. 48.

† Id. ibid. c. 35.

§ Christ. de Pisan, t. vi. p. 38.

|| Lobineau, Hist. de Bret. l. xii. c. 97, p. 418.

¶ Daru, Hist. de Bretagne, iv.

fell sick, and died *. It is told that the captain of the castle, who had promised to surrender in fifteen days if he were not relieved, kept his word, and brought and laid the keys on the death-bed †. The tale is not improbable. Duguesclin had been the pride of the free companies, the father of the soldiers; he made their fortunes, and ruined himself to pay their ransoms.

The states of Brittany entered into negotiations with the French king; the duke with the English. As Charles V. refused to listen to any arrangement, the Bretons admitted aid from England. The earl of Buckingham, a brother of Richard II., was sent with an army to Brittany, but by the route of Picardy, Champagne, the Beauce, the Blaisois, and Maine; that is, with orders to march it across the whole kingdom. He met with no obstacle. Charles V. persisted in refusing the duke of Burgundy permission to encounter him.

Duguesclin died on the 13th of July (A. D. 1380). The king died on the 16th of September; on which day he had abolished every tax not authorized by the States. This was returning to the point whence he had begun his reign.

On his deathbed, he advised the winning back of the Bretons at any cost ‡. He had previously given orders that Duguesclin should be buried at St. Denys, next to his own tomb. His faithful counsellor, the sire de la Rivière was interred at his feet.

This prince died young (he was but forty-four years of age), and without having brought any thing to a conclusion. A minority followed. Sobieski, the Breton war, the scarcely appeased revolt of Languedoc, the Flemish revolution § at its height—here were embarrassments enough for a young king, aged twelve. Although Charles V. had declared by ordinance, A. D. 1374, that kings were to arrive at their majority at fourteen, his son was fated to remain long a minor, even all his life.

Charles V. left two things—strongly-fortified towns and money. After all that he had had to give to the English and the free companies, he had found means to amass seventeen millions. This treasure he had concealed at Vincennes, (Melun †) within the thickness of a wall. But his son did not profit by it.

The king thought himself sure of the burghesses. He had confirmed and increased the privileges of all the towns which had abandoned the English party ||.

- * "A! douce France amie, je te lairay briefement!
Or veuille Dieu de gloire, par son commandement,
Que si bon conestable aies prochainement
De col vous vaillies mieulx en honour plainement!"
Poème de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bibl. Royale,
No. 7224, 142 verso.

(Ah! sweet, beloved France, soon shall I leave you. Now, may God of his glory be pleased to grant that so good a constable may next be yours, that your honour may stand confessed before the world.)

- † See M. Lacombe's excellent Life of Charles V. in the Diet. de la Conversation.

‡ Froissart, vii. 366, ed. Buchon.

§ The history of this revolution belongs, properly speaking, to Charles VI.'s reign. It will be handled in the succeeding book.

|| The rapidity with which these towns were recovered may be traced, as I have noticed at p. 404, by the dates of the charters.—As regards the history of the communes, I would direct particular attention to the fifth volume of M. Guizot's *Histoire de la Civilisation*, &c. No one has analyzed

He had taken the right of asylum for criminals from his brother's hôtels, and submitted these hôtels to the jurisdiction of the provost. In compliance with the remonstrances of the parliament of Paris, he empowered it to carry its decrees into effect without delay, notwithstanding *all royal letters to the contrary* *. He allowed the citizens of Paris to hold fiefs by the same title as the nobles, and to wear the same ornaments as the knights. Thus he created in the centre of the kingdom a plebeian nobility, which was to degrade the other by its imitation of it. And, by degrees, all the lands of the Isle of France passed into the hands of burghesses; that is, became intimately dependent upon the monarch.

These distant advantages did not counterbalance present ills. The people were exhausted. The taxes were all the heavier, inasmuch as from the very beginning of his reign, the king had wisely imposed on himself as a rule not to tamper with the coinage. I know not but what this form of taxation was regretted. At an epoch in which there was little commerce, and the feudal rents were generally paid in kind, the alteration of the coin affected but a small number, and only those who could afford to lose; for instance, the usurers, Jews, Cahoreins, Lombards, bankers, and money-brokers of Rome or Avignon. Taxes, on the contrary, passed them over, to fall directly on the poor.

The Church property alone could help people and king; but it required time for the necessary boldness to lay hands upon it. To take their possessions from pious foundations, to make null and void the last wishes of founders whose families survived, to despoil the monasteries which were the patrimony of younger sons and of maidens of noble birth †, was what no one could have attempted with impunity in the fourteenth century.

A proof of the great power the clergy still possessed, is the case with which they effected the expulsion of the English from the cities of the South. The French king, whom the priests had just so well seconded, had to look twice before he embroiled himself with them.

The schism placed the pope of Avignon wholly at the king's command, and gave him, it is true, the uncontrolled disposal of benefices throughout the Gallican Church; but it placed France in a perilous position, isolating her, as it were, in the midst of Europe, and putting her out of the pale of Christian law.

Undoubtedly, it was much for the crown to have within two centuries concentrated in its hands the two powers of the middle age—the Church and Feudalism. Henceforward, ecclesiastical dignities were assured to the king's servants, and fiefs either annexed to the crown, or became the appanage of princes of the blood. The great feudal houses, those living types of provincialities, became gradually extinct ‡. The differences of the middle age subsided into unity. But, as yet, this unity was weak.

the complicated *origines* of the Third Estate (Tiers-Etat), with greater judgment and precision. I shall return to the consideration of this great subject.

- * Ordonn. v. 323.

† As late as 1781, the noblesse of Burgundy solicited the foundation of a chapter of Demoiselles. *Archives du Royaume, K., pièces relatives à la suppression du couvent de Marigny.*

- ‡ See the details in Sismondi, *Hist. des Fr. t. xi. p. 305,*

If Charles V. could not effect much himself, he at least bequeathed to France the type of the king of modern times, whom, before she knew not. He taught the thoughtless warriors of Crécy and of Poitiers, what reflection, patience, and perseverance meant. This training had a tedious course to run, and repeated lessons were necessary to complete the education; but, at least, the end—as distinctly marked to which France was to be conducted by Louis XI. and by Henri IV., by Richelieu and by Colbert.

The miseries of the fourteenth century led her to know herself better. And first, she recognized what she was not, and would not be English. At the same time, she lost something of the religious and chivalrous character which had confounded her with the rest of Christendom during the whole middle age, and saw herself for the first time in her national and prosaic aspect. At the first essay, she attained in Froissart the perfection of prose narrative*. From Joinville to Froissart, the progress of our language is immense; from Froissart to Comines, hardly perceptible.

Froissart is the epitome of the France of that day, at bottom thoroughly prosaic, but chivalrous in form, and graceful in accent. The gallant chaplain, who supplied my lady Philippa with fine stories and with lays of love, tells us his history as carelessly as he chanted his mass. Friends or enemies, English or French, good or evil, are all one to the narrator. They who accuse him of partiality, do not understand him. If he sometimes seem fond of the English, it is that they are successful†. All is very immaterial to him, provided that he can follow his fancy by going from castle to castle, from abbey to abbey, telling and hearing fine stories, just as we see him, the joyous priest, journeying along to the Pyrenees, with the four greyhounds in leash that he is taking to the count of Foix‡.

A much less known work, and on which I should therefore be the more inclined to enlarge, is a

* Not to mention numerous other fine passages, there is nothing to my mind more exquisite in our language than the chapter:—"How king Edward told the countess of Salisbury that he must have her love, at which she was all abashed."

† Although Froissart lived so long in England, I have only met one word of his that seems borrowed from the English tongue:—"Le roi de France pour ce jour étoit jeune, et volontiers travaillait (travellé, for voyageait)." t. iv. p. 475, ed. Buchon.

‡ . . . "I considered in myself that grand deeds of arms would not fall out for a long space of time in the marches of Picardy and the country of Flanders, since there was peace in those parts; and it was very tiresome to me to be idle; for I well know, that when the time shall come, when I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be much in fashion, and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit. And moreover, since I had, God be thanked, sense and memory, and a good collection of all past things, with a clear understanding to conceive all the facts of which I should be informed, touching my principal matters, and since I was of an age and constitution of body well fit to encounter difficulties, I determined not to delay pursuing my subject. And in order to know the truth of distant transactions, without sending upon the inquiry any other in place of myself, I took advantage of opportunity of visiting that high and redoubted prince, Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix and de Béarn . . . I began my journey, inquiring on all sides for news, and, through the grace of God, continued it,

treatise composed by command of the use of the dwellers in the country, and *Le Vieilhomme, le Gouvernement des Bergeres, composé par le rustique Jehan de la Bergerie* (A. D. 1379*). In this little book, gracefully written and with much success, attempt is made to set off rural life, and to the peasant, disheartened after so many years in his occupation. The idea is touching, clearly the king who turns peasant, and in this *E. A.* comes among his tale, lies down the ox and the ass, gently exhorts and encourages and essays to inform the

Apropos of the rearing of flocks, pastoral veterinary receipts, Jehan attempts to say a few words on the great question at the time. The terms shepherd and flock to innumerable allusions; where, amidst the affectation of simplicity, the satirical spirit of the time, their timid causticity with regard to the king. This book is the next of kin to the *Patelin* and the satire *Menippée*.

To return. In the apparent and as introduced by Charles V., and in the general of the fourteenth century, there was something weak and false. The new system, which the whole superstructure rested on, archy, was itself founded upon an error. From feudal suzerainty it had become, under the

without peril or hurt, until I arrived at the court of Orleans (Orthez) . . . in the year of grace, he himself, when I put any question to him, most readily, saying, that the history I was engaged in would in times to come be more sought after than other; 'because,' added he, 'my fair sir, many great arms have been performed within these last few years, and more wonderful things have happened, than in a hundred years before.' Froissart, b. iii. c. 1.

* Jehan at first narrates how:—"At the age we begin to spit out their first teeth, when they are pated, and not accountable for their actions," he takes to charge of the geese; then of the swine; afterwards, "growing up to be promoted to several he had the charge of the horses and cows; "and was given the care of eighty frolicsome and innocent he was, as it were, their guardian and they were under age and minors." He did not deny self like certain temporal or spiritual shepherds. Then, "the said Jehan de Brie, without money pointed and instituted to bear the keys of the stores . . . of the hôtel de Messy, belonging to the counsellors of the king our lord, attached to the in his parliament at Paris . . . When the said de taken his bachelor's and master's degree in the science of sheep-tending, and was worthy to read in the street au Feurre (du Fourre, where the Paris schools were near the stall for the calves, or under the shadow of a elm or lime, behind the sheep, then he went to live in the Palais royal in the hôtel de messire Arnoul de Grantpont, treasurer to the royal Sainte Chapelle at Paris . . . Firstly, lambs which are young and tender should be kindly and gently treated, and ought not to be struck and beaten with wands, sticks, &c. . . . When the lambs are cut, then should the shepherd be without sin, and it is good that he confess, &c. &c."—This charming little work, has not, I believe, been reprinted since the sixteenth century. I am acquainted with two editions of it, both printed at Paris; the one bears the date of 1543 (Bibl. de l'Arsenal), the other has no date (Bibl. Royale, S. 880).

† The following passage is the lawyer all over—"They (the lambs) were under age and minors; and since the said Jehan was not noble, nor of any lineage, he could not under-

the legists, Roman, imperial monarchy. The establishments of *France and of Orleans* had the establishments of all France. The had unserved feudalism, taken its arms and hands, and then, on the return of war, red to restore them. Feudalism, full of weakness, still survived; resembling a armour which, hanging empty against the yet threatens and brandishes the lance. As is touched, it falls to the ground—at Crécy and Poitiers.

was imperative, then, to have recourse to enarries, to hired soldiers; that is, to make with money. But where get it? As yet, lays on the Church was not to be dreamed of, productive industry was yet unborn. With all itical wisdom, Charles V. was here at a loss. At last moment, every thing failed him at once. English who marched through France in 1380, entered no more resistance than they had met in 1370: the king, having lost the Bretons, still weaker than before.

Wisdom failing, folly was tried. Under the hful Charles VI., France launched out into an extravagant imitation of the ancient chivalry, whose character and even whose forms had lapsed a men's minds. This spurious imitation of chose for its hero the famous leader of unies who had delivered France from able Duguesclin. The *épopée* founded ds and actions† is a plain proof that the eter of the constable of Charles V. was misunderstood.

most successful part of this imitation of ay in the richness of the arms and surrn, and in the splendour of the tourna-

ste, but only the charge (il n'en put avoir le bail, 'la garde), amusement, and ordering of them, rned rearing them."

etely, that when, in Charles VI.'s time, the the duke of Anjou were solemnly admitted the spectators were asking what the various meant.—See the following book.

oom presents a whimsical compound of two very ts of ideas. Duguesclin is painted as a knight of nth century, but is made to be as ill affected to the one was in the fourteenth. He will take nothing eople; he only holds to ransom pope and church-e would fancy one was reading the *Henriade*.—

... Le prévost d'Avignon
int droit à Villeneuve, où la chevalerie
le Bertran et des siens estoit adonc logie.
Il a dit à Bertran que point ne le detrie :
Sire, l'avoir est prest, je vous scerteifie,
Et la solution dévra et fournie,
Come Jhesu donna le sis sainte Marie
A Marie-Magdalaine qui fut Jhesu amie.
Et Bertran li a dit : Beau sire, je vous prie,
Dont vint ycel avoir, ne me le cotes mie !
La pris li Apostoles en sa tresorerie ?
Nanli, sire, dit-il, mais la dette est poie
Du comun d'Avignon : chascun sa partie.
Dit Bertran Du Guesclin : Prévost, je vous aie,
Ja n'en arons deniers en jour de notre vie,
Se ce n'est de l'avoir venant de la clergie,
Et volons que tuit cil qui la taille ont païee,
Aient tout lor argent, sans prendre une maille.

ments. Charles V. had left a ruined people; yet from this ruin was asked more than wealth had ever been able to pay. Once in the vortex of impossibilities, to ask costs nothing.

All Europe is similarly situated: the same vertigo prevails every where. Fortune devolves the government of most of the kingdoms on minors. Monarchy, the new divinity, prattles, or dotes. Three-quarters of the age of Charles-le-Sage, the first age of policy, have not passed away before its senses fail, and it turns mad. A generation of madmen have become kings. To the glorious Edward III. succeeds the giddy Richard II.; to the prudent emperor Charles IV., the drunken Wenceslaus; to the wise Charles V., Charles VI., a raging bedlamite. Urban VI., Don Pedro of Castile, and John Visconti, all betrayed symptoms of mental derangement.

The petty negative wisdom which thought it had neutralized the great movement of the world, had already exhausted its resources. It thought it had done all; and all began again. The threads which the prudent fancied were in their hands to work with, grew more and more entangled. The contradictions of the world increased: reason, divine and human, seemed to have abdicated. "God," to use Luther's saying, "was wearied of the game, and flung the cards under the table."

A tragic moment is that in which one feels one's senses failing—the moment in which reason, glimmering with its last light, sees itself about to be extinguished.

"Oh, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven!"

Exclaims king Lear,—

"Keep me from madness, I would not go mad."

Sire, dit li prévost, Dieux vous doint bonne vie!
La pour gent arez forment esleuee (*réjouie*).
Amis, ce dit Bertran, au pape me direz,
Que ces grans tresors soit ouvers et defermez,
Ceulz qui lont païe, li lor soit retorez,
Et dittes que jamais n'en soit nul reulez.
Car, se le savoie, ja ne vous en doubtez,
Et je fusse oultre mer passez et bien alez,
Je seroie aincois par deca retournez . . .

Poème de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7224, folio 49.

(. . . The provost of Avignon came straight to Villeneuve, where were Bertrand and his knights. He tells Bertrand there is no delay. "My lord, the money, I give you notice, is ready, and the acquittance sealed and duly drawn, even as Jesus, the son, gave St. Mary to Mary Magdalen, who was dear to Jesus (?)." And Bertrand said to him. "Fair sir, I pray you, whence does this money come? Conceal not the truth from me. Does it come out of the pope's treasury?" "By no means, my lord," he answers, "but the debt is paid by the commons of Avignon, each pays his quota." Says Bertrand Duguesclin: "Provost, I swear I will never have a penny of it to the last day of my life, except it comes out of the clergy. And it is my pleasure, that all who have paid this tax have back their money, every farthing of it." "My lord," says the provost, "God send you length of days; the poor people will be beside themselves with joy." "Friends," says Bertrand, "tell the pope from me to open and unlock his great treasures. They who have paid him shall have their money returned, and say that none must ever be kept back. For, if I hear of it, be assured though I were far beyond sea, I would return at once.)

END OF VOL.

